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LIVES

OF

ILLUSTRIOUS AND DISTINGUISHED

IRISHMEN.

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John Lord Mansfield
at the Court of King's Bench



Oliver Goldsmith

from a painting by Sir Joshua Reynolds



George Berkeley

Bishop of Cloyne



The Hon^{ble} Mr. Robert Boyle.

LIVES

OF

ILLUSTRIOUS AND DISTINGUISHED

IRISHMEN.

John O'Neale.

KILLED A. D. 1567.

As we enter on the lives of persons whose names are identified with a long struggle, all the incidents of which have taken, or are susceptible of, a strong colouring from national or party feeling and prejudice, we feel that statements which must clash with these sentiments of human nature must necessarily be hazarded. All history which either bears, or can be forced to bear, any relation to the events of modern times, is apt to be popularly viewed through a medium coloured by party; and it cannot well be otherwise: for it is from this that principles of interpretation, and even habits of thinking, are mainly formed. In the history of Ireland, the difficulty arising from this cause is much increased by the fact, that the broad principles of human nature, and of the constitution of society, have been dismissed from political speculation, and replaced by the specious but most illusory adoption of a mode of appeal to facts, and reference to states of society, which, however important they are, as furnishing subjects of investigation, and as illustrative of principle, have not the *direct connexion*, which is but too often implied by party, with any thing at present existing. So far as party politics are directly concerned, the evil, if such it may be called, is of small moment; it little matters under what pretensions the game of faction is played on either side, by those who, on the pretence of reason, are only anxious to find the most effective weapons. But in the composition of a work such as the present, the evil is great and not to be disguised. However cautiously stated, the fact cannot fail to be regarded according to its value as a political fact, stated with a political view. This difficulty is again augmented by the circumstance that in every statement of the facts of Irish history, this very bias is in a high degree observable, and more especially in those which are the produce of modern literature. They alone who are by their habits of study enabled to test the various notices of the Irish events of Elizabeth's reign, by the most

authentic authorities, can imagine the extent to which, without any direct falsehood being told, a totally opposite view of the same events and characters can be dressed up for the use, or to satisfy the prejudices of either of the two great parties which occupy the stage of political life.

When such is the fact, it is but too easily shown that while an unprincipled writer who can consent dexterously to turn his narrative according to the views of a faction, will incur the certain reprehension of those who think and feel in opposition; the unbiassed statement which is made, as all such statements should be made, in an impartial disregard for both, must alternately give offence to each. The view by which this position is illustrated, must be entered upon more at large hereafter, in the prefatory portion of our next period. It is briefly this: that in the continued struggle between human beings, in no very high stage of moral or intellectual culture, and actuated by the deepest passions of human nature, there was generated a vast complication of errors and wrongs on either side. That usurpation, violence, fraud, rapine, murder, breach of treaties, perfidiousness, and generally a disregard for all the principles of equity, and humanity, and good faith, find instances enough on both sides. From this general truth, and from the "mingled yarn" of human virtues, vices, and motives, it is easy, by seemingly slight omissions, to draw a coloured view of persons or events.

This slight sketch of some of the leading views of our historical creed, has been prompted by the revisal of our chief materials for the few important lives with which it is our design to conclude this period.

John O'Neale, more familiarly known by the Irish name Shane, was one of the most remarkable persons of his time; and occupies a principal position in the history of Ireland during the first years of Queen Elizabeth's reign. We have already had occasion to notice the particulars which involved his early years in anxiety and contention. The influence of an illicit union had usurped the favour and regard due to legitimate offspring; and the earl of Tyrone had set aside the claim of Shane, his eldest son by his lawful wife, for one who was known to be the offspring of his kept mistress, and on specious grounds affirmed to be the fruit of her clandestine intercourse with some low artizan. After frequent renewals of the family contention, which was the natural consequence of such arrangements, Shane, who had for some years occupied a leading position in the affairs of Tyrone, and in the civil feuds of the neighbouring chiefs, caused the lord Dungannon to be slain, and threw his father into confinement. The old earl sunk under the vexation and impatience excited by this undutiful, yet looking to the customs and spirit of that age of lawless violence, not quite unwarranted action. If his allegations are to be admitted, Shane had sustained a wrong, not likely to be meekly submitted to in any state of human polity. The lord justice Sidney having marched to Dundalk, sent for Shane, who was six miles off, to come and answer for himself.* Shane did not think it consistent with his safety to obey,

* Ware, Cox.

and it was unsafer still to refuse. In this dilemma he took a prudent middle course: he begged to be excused from immediate attendance, and invited the lord justice to be his gossip, on the faith of which tie he would come and submit to do all that the queen's service might demand. The compliance of a man like Sidney with this irregular proposal, may show the real power and danger attributed to Shane O'Neale. Sidney was entertained with the barbaric magnificence of an Irish prince, and stood sponsor to the child of Shane O'Neale. After the ceremony was completed, a conference was held between the Irish leader and the lord justice: and Shane justified his conduct, and asserted his pretensions with temper and clearness.

He affirmed that the lord Dungannon was not the son of the late earl, but that he was well known to be the son of a smith in Dundalk, by a woman of low degree, and born after the earl's marriage, of which he was himself the eldest son. It was objected that he had, notwithstanding, no right to assume the title, as the earl had surrendered his territories to the king, and that under that surrender, the settlement had been made. To this it was replied by Shane, that according to the institutions still existing amongst the Irish, his father had no power to make such a surrender, having but a life-right to the title and territories of O'Neale; that his own claim was by election according to the law of tanistry. He went on to argue, that by the English law the letters patent were illegal, as no inquisition had been or could be made, as the country should for this purpose be made shire ground. The deputy, referring probably to the recent tumults in Tircennel, complained of his assumption of a right of oppressive interference in the affairs of the northern chiefs; to this it was frankly replied by Shane, that he arrogated nothing beyond the lawful rights of his ancestors, who were the acknowledged superior lords of the northern chiefs. By the advice of his council, the deputy answered that he was sure the queen would do whatever should appear just; and advised O'Neale to continue quiet, until her pleasure should be known. He then departed, and O'Neale remained at peace during his administration.

This period was unfortunately of no long continuance. Sussex came over to take the administration into his own hands, and held a turbulent parliament, in which the regulation of ecclesiastical affairs was to some extent effected, and the sovereignty of Elizabeth, as queen of Ireland, affirmed by statute. The opposition met by Sussex in this assembly was, however, enough to deter him from remaining; and he returned to England, leaving Sir William Fitz-William deputy. The change was unfavourable; the times required a person of more weight. The efforts which had been recently made, and were still in progress, to introduce the reformation—now happily established in England, where the soil had long been prepared—into Ireland, where all was opposed to the introduction of any change founded on the advance of civilization, caused a violent excitement of popular feeling, and a dangerous activity among the priesthood of the Romish communion. Emissaries from Rome were at work in every quarter among the chiefs; and the king of Spain was already entering on the course of successful cajolery, by which, during the greater portion of the reign

of Elizabeth, he contrived, with the least conceivable sacrifice of means, to keep up a delusive reliance on his power and assistance among the refractory chiefs, whose eagerness for small advantages, and blindness to remote consequences, were the result of their rude state; though the credulity with which they listened to all illusive promises, has been proved by time to have in it something of national temper.

Shane O'Neale, surrounded by dependants and flatterers, by nature disposed to insubordination—strongly urged by these underhand agencies, and seeing the general ferment of the people, soon resolved to take advantage of the weakness of the administration. His first demonstrations were directed by keen and cherished animosity; the occasion which gave latitude to turbulence, was favourable to revenge. Recollecting the humiliation which he had so recently met from the arms of O'Donell, he made a sudden inroad upon the territory of that chief, whom he seized, with his family. The chief himself he cast into prison, and only released him at the ransom of all his moveables of any value. When released from durance, Calvagh O'Donell had to learn that his cruel enemy had reserved a more galling humiliation for him than the chains redeemed so dearly; his son was retained for an hostage, and his wife for a mistress. Shane O'Neale, notwithstanding his ability and intelligence, is said to have been coarse and brutal in his habits; and this cruel and ungenerous conduct is quite reconcileable with the general descriptions of his character preserved by the old historians, and repeated more doubtfully by the ablest moderns, by all of whom he is described as one addicted to gross debauchery and beastly excess, the fever of which he was often fain to allay by having himself buried up to the shoulders in the earth. This account has been questioned on the specious ground of not being consistent with the other ascertained features of Shane's character—his subtilty, cautious policy, his polished manners, and the great ability shown in conference with the lord-justice. But this is the reasoning of men who are more conversant with books than with life. There is a latitude in human character that cannot be found in annals, or in the necessarily contracted record of men's deeds. Any one who is conversant with mankind, in any class of society, can easily recall greater contrasts than that presented by the cunning and sensuality—the wit and brutality—the politeness and cruelty—the prudence and the drunken intemperance of Shane O'Neale; these qualities scarce afford materials for the characteristic antithesis of Irish eloquence. O'Neale's native intelligence and subtilty of understanding, were in no way inconsistent with the simplicity of a barbaric chief, and still less so with the want of that steady regard for the principles of truth, and the strict duties of mercy and humanity, which scarce can be said to have belonged to his age; still less again with the existence of fierce passions and appetites. He was not without native virtues, which are indicated in many of his actions, but cannot be quoted in disproof of vices, which have been charged on strong authorities, and denied upon none.

It may be admitted, that the disaffection of Shane O'Neale, was the result of injuries real or apprehended; it was at least increased and matured by views of policy, and by the influence of flatterers and

advisers. His pride made him keenly alive to the appearance of slight or favour, and in his intercourse with the queen, or her deputies, the influence of this sentiment is easy to be discerned. But new instruments, not quite so clearly traceable, were also at work; and however he may have contracted an occasional sense of regard for the queen, a constant current of opposite causes was still controlling this inclination, and bringing him back to the level and direction of the dispositions of an opposite tendency, which were the air in which he breathed. Having once taken a determined step into rebellion, he was quickly led to extremities which were equally pointed out by inclination and caution. From the government he could only expect severe justice; but it was whispered by pride, and echoed by a thousand flatterers, that the prince of Tyrone might safely hold out for higher indulgence from an enemy which seemed unable to carry its anger to extremities, and even showed itself ready to purchase peace on the easiest terms of compromise. Thus impressed, Shane O'Neale began to breathe defiance and revenge against the English. His determination appeared in manner, conversation, and in the ferocious zeal with which he vindicated his hate against the slightest disposition or act which savoured of English. This may be illustrated by several instances: one of his followers he caused to be hanged for eating English biscuit, which he considered as a base instance of unpatriotic degeneracy.

The queen ordered Sussex to lead his army to the north; and O'Neale, who had carried fire and sword through the pale, now lent a docile and pliant ear to his kinsman, the earl of Kildare, who represented in strong terms the hopeless character of the contest in which he was about to embark. Shane was not on his part wanting in plausible allegations to give a colour to his repentance and justify the past; and, such was the policy of the time, his excuses were allowed. Sussex advised submission, and as before, promised justice. It was arranged that O'Neale should be suffered to retain his possession of Tyrone, until the parliament should have examined and decided on the validity of the patents granted to his father and supposed brother; if they should be declared void, that he should then receive possession of his lands by tenure from the crown, and be created earl of Tyrone. To this O'Neale consented, and repaired to Dublin, where he was honourably received, and made his submission in due form. While remaining in Dublin, he received intimation of a rumour that he was to be sent over to England, under a guard. Alarmed at this report, he took ship and passed over to England himself, where he presented himself before the queen, with a gorgeous train of his followers, arrayed in the rude magnificence of ancient Ulster. His guard of gallowglasses are described by Camden, as having their long curled locks hanging from their uncovered heads, their shirts stained with saffron,* having ample sleeves, over which were short tunics, and hairy cloaks, which, says the annalist, were objects of wonder to the English, not less than

* The curious reader may desire to see the original description. "*Ex Hibernia jum venerat Shanus O'Neale, ut quod ante annum promiserat, præstaret, cum securigo galloglassorum satellitio, capitibus nudis, crispatis cincinnis dependentibus, camisiis flavis croco, vel humana urina infectis, manicis largioribus, tuniculis brevioribus et lacernis billosis.*" *Camd. ad. an. 1562.*

Chinese and Americans are in the present day. He was received with courtesy, and is described as having cast himself on his knees before the queen, and with a loud and wailing voice begged pardon for his rebellion. He was then interrogated upon the murder of the baron of Dungannon, and the seizure of Tyrone, to which he replied by the explanation already given in his meeting with Sir Henry Sidney; on which he was honourably dismissed, and returned to Ireland, and landed at Howth on the 25th of May.

When Shane O'Neale went to England, lord Sussex had been sent for by the queen, to give a distinct account of Irish affairs, and Sir William Fitz-William was sworn in to govern during his absence. Sussex returned in July, and again took the oaths in St Patrick's church, the roof of Christ church having fallen in two months before, on the 3d of April, 1562. As O'Neale continued quiet, he was for some time enabled to attend to the execution of various measures for the improvement and security of the country. Among the chief of these may be mentioned the division of the reduced districts into counties; Annaly, was called Longford; and Connaught was divided into Clare, Galway, Sligo, Mayo, Roscommon, and Leitrim.*

Things could not continue long in this quiet state. O'Neale was little the wiser for the lessons he had received from experience and a life of struggle. He was surrounded by followers, kinsmen and friends, still ruder than himself. The general atmosphere of boasting and barbarian pride in which he breathed, may be feebly illustrated by a story from Ware. "A kinsman of his (O'Neale's) named Hugh O'Neale, drinking in company with the collector of the archbishop of Armagh's revenues, at Drogheda, was heard to swear by his soul, that his cousin was a patient fool, and so were his ancestors, in taking an earldom from the kings of England, when by right themselves were kings. He further added, by way of question to the bishop's servant, 'Is it not so?' The man was glad to comply, and say it *was so*, seeing six of the Irish in the room, with their skeans by them. But as soon as he came to his master, Adam Loftus, he cried out, 'Pardon me, master.' The archbishop asking him, 'Why, what hast thou done?' he told him the whole story; whereupon he wrote to the lord lieutenant of it." From this apparently trifling incident, a suspicion was strongly excited against O'Neale; on which the lord-lieutenant began preparations for an expedition into the north, which he made in April, 1563. He was not far on his way, when he had the good fortune to detect an ambuscade contrived by Shane O'Neale, whose party he quickly put to flight with the loss of many lives. Lord Sussex took a prey of four hundred black cattle, and for several days pursued his march, visiting Dundalk and Dungannon, till the 2d June, when he came to Tullahogue. Here he had an encounter with O'Neale's people; but they did not venture to stand the shock of the English, and scattered away before them into the woods. A few slight successes followed, until the 6th of June, when lord Sussex came upon and took three thousand cattle and fifteen hundred horses, with which he marched to Drogheda. Such a loss induced O'Neale

* Ware, *ad. an.* 1563.

to listen to the voice of moderate counsel from the emissary of his kinsman, Gerald, earl of Kildare. He then sent to the lord-lieutenant his proposal of submission, and offered again to appear before the queen.* His submission was allowed, and once more he appeared with his retainers before the queen, to whom he repeated his submission in the presence of the ambassadors of Sweden and Savoy. Without placing any faith in his professions, the politic Elizabeth allowed her personal vanity to be soothed into complaisance by his flattery, and dismissed him with favour and presents, which she knew must have some influence upon the minds of himself and his turbulent allies and followers. Nor did she form a mistaken estimate of the influence of her munificent generosity on the mind of a barbarous chief, who with all his native subtilty, was a child in the ways of courts. Among other favours, she lent him a sum of £2500, and ordered her commissioners, Worth and Arnold, to inquire into his complaint against a person of the name of Smith, whom O'Neale accused of an attempt to poison him.

The favour of the queen was loudly boasted by Shane, and gave him increased dignity in the eyes of his followers, who nevertheless regarded the affair rather in the light of a treaty of alliance than a submission. Shane's new-born zeal, though of brief duration, gave a strong impulse while it lasted, to his impetuous character. His fidelity was shown by an expedition against the islanders from the Hebrides, who had long infested the north, and were in possession of some towns. Coming to an encounter with these, he routed them, and slew their general. This exploit, though not perhaps without a touch of the double policy that looks for the promotion of self-service in the pretext of duty, was received as a grateful and deserving service. Sir Thomas Cusack was appointed to draw up and execute an instrument of agreement on the terms previously offered by lord Sussex. This was confirmed by letters patent from the queen, in which his services were recorded, and his former failings extenuated.

This exaltation to the pride of O'Neale, soon made him troublesome to his neighbours, over whom he asserted and exercised a tyrannical jurisdiction, under the pretence of preserving the peace of the north. Many complaints of this nature reached Dublin, and there began to prevail a strong sense that he was only waiting for a favourable opportunity to break out into rebellion. The lord-lieutenant wrote an account of these reports to the queen, and informed her also of the sedulous care with which O'Neale strengthened and disciplined his military force. From Elizabeth he received the following answer:—“As touching your suspicion of Shane O'Neale, be not dismayed, nor let any of my men be daunted. But tell them that if he arise, it will be for their advantage; for there will be estates for them who want. Nor must he ever expect any more favour from me.”†

Lord Sussex sent a messenger to demand an explanation. O'Neale was prepared with a reply which indicates the secret which governed alike his loyalty and his disaffection. Under the declared pretext of

* Leland appears to confound the two submissions here separately noticed, on the authority of Camden, Ware, &c.

† Ware's ad. an. 1564.

serving the queen against the Scots, the wily barbarian covered his real design to maintain his claim to Ulster by force. Lord Sussex was too clear-sighted to be deluded by the pretence, and began at once to put the northern borders of the pale in a state of defence. He issued a proclamation forbidding all military service under unauthorized persons, and commanding all so engaged to come in on an appointed day, under the penalty of treason. He also increased the pay of the soldiery on the northern border. He was, however, recalled into England, where more pressing services demanded his presence, and an English knight, Sir Nicholas Arnold, was sent over; but great complaints arising from his want of influence, and other causes, and the aspect of Irish affairs beginning to look alarming, it was thought advisable to send over Sir Henry Sidney, who had already been distinguished for his successful administration of Ireland. It was high time indeed to take the most active and wise precautions. Various disorders had broken out in every part of the country, and no common means of prudence and alertness were required to restore even the usual state of order. Among the precautions now taken, an English officer, with a strong garrison, was stationed in Derry, to curb the disaffection of O'Neale, whose intentions were not concealed. He felt resentment rather than alarm, and his pride was more roused than his confidence shaken, for he yet rested in ignorant reliance on the force he had about him, and the great deference he had received from friend and foe. It was at this period that his pride sustained a violent check from the earldom of Clancarthy being conferred on M'Carthy More. He told the commissioners of the queen, "that though the queen were his sovereign lady, he never made peace with her but at her own seeking;" and that "she had made a wise earl of M'Carthy More; but that he kept as good a man as he; he cared not for so mean a title as earl; his blood and power were better than the best, and therefore he would give way to none of them; his ancestors were kings of Ulster, that he had won Ulster by the sword, and would keep it by the sword." On the report of Sidney, the queen sent over her vice-chamberlain to confer with him on the best means for the suppression of a rebel so daring and incorrigible. They agreed that this service should be prepared for during the summer months, and carried into effect during the following winter.

Shane O'Neale, fully resolved on trying the fate of war, yet cautiously avoided all appearance of open rebellion. His plan was, however, artless to a degree not in our own times easily conceived; it was to provoke hostility by appearing in arms before fortified places; and he seems to have formed the notion that thus he need not be involved in war with the queen until he had first gained a victory. This expedient was more dangerous than he imagined. After some mischievous irruptions upon the borders of the pale, and a feeble demonstration of force in an unsuccessful attempt on Dundalk, he marched and encamped near Derry, in the month of October, with two thousand five hundred foot, and three hundred horse. Without attacking the town, he aimed by every insolence to draw out the garrison. So far he was successful. Colonel Randolph issued forth at the head of three hundred foot and fifty horse, and a battle took

place, in which O'Neale was defeated and put to flight, leaving four hundred dead on the field. This victory was dearly purchased by the death of the brave Randolph. O'Neale had the assurance to complain: he remonstrated as an injured friend, against an attack which no direct hostility had provoked, and demanded a conference with Sidney, at Dundalk. The lord-deputy granted his desire; but before they could meet, an accidental circumstance gave a new turn to the mind of Shane O'Neale. By some unlucky accident, the powder magazine was blown up in Derry, and the provisions of the garrison, as well as their means of defence, being thus destroyed, the soldiers were obliged to embark for Dublin. The means of transport were at the time so defective, that one of the consequences of such a step was, that it became expedient to destroy the horses that they might not fall into the hands of the enemy. To avoid this disagreeable resource, Captain Harvey and his troop resolved to brave the dangers of a long and circuitous route through many hostile regions to Dublin. This they effected, and after being four days pursued by native parties through an enemy's country, they gained their destination without loss.

The accident which occasioned this retreat changed the purpose of O'Neale. A notion was circulated which Cox thus relates from Sullivan. "Mr Sullivan," says Cox, "makes a pleasant story of this, and tells us that St Columbkil, the founder and tutelar saint of Derry, was impatient at the profanation of his church and cell by the heretics, the one being made the repository of the ammunition, and the other being used for the Lutheran worship; and therefore, to be revenged on the English for this sacrilege, the saint assumed the shape of a wolf, and came out from an adjacent wood, and passing by a smith's forge, he took his mouth full of red hot coals and ran with it to the magazine, and fiercely spit the fire into the room where the ammunition lay, and so set all on fire, and forced the heretics to seek new quarters!"

Shane O'Neale felt the advantage of being freed from the constraint of the garrison, and was perhaps as forcibly actuated by his superstition. He was expected in vain by Sidney, who waited for him six days at Dundalk.

O'Neale was at the same time strongly encouraged by the troubles which started up in other quarters, so as to draw away the attention and divide the forces of the deputy. It was reported that the earl of Desmond had taken the field with the intention of joining O'Neale: on further inquiry the report was found incorrect. Desmond was at war with the earl of Ormonde and other noblemen, and on the deputy's summons, attended on him in Dublin, and took his station with one hundred horse to protect the borders of the pale. The deputy was nevertheless compelled to march through Connaught and Munster, as O'Neale took occasion to invade the pale, in which he destroyed some castles. He next attacked Armagh, which was unprotected, and burned the church; he entered Fermanagh and expelled the M'Guires, who had rejected his claim of sovereignty. Further, to place beyond doubt the nature of his designs, he again sent emissaries to Spain, at that time the hope of Irish insurgents. While engaged in these seemingly unequivocal proceedings, he not the less preserved the language

of fair purpose, and endeavoured to amuse Sidney with assurances of loyalty and invitations to meetings at which he never meant to attend.

Sidney, of course, could not be imposed upon by a game so flimsy. Politics had not at that time reached the high perfection which omits to take facts, conduct, and the known character of men into account. Sidney was on the watch, and with a full comprehension of the character of Shane, and of his real strength, was exerting his vigilance and sagacity to counteract him. While Shane imagined that he was amusing the deputy, he was simply imposing on himself. Sidney conciliated those whom the exactions and tyrannies of O'Neale had offended, restored those chiefs whom he had unjustly deprived, and re-assured those whom his menaces had terrified. He thus restored Calvagh O'Donell, lord of Tirconnel, and M'Guire, lord of Fermanagh. He received the free submission of O'Connor Don, and O'Connor Sligo, &c., and soon contrived to draw round O'Neale a strong circle of enemies. Shane O'Neale, in whose character desperation and pride outweighed prudence, became furious, and vented his ill temper so freely, that his followers presently began to desert; and in one way or other, between desertion and slaughter, his force became reduced to a mere handful of ineffective followers.

In this dreadful extremity, he consulted with his faithful secretary, Neale MacConor, on the prudence of presenting himself to the lord-deputy with a halter round his neck, and throwing himself on his mercy. To this proposal it was replied by MacConor, that it would be time enough to try so dangerous an experiment when no other resource should be left; and advised that he should first endeavour to gain the Scots to his aid. Shane was persuaded. He issued letters proposing a general rising of the Irish chiefs, and was immediately proclaimed a traitor, and a day set for his adherents to surrender under the same penalties.

Shane O'Neale then repaired to Claudeboy, where Alexander MacConell, whose brother he had slain, was encamped with six hundred Scots. To conciliate the favour of this chief, he liberated his brother Surley Buy, whom he had detained in captivity since the victory which he had gained over his countrymen. The Scots were not to be conciliated by favours which were too evidently the resource of desperation, and simply saw the occasion for revenge. They, however, received their victim with apparent welcome, and Shane was deluded with all the pomp and circumstance of a reception suited to his pretensions. He had with him his secretary MacConor, and his mistress, the wife of Calvagh O'Donell, and a few soldiers. At the feast which was prepared for their entertainment, all went smoothly for a while, until by degrees, as the usquebagh or wine went round, the conversation gradually stole into the language of boast and accusation, and as confidence grew firm, in the heat of mind more sore and delicate subjects were as if by accident introduced. At last, a nephew of MacConell accused MacConor of having been the author of a foul and calumnious report that his aunt, James MacConell's wife, had offered to marry Shane O'Neale, the slayer of her husband; the secretary replied that if his aunt had been queen of Scotland, there could be no disgrace in such a marriage. Shane himself, heated with wine, boastfully main-

tained the assertion of his secretary. The dispute grew loud, clamorous, and reproachful, and the soldiers of Shane who were present, took an angry part in it, till all became a scene of uproar and wild confusion. From words they soon came to blows, and the Scots rushing in, Shane and his secretary were slain. They wrapped their victim in an old shirt, and cast him into a pit; but four days after, captain Pierce cut off his head and brought it to the lord-deputy, by whose command it was set up on a pole in Dublin.*

Thus ended the brief, turbulent, and troubled career of Shane O'Neale. The rebellion which forms the main subject of his history, occupies a very peculiar crisis in the history of Ireland. We have, however, endeavoured to avoid encumbering our narrative with the discussion into which it would lead. We shall, in our review of the history of the period, take up the subject at some length.

Gerald, Sixteenth Earl of Desmond.

DIED A. D. 1583.

GERALD, the sixteenth earl of Desmond, "was," as the letter of queen Elizabeth expresses it, "not brought up where law and justice had been frequented." On his father's death, a violent controversy, which had to be determined by arms, arose between him and an elder half-brother, Thomas, who, from the colour of his hair and complexion, was called "the red," and is spoken of under that name by the Irish annalists. Thomas was the son of earl James by his first wife, the daughter of lord Fermoy, from whom, soon after the birth of this son, he had procured a divorce on the pretence of too near a consanguinity. Thomas's claims to the earldom were supported by Thomas, lord Kerry, and by the distinguished branches of the Geraldine family, who bore, and whose descendants still bear, the romantic titles of the White Knight, and the Knight of the Vallies, or as it is now more frequently called, of the Glen. In spite of this formidable opposition, Gerald succeeded in establishing his claim—was styled and acknowledged earl of Desmond, and as such sat in the parliament held in Dublin, in January, 1559. Thomas, after his unsuccessful attempt, retired to Spain, where he died, leaving a son, whose fortunes we shall have to record in a later period of our history. The disputed claim to the earldom threw Gerald into the hands of his Irish followers, and though his rights seem to have rested on grounds familiar to English law, yet the necessity of sustaining them by the aid of armed retainers compelled him to adopt the wild and lawless life of an Irish chieftain. The exigencies of a turbulent life forced him to impose exactions on his dependents and neighbours. This course of ruin is one that it is painful to relate, as it involves the destruction of the illustrious house which he represented. In his extravagant ambition, in his desperate defiance of the power of England, and in his traitorous intercourse with foreign states, he appears to have been inspired with a wild spirit

* Camden, Ware, Hooker, Cox.

of rash adventure, which exhibited itself in his early contests with the powerful family of Ormonde. His first recorded acts were acts of aggression upon the Butlers. He sought to charge the Decies in the county of Waterford with *coigne* and *livery*, *black rents* and *cosheries*, according to the Irish usages which had become almost the law of the Anglo-Irish of the remoter districts. The claim, which even his own clansmen resisted as they best could, was sought to be enforced by him on the lands of the earl of Ormonde. The retainers of the two earls resorted to arms, and a pitched battle was fought between their forces at Affane, in the county of Waterford, on the 15th of February, 1564, where Desmond lost two hundred and eighty of his men, and was himself wounded and taken prisoner. As the exulting followers of Ormonde conveyed him from the field, stretched upon a bier, they exclaimed with natural triumph, "Where is now the great earl of Desmond?" "Where," replied the captive, "where but in his proper place? Still upon the necks of the Butlers."*

The dissensions between the Butlers and Geraldines kept Munster in such a state of utter lawlessness, that in the course of the next year both earls were summoned to London to account for their unwarrantable conduct. They were examined before the privy council, where their narratives of the disputes between them were so wholly irreconcilable that no order could be made, and under the circumstances the case was referred to the privy council of Ireland. While the earls were engaged in mutual accusations in England, their followers in Ireland did not cease to carry on hostilities. The lands of Ormonde were invaded by John, a brother of Desmond's; villages were burned, and a brother of Ormonde's slain. This did not interrupt the adjustment of the differences between the rival earls. The privy council of Ireland shrank from deciding the matter, and urged both to submit to the queen's award, to which they agreed; and for their obedience thereto, and preserving peace, they entered into recognizances of twenty thousand pounds each. A commission under the broad seal of England was thereupon directed to Sir Henry Sidney (who had been lately sent over as lord-deputy) to take their examinations, and the queen wrote a private letter to Sidney, which is still preserved. This extraordinary document, amid much that is obscure, and much that is susceptible of more than one interpretation, contained passages that show decided hostility to Desmond. She tells Sidney to "make some difference betwixt tried and just, and false friends; let the good service of well-deservers never be rewarded with loss; let their thanks be such as may encourage new strivers for the like; suffer not that Desmond's dinning deeds, far wide from promised words, make you trust for other pledge than either himself or John" [his brother, afterwards styled Sir John Desmond] "for gage. He hath so well performed his English vows, that I warn you trust him no longer than you see one of them. I pray God *your old strange sheep, late as you say, returned into the fold, wear not her woolly garment on her wolfy back.*" Sidney, who appears to have felt what was the duty of an arbitrator better than his royal mistress, when he saw how strongly she was affected

* Ireland.

against Desmond, declined to undertake the investigation of a case thus prejudged, unless other commissioners were sent from England to assist him. His letter to Cecil is manly and memorable: "I assure you, sir, if I served under the cruellest tyrant that ever tyrannized, and knew him affected on the one side or the other side, between party and party, and referred to my judgment, I would rather offend his affection, and stand to his misericord, than offend my own conscience, and stand to God's judgment. Therefore, I beseech you, let me have others joined with me." His request of additional commissioners was complied with. One of the points in controversy was the right to the profit of prize wines at Youghal and Kingsale, which both earls claimed under grants from the crown. Another subject of litigation was the boundaries of their respective estates. In enforcing their respective demands, many outrages had taken place: seizures of cattle had been made, which in a peaceful state of society, and with courts of law competent to decide between the parties, might have been but a mode of asserting a right to property in the ground on which they pastured, but late acts of the Irish parliament had made such seizures punishable as treason; blood had been frequently shed in the violent altercations between the clansmen of the mighty rivals, and each had a long catalogue of inextinguishable offences to charge against the other. Ormonde took the bold ground of defending the affray at Affane, by pleading that he had levied his forces for the defence of the country against Desmond; that having gone, at Sir Maurice Fitz-Gerald's request, into his country, and travelling quietly within a mile of Drumana, Sir Maurice's residence, the earl of Desmond, accompanied by numbers of proclaimed traitors and Irish rebels, set upon him, and that he was obliged, in self-defence, to kill several of Desmond's people. The commissioners sought to effect a reconciliation. The question of boundaries they determined in favour of Ormonde. A part of their award required the contending earls to shake hands, and they met for the purpose in the chapter-house of St Patrick's church, Dublin, where two centuries after, an aperture in the old oak door was still shown as cut on the occasion for the purpose of enabling them with safety to perform this part of the award, each fearing to be poignarded by the other.

A reconciliation such as this did not promise much for the future harmony of the newly-made friends. A year of quiet followed, and if depredations were committed, they have not been recorded by our authorities. The villages of Ormonde had to be rebuilt before they could be again burned; and the Abbè M'Geoghegan, the historian who most loves to dwell upon the exploits of Desmond and his followers, leads us to think it not unlikely that for about a year and a half the lands of Ormonde were allowed to remain undisturbed. Desmond, however, was not idle. An expedition of his is mentioned with no measured terms of praise, against M'Carthy Riogh, and the M'Carthy's of Duhallow, in the county of Cork; and he was next engaged against Edmond M'Teague, the son of M'Carthy of Muskerry, by whom he was taken and kept in prison for six months.

The M'Carthy's were at this time in rebellion, and it is not improbable that Desmond made a merit of these services against them to the

English government. He no sooner was released from prison, than we find him, at the head of an army of two thousand men, encamped on the frontiers of Ormonde's county. The lands of Ormonde's friends, the lords Barry and Roche, and Sir Maurice Fitz-Gerald, and the Decies, were plundered for the supply of his men. Sidney, who was then engaged against O'Neale in the north of Ireland, could not undertake an expedition to Munster, to quell these disturbances. Desmond's pretence for keeping such an army on foot was his private quarrel with Ormonde; but the deputy had strong reason to fear that he was preparing to act in concert with O'Neale. He dispatched Captain Herne, the constable of the castle of Leighlin, to learn from Desmond his objects, and to remind him of his duties to the queen. Desmond proposed as a proof of his allegiance, or Sidney demanded it, that he should attend him into Ulster with all his men, or remain upon the borders of the pale, for its defence, with a party of horse, during the deputy's absence. Desmond did not hesitate to obey—he marched with his brother John of Desmond to the frontiers of Leinster.

In the beginning of the following year, 1567, Sidney made a progress through Munster and Connaught. The chief object of his journey was to hear the respective complaints of the earls, who were still at war—Ormonde continuing to urge upon the queen complaints of Desmond's violence and Sidney's partiality. At Youghal, Sidney examined into some late acts of depredation, and ordered Desmond to make reparation for a prey of cattle which he had taken on Ormonde's lands. Desmond replied with violence, and was told that, by this breach of the peace, the recognizance which he had entered into for twenty thousand pounds was forfeited. The affront, as he esteemed it, was resented by Desmond, who did what he could to prevent the leading persons of the district from attending the deputy during his progress. Sidney heard of Desmond's outrages, and saw vestiges of ruin wherever he went. One of his letters says, "that the county of Cork was the pleasantest county he had ever seen, but was most miserably waste and uncultivated; the villages and churches burned and ruined, the castles destroyed, and the bones of the murdered and starved inhabitants scattered about the fields;" he adds that "a principal servant of Desmond's, after he had burned down several villages, and destroyed a large tract of the country, put a parcel of poor women to the sword, and that soon after this cruel fact the earl feasted him in his house." McCarthy More, who had, two years before, been created earl of Clancaire, and Sir Owen O'Sullivan, were among those whom Desmond persuaded to refuse paying any civilities to the deputy. Desmond himself was compelled by the nature of the investigation which brought Sidney to the country, to attend him in his progress, but he seems to have lost no opportunity of expressing the scorn with which he regarded, or tried to regard him. "For every Irish soldier that he now kept," he proudly boasted "that before long he would maintain five; and that before midsummer he would take the field with five thousand men." Such was the haughty reply of Desmond, when questioned on the ravages which every step of the deputy's progress exhibited.

This bickering altercation could not last long, and it is probable

that some violent attack upon Sidney was meditated. When they approached Kilmallock, one of the earl's principal strongholds, the deputy was startled at hearing that all Desmond's people were up in arms. The earl was at no loss for an excuse, when the cause of this sudden rising was enquired into. He said it was for the purpose of seizing O'Brien O'Goonagh and the White Knight, two of his followers, who had committed some outrages and whose persons the deputy had demanded. The calmness with which Sidney had hitherto listened to all Desmond's grievances, and the forbearance with which he endured his repeated insults, seem to have misled the earl into the notion that such easy credulity could be imposed upon to any extent, for the White Knight and O'Brien were at the head of the tumultuary bands. When this was stated in reply to Desmond's pretences, he threw himself upon his knees—he asked pardon of the deputy, and offered to disperse them with a word. Sidney, whose temper had been tried beyond endurance, could no longer disguise his loathing and contempt for the suppliant whom he saw fawning at his feet. He told him, “disperse them or not as you please; my men are two hundred, and if one act of mine be interrupted by this army of your's, I shall give them battle;—but know, you are my prisoner; your life shall be the instant forfeit of any hostile movement of theirs.” The earl was removed from his presence, was instantly confined, and in the same hour sent prisoner to Limerick, from thence to Galway, and, under a charge of high treason, to Dublin.

Sidney appears to have found himself in some difficulty from the very extensive rights granted in former reigns to the ancestors of Desmond. Desmond was an earl palatine, and as such had privileges which made him little less than a sovereign, and which, within his palatinate, rendered almost every act which was requisite for the purpose of good government illegal, or of doubtful legality. This difficulty seems to have been Sidney's best excuse for appointing John of Desmond, whom he knighted on the occasion, seneschal of Desmond. He associated with him an old soldier of high character, Henry Davern, or Davels, for the name is differently written, and Andrew Skidley. Their commission was to govern the counties of Cork, Limerick, and Kerry, during the earl's imprisonment. The earl was soon after sent into England, and Sidney pressed upon the government the necessity of appointing a president of Munster. “Desmond,” said the deputy in an official letter, “is a man both void of judgment to govern, and will to be ruled. The earl of Clancare is willing enough to be ruled, but wanted a force and credit to rule.” In the same communication he condemns the absurd system of keeping up dissensions among the Irish, the miserable policy which had hitherto been pursued, and which English statesmen justified to themselves by their fear that union among the Irish would lead to universal revolt.

Sir John Desmond did not disappoint the confidence which the deputy placed in him. During the few months for which he was left in power, he made reparation to the amount of three thousand pounds for injuries done by the earl. Ormonde, however, who feared that John would soon prove as troublesome as his brother, and whose interest with the queen was undiminished, found means to make such

representations of Sidney's conduct in the contests and negotiations with the Desmonds, that no notice was taken, in the public dispatches addressed to him, of the victories in the north of Ireland. The war with O'Neale in Ulster was regarded in England as but a scuffle with a beggar and an outlaw, unworthy of attention. The public letters to Sidney, written under the influence of Ormonde's representations, were filled with reprimands for his endurance of the insolence of Desmond. Sidney, whose services, more particularly in his repressing the Ulster disturbances, were valued in Ireland, where the good effects of his government were felt, was offended, and earnestly entreated to be recalled;—he at length, with great difficulty, obtained permission to return to England to explain the character of his government in Ireland. He presented himself at the court of Elizabeth, attended by his prisoner the earl of Desmond, by the son of the late baron of Dungannon, by O'Connor Sligo, O'Carroll, and other chieftains of Irish birth, whom he had reduced, or won into allegiance to the queen. Dungannon and O'Carroll were favourably received, their submissions accepted, and they were permitted to return to Ireland. O'Connor was for a while confined in the Tower; but the difficulties which prevented his immediate release, seem to have been merely with regard to the form of his submission, for he was soon after set at liberty. The chieftains of Irish blood and birth were in all cases distinguished from the descendants of English settlers—and O'Carroll and the others were regarded by Elizabeth as conquered enemies, or princes of barbarous tribes, negotiating with a state to which they owed no natural allegiance. The law of England was, properly speaking, the law but of the English colonists in Ireland. Even in the theoretic view of lawyers, it did not apply to any of the Irish blood, except such as from time to time purchased letters of denization, or executed deeds of submission. Thus the submission of an Irish chieftain,—his acceptance of a grant of his lands from the crown, or of an English title of honour, was in substantial effect an extension of the power of England. The English settlers and their descendants were, on the contrary, in the eye of the law, subjects of England,—colonists, who received protection from the parent state, and owed it allegiance. The Geraldines of Desmond, though in every thing they adopted the manners of the Irish among whom they lived, till they were regarded as “more Irish than the Irish,” were viewed in England as rebellious subjects whom no ties of gratitude could attach—as wily traitors, who but watched their moment to disown all dependence upon England. John of Desmond, was arrested and brought to London—he, with the earl, was sent to the Tower, where they endured a tedious imprisonment of two years. On the 11th July, 1570, Desmond's submission to the queen was accepted; “he laid his estate at her feet, promised to convey what parts she pleased to accept of,” and acknowledged his recognisance of £20,000 to be forfeited. He and his brother were remanded to Ireland.

During Sidney's absence the disturbances in Ireland increased. Butlers and Geraldines were at their unceasing work of mutual outrage and depredation. O'Mores and O'Conors brought into the field a thousand gallowglasses, and threatened to burn Kilkenny, O'Carroll's

country. The lords justices, who held the sword of state in Sidney's absence, deceived themselves by thinking they were acting with vigour in issuing proclamations against the insurgents. The proclamations but increased the evil—the government thus provoking into desperation those whom it was too weak to punish. M'Carthy, who had but lately submitted to hold his lands on an English tenure, and to accept an English title, seems to have repented him of the appearance of submission, and his acts appear almost to have been inspired by the intoxication of sudden madness. Desmond's imprisonment led him to arrogate for himself the dominion of the south of Ireland. He styled himself king of Munster, and right royally did he use his power. Assisted by O'Sullivan More and the M'Swineys, he invaded, in warlike array, and with banners displayed the territory of the Roches. The records of the period tell of his burning the country before him, and destroying all the corn therein—of his slaughtering great numbers of men, women and children—of his returning in triumph with a prey of seven hundred sheep, fifteen hundred kine, and a hundred horses. Fitz-Maurice of Desmond was at war with Fitz-Maurice of Lixnaw—a private quarrel, but one which involved a district. In Cashel there were two competitors for the archbishoprick, and each had his advocates. James M'Caghwell had been placed there by Elizabeth—Maurice Gibbon Reagh challenged the see as appointed and consecrated to it by the pope. The Romish bull, aided by the Irish dagger, was nearly successful. Maurice,—of Cashel, that would be,—when his right was denied by the occupant of the archiepiscopal throne, rushed upon the bishop with an Irish skean or dagger, and so wounded him that his life was for a while regarded as in danger.

On Sidney's return to Dublin he convened a parliament. On the 17th of January they met. Hooker, who sat in that parliament, tells us that the scene was more like a bear-beating than a parliament of wise and grave men. The great object of assembling the legislature was to do away with the ancient customs and exactions which had for ever interfered with the influence of the English crown, and to extend the English law to districts of Ireland in which it had not yet been received. The ecclesiastical reformation of the country was also an anxious object with the government. Fierce opposition was anticipated, and means were taken to secure a majority in the lower house, which gave the opponents of the measures of government strong grounds on which to place their resistance. Writs had been directed to towns not corporate, and which had never before been summoned to return members to parliament. In many places the sheriffs and mayors of corporate towns returned themselves. A number of Englishmen were also returned, who were totally unknown to the corporations which they were said to represent; the law, it was insisted, required that they should be residents.

The country party, as they called themselves, succeeded in the two first objections. The third was, after taking the opinion of the judges, determined against them, and this left the government a sufficient number to carry their measures.

These measures appear, like all those of Sidney, to have been conceived with wisdom. The lands of O'Neale, forfeited by late treasons,

were declared to be vested in the crown—many of his followers were pardoned and suffered to retain their lands, but with the incidents of English tenure. The chancellor was empowered to appoint commissioners for viewing all territories not reduced to English counties, and the deputy authorized, on their certificates, to reduce them into shires. It was also enacted, that no person should assume the Irish title or authority of chieftain or captain of his country, but by letters patent from the crown. The chief governor and council were also empowered to grant letters patent, whereby all those of the Irish or degenerate English race, who were disposed to surrender their lands, might be again invested with them, so as to hold them of the crown by English tenure. Other acts of great importance, and which prepared for the gradual civilization of Ireland, were passed in this parliament, but the distractions of the country prevented their having any immediate effect.

We pursue our narrative of the fated house of Desmond.

The early years of Elizabeth's reign were distracted by numberless conspiracies. The sentence of Rome had been twice solemnly pronounced, deciding against the validity of Henry's marriage with the mother of Elizabeth, and by necessary consequence denying her legitimacy. Elizabeth, on her sister's death, wrote to Sir Edward Carne, the English ambassador at Rome, to communicate her accession to the pope. The pontiff's reply was haughty and intemperate. He told Carne that "England was a fief of the Holy See;—that, being illegitimate, Elizabeth could not possibly inherit." Elizabeth instantly recalled her ambassador. Negotiations, however, to which England was no party, but in the result of which the fate of England and Elizabeth was supposed to be deeply involved, continued to be carried on at the papal court. The sovereigns of France and of Spain were at the time engaged in a game of diplomacy, and England was the stake for which they played. On the supposition of Elizabeth's illegitimacy, Mary Stuart, (queen of Scots,) who had been lately married to the French Dauphin, was the rightful queen of England; and on Mary of England's death, the queen of Scots and her husband assumed openly the arms of England. In this assumption they were countenanced and supported by the king of France, who was secretly soliciting a bull of excommunication against Elizabeth. Philip of Spain, the consort of the late queen of England, immediately upon her death, made proposals of marriage to Elizabeth, which it was Elizabeth's policy to allow her Roman Catholic subjects to believe were not altogether unfavourably received; and Philip had such hopes of ultimate success, that his agents were actively engaged at Rome in endeavouring to procure a dispensation to enable their master to marry his deceased wife's sister. The ecclesiastical state of England was such as to leave serious grounds of anxiety to the favourers of the doctrines of the Reformed Church. The bishops had been for the most part appointed during the reign of Mary, and so powerful was the effect of the sentence of Rome, denying the validity of Henry's marriage with Anne Bullen, that no archbishop would assist at the ceremonial of Elizabeth's coronation. It was a time when men's minds were violently agitated by controversies on subjects, the deep

importance of which can never die away; and it would be injustice to the actors in the scenes which we relate, to suppress the mention of the feelings by which they were inspired, and which give their true interest to what, in the language of Milton, would otherwise be of as little moment as an account of "the battles of kites and crows." The court of Rome acted, during the pontificate of Paul and of his immediate successors, in the feeling that England might be recovered to the Catholic church. Pius IV. sent two of the order of Jesuits into Ireland as his legates, besides those whom the general of the order had already placed there. Those whom Pius chose for this delicate mission were men of opposite characters: Paschase Broet was remarkable for serenity of temper, great cheerfulness, open candour, and steady prudence—qualities which had won the regard of Loyola, who named the young enthusiast his angel; Alphonso Salmeron was the other, described as powerful of voice and pen—a fiery champion of the church. These missionaries are described as acting with the enthusiasm of young and ardent devotees against the efforts of the English to introduce the doctrines of the reformation into Ireland. In a plausible document which praises their zeal, they are described as exciting insurrection wherever they went; "their exertions," it is mildly said, "became dangerous to those whom they attached to their cause." The view which was taken of their conduct in England is thus recorded in a document of the state council of the period: "What an abuse is this to bear us in hand that no harm is meant by the pope, when already he hath done as much as in him lieth to hurt us; the pope, even at this instant, hath his legate in Ireland, who is already joined with certain traitors there, and occupied in stirring a rebellion."*

We have already described the distractions of the south of Ireland. In such circumstances as Munster was now placed by the absence of Desmond, and by the want of any effective power of control in the lords justices, it is not astonishing that the disaffected there, having strong bonds of union with the continental states in their common hostility to the doctrines of the reformation, should look abroad for assistance; and accordingly we find swarms of Irish adventurers, at this period, in every court in Europe. France, Spain, and Rome, seemed to listen to every tale that gave them the hope, with Irish aid, to recover England to the Holy See. In addition to the military adventurers, whom the love of excitement, and the hope of interesting foreign powers with the proofs which they were able to bring of the certainty of support from Ireland in any meditated invasion of the British dominions, the state of ecclesiastical affairs in Ireland created another body of residents from that country in the courts of every country which remained united to the Papal See. As soon as Elizabeth had declared for the reformation, the bishops appointed in Mary's reign, who refused to conform to the new arrangements, were displaced. Their ecclesiastical title of bishops still remained, and they continued to style themselves bishops of the sees to which they had been consecrated, but from which they were forced to remove. As

* Sharon Turner's Elizabeth. Lord Somers's Tracts.

vacancies in church dignities occurred by death, Elizabeth filled the places with churchmen favourable to the reformed doctrines, and the papal court, denying her right, appointed to the same dioceses bishops of its own. The Romish claimants of episcopal rank and authority resided abroad, and were active agents of the disaffected in Ireland. While Desmond was still a prisoner in the Tower, the earl of Clancare, James Fitz-Maurice, McDonough Carthy, and others, held a meeting in Kerry, from whence they dispatched their bishops of Emley and Cashel for aid to the king of Spain, "to reform religion," and the immediate result of the mission was a supply, from the king of Spain, of a thousand targets, a great number of sword-blades, harquebusses, and other weapons.* The insurrections in Ireland during the early years of Elizabeth's reign, frantic as they may seem, if regarded as the rebellion of Irish clans against the sovereignty of England, were far from being such rash enterprises. Ireland was but one of the fields of battle, on which the great powers of Europe seemed disposed to try the question of the right to the crown of England. The bull of excommunication which all Catholic princes were invited to execute, had been already issued against Elizabeth. The same policy, which in a few years after fitted out the Armada, from the moment when Philip had lost all hopes of obtaining England by marriage, animated the counsels of Spain. Looking at the history of those times from the vantage-ground of the present, we feel that the heart of England being with Elizabeth, there could have been but little chance of a successful invasion; but, dignified as her bearing was, and well calculated to inspire the continental nations with that awe of England which they have since learned, there was much at the moment to alarm—much to create great doubt as to the event. The interests of religion at stake gave a character of sublimity to the contest, not less likely to affect those who regarded the reformation as a violent disruption of Christian unity, than the advocates of the reformed doctrines. The language of detestation in which Elizabeth is spoken of, both in the papal bulls and in the writings of the Roman Catholics of the period, is evidence of the intensity of feeling under which men acted at the time.

The agents of Spain practised successfully on the mind of James Fitz-Maurice, whom the imprisonment of his kinsman, the earl, had at once irritated, and inspired with the hope of succeeding to his vast estates and power of the family. James Fitz-Maurice O'Desmond, as his name is sometimes written, was the son of Sir Maurice Fitz-Gerald, *the Black*, as he was called, or more often *the Murderer*, from his having slain James, the thirteenth earl. Between Fitz-Maurice and the title of Desmond, according to the English laws of succession, there were none except the earl and his brothers. In more peaceful times, wilder dreams of succeeding to property less important have been indulged and realised. Fitz-Maurice, a faithful clansman, was yet one of a family seeking to assimilate themselves to Irish habits and manners, and if the law of tanistry, which on the vacancy of the chieftainry by death or otherwise, gave the sovereignty over the family to

* Sidney's Letters.

the most worthy of the name and blood, suggested to him the hope of attaining this honour, even before the death of Desmond, it was but the natural suggestion of the circumstances in which he was placed. He was a man of popular talents, and as it answered his purposes, he courted popularity; "a deep dissembler, passing subtle, and able to compass any matter he took in hand, courteous, valiant, expert in martial affairs," ardently attached to his views of religion. Such is the character which Hooker, a writer not willing to allow any merit to the unhappy Geraldines, gives to this distinguished man, who squandered his talents and his life in these miserable wars.

The communications of the insurgents in the south of Ireland with Spain were soon learned by the government. The lord-deputy at once proclaimed them traitors, and prepared for an expedition against them. Sir Peter Carew, who commanded at Kilkenny, made the first assault against the insurgents by taking Cloughgriman, a castle of Sir Edmond Butler's, which he gave to be plundered by his soldiers. He returned to Kilkenny, and was not many days there when, as he was walking in his garden, he was fired at by a man of the earl of Ormonde's. More surprise is expressed at the incident than ought to have been felt. While Carew remained at Kilkenny, news was brought him that the rebels were encamped in great numbers three miles from the town. Carew held a council with his officers, and they agreed to send out to ascertain the truth of the matter. Henry Davels, an "honest and a valiant English gentleman,"* who had served long in Ireland, and whose marriage connected him with Kilkenny, was appointed to this service. From an eminence near the town he espied a company of about two thousand men resting upon a little hill in the middle of a plain, being all armed and marching in battle array. When he returned with this report, Carew directed Captain Gilbert to charge them. Gilbert, with Davels and twelve others of the company, galloped before the rest and gave the charge. Carew followed so near "that all the company, even as it were at one instant, gave the like charge." Four hundred Irish soldiers were slain in the first onset; most of the remainder were butchered in their flight to the neighbouring mountains—"of her majesty's side no one man was slain."

Sir Peter Carew returned to Kilkenny exulting in this victory. Hooker describes every captain and soldier of his company as carrying two gallowglasses' axes in his hands, which they brought home as the spoils of a vanquished enemy. "The townsmen of Kilkenny were very sorry for the slaughter of so many men." It seems difficult to believe this utter destruction of nearly two thousand men in arms without the loss of one man on the part of the conqueror. That many of the Irish were surprised and slaughtered appears certain, and the mad-den natives were ere long in the field seeking bloody revenge. They besieged Kilkenny. The town was garrisoned and well defended, and the disappointed insurgents burned and plundered the small towns and villages in the open country. They overran and spoiled the county of Waterford, and even of Dublin. After "they had taken

* Hooker.

their pleasure in this country," they went to the county of Wexford. Ruffian outrages, committed at the fair of Enniscorthy, are particularly recorded—violation of women, and unsparing slaughters—from thence they went into Ossory and the Queen's County, and ravaged the country. In Ossory they met with the earl of Clancare and Fitz-Maurice, with whom they combined. They made arrangements for procuring aid from Scotland, and sending new messengers to the pope, and the king of Spain. All Ireland, with the exception of the English pale, is described as "imbrued and infected with this rebellion."

The earl of Ormonde, who was in England during the commencement of these disturbances, did what he could to satisfy the queen that the danger was not so great as it appeared; his own high sense of loyalty was deeply offended by his brothers' participating in the outrages; he pleaded for them with the queen, and besought her permission to serve in Ireland against them, if he could not otherwise reclaim them to allegiance. Elizabeth, who doubted not the good faith of the earl, confided to him the important trust which he sought. He arrived at Wexford on the 14th of August, 1569, the very day on which the frightful outrages were committed at the fair of Enniscorthy. Sidney had already gone down to the south, by his presence "to encourage the well affected, and to terrify the enemies of government." Ormonde found him encamped near Limerick, and brought with him his brother, Edmond Butler, in bonds. The first show of activity on the part of government was sufficient to disunite the insurgents. The earl of Clancare, who had so lately styled himself king of Munster, falling upon his knees, acknowledged his treason, and prayed her majesty's pardon, and surrendered his eldest son as a hostage to insure his fidelity. O'Brien, earl of Thomond, still held out; but on hearing of the approach of Ormonde's army, he fled to France. Through the intervention of Norris, the English ambassador at that court, he afterwards obtained his pardon.

In 1570, presidency courts of Munster and Connaught were established, in pursuance of Sidney's earnest recommendation. Sir John Perrot was the first president of Munster. He was reputed to be the natural son of Henry VIII., and to have inherited much of his father's character. From whatever source he may have derived his blood, he inherited from the Pembroke family, whose name he bore, considerable revenues;—he was not only wealthy, "but" says Hooker, "valiant and of great magnanimity, and so much the more meet to govern and tame so faithless and unruly a people as those over whom he was made ruler." The president's authority was, in his own district, all but absolute. He had power of life and death, was attended with armed guards of horse and foot, and his patent gave him the command of all the military forces in the province. Like the viceroy, he could confer the honour of knighthood. With the assistance of his chief justice and second justice, he had authority to hear and determine all complaints, to hold commissions of oyer and terminer and gaol delivery, and to hold his courts where he thought proper. All persons who had not freehold property worth five pounds a-year, or personal property of ten pounds, might be tried for any offence with which

they were charged, by martial law; and the president had authority to call on any loyal subject to assist him in prosecuting rebels with fire and sword. He could hear and decide all complaints against officers, civil and military, throughout his province, and punish the offenders at his discretion. His authority extended to putting persons, accused of high treason, to torture for the purpose of extracting confessions of guilt or accusations of their accomplices. He had also the right of reprieving all condemned persons. In short, in his own district, he had all the powers of viceroy. Like the viceroy, he had his council and his staff of officers, civil and military.* Perrot, says Hooker, was well acquainted with the character of the people among whom he was to serve; he knew that he “had to do with a sort of nettles, whose nature is, that being handled gently they sting, but being hard crushed together, they will do no harm.” “The sword, and the law,” he adds, “were the foundation of his government: by the one he persecuted the rebel and disobedient, and by the other he ruled and governed in justice and judgment.” The reduction of the rebels was necessarily the first of these duties, and never were unfortunate men followed by keener bloodhounds than those that pursued the wretched inhabitants of Desmond’s territories. Perrot followed and chased them through all their hiding places: “in the bogs he pursued them, in the thickets he followed them, in the plains he fought with them, and in their castles and holds he besieged them.” Fitz-Maurice, at last, tired and wearied out with this unremitting chase, was obliged to surrender. He flung himself at the feet of the president in Kilmallock, which town he had a few months preceding burnt and plundered, having executed the sovereign and several of the townsmen.† He made his submission in the church, in the sight of all the people, kneeling before Perrot, who held the point of his sword to Fitz-Maurice’s heart. This painful humiliation was intended to express that he owed his life to the mercy of the queen. Perrot, though he held out hopes of pardon to Fitz-Maurice, retained him as a prisoner—his followers he executed in great numbers. When order was in some degree restored, he made circuits through Munster, and held sessions and courts, and in a short time restored such confidence or inspired such fear that, “whereas, no man could before pass through the country without danger of being robbed or murdered, and no man durst turn his cattle into the fields without

* We transcribe Fynes Morrison’s statement of the expense of the presidency of Munster in the year 1598. The scale of expense in Perrot’s time was not probably materially different:—

President’s salary	£133	6	8
His diet with the Council at his table	520	0	0
Retinue of 20 foot and 30 horse	803	0	0
Chief Justice	100	0	0
Second Justice	66	13	4
Queen’s Attorney	13	6	8
Clerk of Council	20	0	0
Clerk of Crown	20	0	0
Serjeant-at-Arms	20	0	0
Provost Martial	255	10	0

£1951 16 8

† Smith’s History of Kerry.

watch; now every man with a white stick only in his hand, and with great treasures, might, and did travel without fear or danger where he would, and the white sheep did keep the black, and all the beasts lay continually in the fields without any stealing or preying.”*

Among the more anxious cares of the president, it is not without surprise that we find his attention directed to assimilating the dress of the Irish to English forms and patterns. If the cloak of the Irish peasant could be converted to one-half the uses which Spenser ascribes to it: a bed by night—a tent by day—and defending the wearer alike from the inconveniences of heat and cold—we are not surprised that all the efforts of legislation failed to make the Irish give up a garment so suitable to their uncertain climate, and to their mode of life, which exposed them with little other shelter to its many changes. The war against their costume, and their modes of wearing the hair, which afterwards occupied the statesmen of James the First’s time, was now earnestly fought by Perrot. He dealt with the disobedient in such matters as with traitors against the queen; and though in the parts of the country where his authority was absolute, in spite of a thousand capricious changes of fashion among the higher classes, the dress of the peasant still exhibits traces of the proscribed costume, yet he was for the time delighted with the effect of the reformation which he introduced;—“he suffered,” says Hooker, “no glibs nor the like usages of the Irishry to be used among the men, nor the Egyptiacal rolls upon womens’ heads to be worn, whereat, though the ladies and gentlewomen were somewhat grieved, yet they yielded, and giving the same over, did wear hats after the English manner.”

Soon after the establishment of this presidency court in Munster, Sidney was succeeded as deputy by Sir William Fitz-William. The favourite project of the age was the plantation of English settlers in such lands as by forfeiture became vested in the crown. A settlement of this kind had been attempted with strong prospects of success, at Ardes, in the county of Down. The appearance of prosperity was such as for a while to deceive the colonists; but the project was abandoned in consequence of the assassination of the son of Sir Thomas Smith, the originator of the plan. A more extensive effort at colonisation was soon after undertaken by Walter Devereux, lately created earl of Essex, on the district of Ulster, called Clan-hu-boy, which became vested in the queen by the forfeiture of the O’Neale’s. Jealousies between the lord-deputy and Essex delayed and finally defeated this proposed settlement. The Irish chieftains were maddened by the fear of projects which seemed to aim not alone at the diminution of their power, but at the utter extirpation and very extinction of their race; and the country, which Sidney had left in seeming quiet, again exhibited every where turbulence and disaffection. At this eventful moment the earl of Desmond, and his brother Sir John of Desmond, who had been sent from England as prisoners of state to Dublin, contrived to escape from their imprisonment. After being detained for several months in the castle of Dublin, they were given to the custody of the mayor. Their custody was not strict, and in a hunting party they contrived to distance mayor, aldermen

* Hooker.

and constables, and make their escape into Munster. The mayor described them as having broken their parole of honour. They had a story of their own: they said, and possibly believed, that it was intended to waylay and murder them,—that flight was their only security.

On Desmond's escape, a proclamation was issued, declaring him a traitor—a reward of £1000 with £40 a-year was offered to any one who should bring him in alive, and £500 and £20 a-year pension to him who should bring in his head.

Immediately on his arrival in Munster, a confederacy was entered into between him and his principal adherents, who bound themselves by oath neither to spare life or fortune in his defence. They signed an engagement to this effect on the 18th of July, 1574. Letters too were about this time intercepted from the pope, exhorting the Irish to persevere in their opposition to the government of the heretical queen, promising supplies of arms and money, with such plenary indulgences to the champions of this holy war, as were usually granted to the armies of the faithful warring against infidels, and promises of absolution to themselves and their posterity to the third generation.* Desmond, however, found the means of quieting the suspicions of the government as they felt themselves unprepared for active measures against him. He was permitted to renew his engagements of submission and allegiance, and on Perrot's being recalled from the presidentship of Munster, he was appointed one of the council to assist his successor, Sir William Drury. Fitz-William was now recalled, and Sidney again bore the sword of state with increased powers, and with an assurance of an annual remittance of twenty thousand pounds in aid of the ordinary revenues of Ireland. A plague which raged in Dublin, and the disturbances in Ulster, made him proceed to that province before going to the capital. His presence restored tranquillity. He continued his circuit through the other provinces, and, with a force of but six hundred men, without encountering the slightest opposition, suppressed all appearances at least of disaffection. In his progress through the south he lodged three nights at Dungarvan castle, to which place the earl of Desmond came to him and humbly offered him any service he was able to do the queen. From Dungarvan, Sidney passed into Sir John of Desmond's country, in the county of Cork. From Sir John of Desmond's he arrived at Lord Barry's; and, on the 23d of December, reached Cork, where he was received with every demonstration of joy. The earls of Desmond, of Thomond, and of Clancare, waited upon him in Cork, with the bishops of Cashel, Cork, and Ross; viscounts Barry and Roche; the barons de Courcy, Lixnaw, Dunboyne, Power, Barry-Oge, and Lowth; Sir Donald McCarthy, Reagh of Carbery, and Sir Cormac Teige McCarthy of Muskerry; the latter "the rarest man for obedience to the queen, and to her laws, and disposition for civility, that he had met among the Irishry."

He was also attended by Sir Owen O'Sullivan, and the son and heir of O'Sullivan More, his father being too old and infirm to attend; by O'Carroll of Ely O'Carroll, and M'Donough, each of whom, he, says, might for his lands rank with any baron of England or Ireland.†

* Leland.—Phelau.

† Colins's State Letters.

O'Mahon, and O'Driscoll, each of whom had lands enough to live like a knight in England, attended, and the sons of M'Auliffe and O'Callaghan represented their aged fathers. Sir Maurice Fitz-Gerald of the Decies, and Sir Theobald Butler of Cahir, were there. Some worthies of more doubtful character and aspect made their bow at these crowded levees. Five brothers, and three sons of two other brothers, all captains of gallowglasses, armed in mail and bassenet, holding in their hands weapons like the axes of the Tower,* the M'Swineys, whose enmity was dreaded, and whose friendship was courted by the greatest men of the province, stood like Indian warriors offering the service of their axes to the deputy. In the same circle stood Arundels, Rochforts, Barrets, Flemings, Lombards, Terrys, eyeing the M'Swineys with well-merited distrust. These were men of English descent, whose ancestors had lived like gentlemen and knights, but who were ruined by the oppressive wars of the greater potentates and the plunders of the M'Swineys. All spoke with detestation, real or affected, of their barbarous mode of living. They offered fealty to her majesty, surrendered their lands to her, and agreed to hold them by English tenure. All these lords, with their ladies, attended Sidney during the Christmas at Cork, and "kept very plentiful and hospitable houses." It was a period of confidence and festivity. Sessions of gaol delivery were held from the morrow after twelfth day to the end of January. The dignity of the law was sustained by the execution of several notable malefactors, and the attainder of some of the principal persons engaged in the late disturbances. Sidney next visited Limerick, where he was received with greater magnificence than he had before witnessed in Ireland. Numbers of the principal inhabitants of Limerick and the neighbouring counties, both those of English descent and the aboriginal Irish, repaired to meet him. They complained of the waste and misery occasioned by their great men; they entreated him for English forces to protect them, and English sheriffs to execute the laws. They also sought permission to surrender their lands and to hold them of the queen. The counties of Kerry and Tipperary, being palatinate counties, he did not visit; but in the letter from which we make these extracts, he states, in the strongest manner, his conviction that no perfect reformation could exist in Munster till the privileges claimed by the earls palatine were abolished, and the grants resumed.

Drury did not wait for the slow process of legislation, or for any formal resumption of the grants; he disregarded the old patents under which Desmond claimed his privileges, and determined, as lord-president of Munster, to hold his courts within the privileged territories, which had become a sanctuary for every malefactor who sought to escape justice. Desmond resisted, and with warmth pleaded his palatine rights. When he found resistance useless, he spoke of an appeal to the lord-deputy, and still protesting against the usurpation, said, that as the lord-president was determined to hold his court in Kerry, it was his duty respectfully to submit, and he invited Drury, when his progress led him through that part of Kerry, to reside in his castle at

* Sentleger.

Tralee. Drury was unsuspecting, and he travelled through the country with an attendance of but six or seven score men. As he approached the castle of Tralee, he was astonished to behold a body of seven or eight hundred armed men, who shouted violently as the president's little party approached. It was a moment of serious alarm, and the president, having consulted with his company, charged the armed party, who in the instant retired and dispersed among the woods, without returning the charge. The countess of Desmond soon after approached. She assured the president that the body of men whom he supposed to be enemies had never intended hostilities, that the shouts which he mistook for battle-cries were the national mode of welcome; that the earl had assembled his principal friends and retainers to greet the lord-president; and that they were assembled to entertain him with the sport of hunting—the favourite pastime of the country. Drury believed, or affected to believe this account of the matter, which was probably true. He accepted the hospitality of the earl, but pursued his determination, and held his courts and sessions through the whole of the earl's palatinate.

Desmond's complaint had the show, perhaps the reality, of right, though in favour of Drury it must be said that in the original patent creating the palatinate certain pleas were reserved to the crown, and only cognizable by the king's judges. Desmond, too, on his late submission, had made an absolute surrender of all his lands to the queen, with promises to execute any conveyances she might direct of them. Fierce hostility, however, against Drury, was the result of the experiment made of invading the earl's territory.

The negotiations of the discontented in Ireland with the continental states, did not cease during this troubled time. Stukely, an adventurer of English birth, a man of profligate habits, and desperate fortunes, was actively engaged at the court of Rome, and the writers who relate the events of this period tell us that he succeeded in persuading Gregory the XIII., who was then supreme pontiff, that nothing could be easier than to obtain the throne of Ireland for an Italian nobleman, the nephew or son* of Gregory. The invasion and conquest of Ireland was to be the work of Spain. When this island was won, the rest of her dominions might soon be torn from Elizabeth, and the crown of England was to be Philip's reward. Eight hundred Italians were raised for this service, and placed under Stukely's command. They were to be paid by the king of Spain. Gregory, who seems already to have regarded Ireland as his own, had the audacity to confer upon Stukely the titles of Marquis of Leinster and earl of Wexford and Carlow. The impression of Stukely's military talents was such as to occasion considerable alarm to the government. All danger, however, from that quarter was soon at an end. He had embarked at Civitta Vecchia, and arrived at Lisbon at the time when Sebastian was setting out on the romantic African expedition which had such a disastrous termination. Sebastian succeeded in persuading him to join him in this expedition, promising that on their return he would assist in the invasion of Ireland. The consent of the king of Spain was easily obtained to this arrangement. Stukely fought gallantly at

* Hume calls him his *nephew*, Cox, Leland, Phelau, and Sharon Turner, *his son*.

Alcazar, holding in his hand the banner of Portugal; but was, on the day of battle, murdered by the Italian soldiers whom he had involved in this unfortunate adventure.* A cloud which has never been dispersed rests upon the fate of Sebastian.

At the same time that Stukely was engaged in his negotiations with Rome, Fitz-Maurice, burning with indignation at the humiliating condition to which he had been exposed by Drury, repaired first to Spain, and afterwards to the court of France, and urged upon Henry with anxiety the invasion of Ireland. After two years of lingering expectation he was contemptuously dismissed by the king with a promise that he would intercede with the queen of England for his pardon. He left France and returned to Spain, where his communications were better received. Philip sent him to the pope. Saunders, an English ecclesiastic, distinguished for his hatred of the reformed doctrines, and Allen, an Irish Jesuit, were able to satisfy the pope of the probable success of an Irish insurrection. A banner exhibiting the arms of the holy see, was consecrated with many religious ceremonies, and delivered to Fitz-Maurice. Proclamations were issued, addressed to the people of Ireland, in which Elizabeth was described as "that evil woman who has departed from the Lord, and the Lord from her."† An expedition was resolved upon at once. About fourscore Spaniards, and some English and Irish fugitives, with Allen and Saunders, embarked with Fitz-Maurice. Saunders was appointed legate by Gregory. They landed in the beginning of July, 1579, at Smerwicke, or St Marywicke, on the western coast of Kerry, and built a fort in the west side of the bay. "The two doctors," says Hooker, "hallowed the place" after the manner of their religion, and assured the invaders that no enemy should dare to come upon them, "and yet," he adds, "they were beguiled." A ship of war, commanded by a Devonshire man, Thomas Courtenay, was at the time lying in the bay of Kinsale. Henry Davels, a name that has before occurred and must again be mentioned in this narrative, suggested to Courtenay the practicability of taking the three vessels in which the Spaniards had arrived, which were at anchor near Smerwicke. The wind was favourable. Courtenay doubled the point of land and succeeded in taking the vessels, thus cutting off from the invaders all power of retreat. Intelligence of their landing was soon communicated to John and James of Desmond, the earl's brothers, and through them to the whole country. They had looked for the return of Fitz-Maurice, and immediately repaired to him with all their tenants and retainers. The earl, on hearing that the Spaniards had landed, made immediate preparations to resist them, and wrote to the earl of Clancare to assemble such forces as he could command, and join him in attacking the enemy at Smerwicke. McCarthy came, but seeing reason to distrust the earl's sincerity, he ceased to act with him, and dismissed his company.

Sidney had left Ireland in the May of the preceding year, and Drury, the late president of Munster, held the office of lord-justice. As Sidney entered the vessel which was to convey him to England, he was heard to recite, in a lamenting tone, the words with which the hundred and fourteenth Psalm commences:—"When Israel went out

* Evans's old ballads, vol. ii.

† Phelan's Remains, Vol. ii.

of Egypt, the house of Jacob from a people of a strange language," &c. A wiser or a better man than Sidney never held in Ireland the perilous and thankless office of viceroy. But our immediate task is the biography of Desmond, and other opportunities will occur in the course of our work to exhibit the sound policy of the course of government which he sought to establish. "The Romish cocatrice," says Hooker, "which had long sat upon her eggs, had now hatched her chickens." By this metaphor does he describe the religious insurrections in the south of Ireland. When Drury learned that Fitz-Maurice had landed with his Spaniards, he ordered Henry Davels to summon Desmond and his brothers to prepare themselves to assist him in attacking the fort at Smerwicke. Davels, after an interview with the Desmonds, inspected the fort, and returned to the earl endeavouring to persuade him that it could be easily taken. The earl's heart, it would seem, was with the Spaniards, and on one pretence or another he declined the service. "My shot," said the earl, "is more meet to shoot at wild fowl, than to adventure such a piece of service. My gallowglasses are good men to encounter with gallowglasses, and not to answer old soldiers."

Davels and Carter, the provost martial, who accompanied him on this errand, took leave of the earl on their return to the lord-justice. They rested for the night near Desmond's castle of Tralee, in a victualling-house or wine tavern; the house being strong and defensible.* Their servants were dispersed wherever they could find lodgings in the adjoining town. John of Desmond had secretly followed Davels to Tralee, and bribed the person in whose house he lodged to leave the gates and doors open. Davels and Carter, suspecting nothing, retired to their beds. At midnight they were suddenly awakened from sleep by the glare of lights, and the voices of men in their chamber, with swords drawn. When Davels recognised John of Desmond, his confidence was for a moment restored—for he and John of Desmond had been for a long time to all appearance attached friends. During the earlier part of the earl's imprisonment, Davels had been associated with Sir John in the temporary government of the earl's territories. He had assisted him in the various exigencies in which his turbulent spirit for ever involved him—had with his money released him from prison more than once, and was even the means of saving his life when charged with capital crimes. The relation between them seemed to be that of father and adopted child, "*My son*," said Davels, "what is the matter?" The answer of Desmond was, "no more of *son*, no more of *father*; make thyself ready, for die thou shalt;" and immediately he and his men struck at Davels and Carter, and murdered them. The strange motive assigned for this fiendish atrocity, by all the writers who record it, is that the Spaniards were distrustful of the sincerity of the Desmonds—and that John committed this dreadful act to prove to them that he was pledged to their cause, as far as utter hopelessness of reconciliation with the government, which such an act would render impossible, could pledge him.

* Hooker. Other writers describe the murder as taking place in the castle of Tralee.

Fitz-Maurice, when he heard of the manner of Davels' death, was shocked. To murder a man naked in his bed, "when he might have had advantage of him, either by the highways or otherwise, to his commendation," was not consistent with Fitz-Maurice's notions of fair dealing with either friend or enemy. The earl, too, was grieved and offended, and it was thought that this act would separate him for ever from his brother; but the earl was the weakest of men, and seems to have been a mere instrument in the hands of others. At this time there was with him an Englishman, Applesby, whom the fate of Davels taught apprehension for himself. He succeeded in persuading the earl to retire to his castle of Asceaton, in the county of Limerick, there to wait the lord-justice's arrival, and to join with him in serving against the insurgents. The earl followed the advice so far as removing to Asceaton, where "he lay close and did nothing." He affected to disapprove of Fitz-Maurice's doings, but did nothing to discountenance his followers from joining his standard. The Spaniards, in spite of numbers of the country people repairing to Smerwicke, felt that they were not supported as they had been given reason to hope—and Fitz-Maurice found some difficulty in keeping them together. He determined to see what his own presence would do in rousing the disaffected in Ulster and Connaught, and with this view left the fort, telling the Spaniards that he would first go to Holy Cross, in Tipperary, to perform a vow made by him in Spain. Journeying with three or four horsemen and a dozen kernes, he passed through the county of Limerick and came into the country of Sir William de Burgo, his kinsman, and who had joined actively with him in the insurrection of a few years before. Fitz-Maurice's horses were fatigued, and could go no farther; he seized some which he saw ploughing in a field and pressed them into his service. The horses were De Burgo's, whose sons, as soon as they heard of this depredation, pursued Fitz-Maurice's party. A quarrel ensued, and the skirmish became earnest and furious. Two of the De Burgos were slain—and Fitz-Maurice, shot with a bullet through the head, shared their fate. The loyal indignation of the lord-justice was wasted on the corse of Fitz-Maurice. The dead body was exposed on a gibbet and the head set over one of the town gates of Kilmallock. The queen wrote to Sir William de Burgo, a letter of thanks and of condolence—and created him baron of Castle Connell. De Burgo was old and feeble; and the emotion of these events was more than he could bear. He fainted while reading the queen's letter, and died soon after.

On the death of Fitz-Maurice, Sir John Desmond assumed the command of the Spaniards at Smerwicke—and soon afterwards had letters from Rome, appointing him general in the place of Fitz-Maurice. Drury, on hearing of the murder of Davels, marched to the south. His whole disposable force was four hundred foot, and two hundred horse. He had with him of Englishmen, Sir Nicholas Malbie; Wingfield, master of the ordnance; Waterhouse, Fitton, and Masterson. Some of the Irish lords, who brought forces of their own, accompanied him. They were the earl of Kildare; Sir Lucas Dillon, chief baron; lord Mountgarret, the baron of Upper Ossory, and the baron of Dunboyne. They brought about two hundred horsemen, besides footmen and kernes. They

marched by as rapid journeys as they could till they came to Kilmallock, where they encamped. Drury wrote to the earl of Desmond and the chief persons in the neighbourhood, calling upon them to assist him.

The earl came to Drury's camp, with a formidable company of both horse and foot. Suspicions, however, of his loyalty arose of such a kind, that Drury committed him to the custody of the knight marshal. He made new protestations and promises, and was released from custody.

The earl was scarcely at freedom, when news was brought to Drury that John of Desmond was encamped with a great company of rebels, upon the borders of Slievegher. For nine weeks he left the royal army no rest either night or day, and on one occasion succeeded in cutting off two parties of one hundred men each, under the command of Captains Herbert and Price; Price and Herbert were both slain. Additional forces arrived from England, and Sir John Perrot, the late president, landed at Cork, with six ships of war to guard the coast, and deprive the rebels of all foreign assistance. The earl of Desmond no sooner obtained his liberty, than he separated from Drury, sending occasional letters, but avoiding to give any assistance. The countess of Desmond waited upon Drury, pleading in behalf of her husband, and she placed in his hands her only son, as a hostage for the earl's fidelity. This campaign was too much for Drury's health; he placed the command of the army in the hands of Sir Nicholas Malbie, and went by easy stages to Waterford; Drury felt that he was dying; his last act was an effort to serve the queen by encouraging as far he could the officers sent with Perrot to active exertion. At Kilmallock he had bestowed the honour of knighthood on Bouchier, Stanley, Carew, Moore, and he now almost at the moment of death gave the same honour to Pelham, Gorges, Thomas Perrot, son and heir of Sir John Perrot, and to Patrick Welsh, mayor of Waterford.

Malbie's first act, after Drury's retirement to Waterford, was to send for the earl of Desmond, who received his letters, and on one frivolous pretence or another, refused to leave his castle of Asceaton, whither he had again retreated. Malbie, on finding all applications to the earl were worse than fruitless, abandoned him to his inevitable fate. Malbie had great experience in military affairs, "having served under sundry kings and in strange nations." A student—a traveller, and an observer—how contrasted with the feeble and irresolute Desmond, who thought that his shallow artifices were deceiving him! His forces consisted of one hundred and fifty horse and nine hundred foot. He sent Bouchier, Dowdal, and Sentleger, to Kilmallock, with three hundred foot and fifty horse, to garrison that well fortified and well situated town, the importance of possessing which was felt alike by both parties; with the rest of his company he marched to the city of Limerick, to recruit his harassed soldiers. He again sent to Desmond, but with the same unsatisfactory result. The same shallow duplicity still marked all the earl's answers.

Malbie was encamped in the fields near Limerick, when intelligence was brought him that the rebel camp was at Connillo, some eight or nine miles off; he marched towards them, and "being come to an abbey called Manisternenagh, seven miles from Limerick, there ap-

appeared a great company in a plain field, both of horsemen and footmen, in estimation two thousand or thereabouts, marching in battle array, and had cast out their wings of shot, and placed every thing very well and orderly." Malbie soon made his disposition to give them battle. John of Desmond, who was at the head of the insurgent's army, wished to avoid an engagement, but the ecclesiastic Allen, encouraged him with assurances of miraculous aid and certain victory. Sir John displayed the papal banner, placed his men, horse and foot, to the best advantage. In disposing his men, and making arrangements for the battle, he was assisted by the experience of the Spanish officers, who had by this time abandoned their fort at Smerwicke, and were employed in fortifying Desmond's castles, and disciplining his army for the field.

"The governor," we borrow Hooker's language, "setteth on wards and giveth the onset upon them with his shot, who valiantly resisted the first and second volées, and answered the fight very well, even the couching of the pikes, that the matter stood very doubtful. But the Englishmen so fiercely and desperately set upon them with the third volée, that they were discomfited, and had the overthrow given them, and fled. John of Desmond put spurs to his horse, showing a fair pair of heels, which was better to him than two pair of hands." Two hundred of his men were slain, and among them Allen.

The earl of Desmond, and the baron of Lixnaw, viewed the engagement from a wooded eminence, which, in memory of the day, with reference to the original meaning of the word Tory, is called Tory Hill.

The patience of the English government with individuals seems as remarkable as their determination to rule the nation according to their own notions of policy. For certainly the engagements made by the Irish nobles, whether of English or native descent, were seldom entered into with good faith. Lixnaw's son had an office in the court of Elizabeth, and was now in Ireland on a visit to his father. His assistance was given to the rebels. We preserve the language of provocation into which one of the historians of the period is excited. "He was no sooner come home, than away with his English attire, and on with his brogs, his shirt, and other Irish rags, being become as very a traitor as the veriest knave of them all, and so for the most part they are all, as daily experience teacheth, dissemble they never so much to the contrary. For like as Jupiter's cat, let her be transformed to never so fair a lady, and let her be never so well attired, and accompanied with the best ladies, let her be never so well esteemed and honoured, yet if the mouse come once in her sight, she will be a cat and show her kind."

The earl, when the victory was decided, wrote letters of congratulation to Malbie, which were coldly answered; a personal interview was requested, which Desmond still evaded. In a few days he learned that papers had been found on Allen's person which left no doubt of the earl's participation in the treason of his brothers. Detection rendered him desperate. He attacked the English camp at Rathkeale, in person, on two successive nights, and lost several of his people. Even after this, Malbie wrote to him, conjuring him to return to his allegiance. He replied, "that he owed no allegiance to the queen, and would no longer yield her obedience," and proceeded to fortify his castles of

Asceaton and Carrigfoile. Malbie garrisoned Rathkeale, and proceeded to attack Asceaton, when news was brought of Drury's death, which terminated Malbie's deputed authority.

Sir William Pelham succeeded Drury as lord-justice. The earl of Ormonde was appointed governor of Munster. Pelham immediately proceeded to the disturbed districts, and summoned Desmond to meet him at Cashel. Desmond did not attend, but sent his countess with some vague excuse. A council was called, and it was agreed that Ormonde should confer with the earl, and require his distinct answer to the following propositions:—

1st, That he should deliver up Doctor Saunders and the Spaniards.

2d, That he should deliver up either the castle of Asceaton, or of Carrigfoile, as a pledge of his good behaviour.

3dly, That he submit himself and his cause to the judgment of her majesty and council in England, or to the lord-justice and council in Ireland.

4thly, That he assist and aid the earl of Ormonde in prosecuting the war against his brothers and other traitors.

The interview was unavailing. Desmond's replies were evasive, and his only object seemed to be delay. Pelham then published a proclamation, declaring Desmond a traitor; lords Gormanstown and Delvin refused to sign the proclamation, for which they were afterwards severely reprimanded by the government of England.* Within an hour after the proclamation was issued, the countess of Desmond came to the camp, but the camp was already broken up, and Ormonde's soldiers were destroying before them whatever fire and sword could consume. The day the earl was proclaimed, he had already set up his standard at Ballyhowra, in the county of Cork. This place, which we call by its Irish name, is part of the mountain range which Spenser, who came over as secretary to lord Grey of Wilton, the next lord-deputy, has rendered familiar to the English reader by the name of *Mole*. Desmond attacked and plundered Youghal, which he kept possession of for five days. The Irish annalists, disposed as they are to defend every act of his, describe him as not sparing even the churches; they tell of his soldiers "polluting and defiling whatever was most sacred, bringing every thing to utter confusion and desolation, and making havoe as well of sacred vestments and chalices as of any other chattels." The Spaniards in Desmond's army were shocked at this wicked exploit, perceiving by the furniture and ornaments of the churches that the townsmen were all Catholics. They refrained from plunder, and were reproved by their Irish companions in arms; they answered, that they ought not to rob better Christians than themselves. "One of the Spaniards cut his cloak as St Martin did, in five parts, and distributed the same on five children that were stripped of their cloathes, and left naked by some of the kernes."† The subsequent calamities that befell Desmond and his illustrious house, are referred by the authorities to whom we owe these details, to the judgment of heaven against this sacrilege.

Whatever plunder the town afforded, was carried off to the castles

* Cox. † Theatre of Catholic and Protestant Religion. Curry's Civil Wars.

of Strangically and Lisfleen in the county of Waterford, which were garrisoned by Spaniards. Desmond himself returned to his old haunts in the county of Limerick. Ormonde, in a skirmish at Newcastle in that county, lost some of his men under circumstances that increased his fury against the earl. The policy of destroying every thing belonging to the earl or his retainers, was now relentlessly acted on. Houses, towns, and villages, were everywhere devastated and destroyed. The mayor of Youghal, whose treachery or cowardice had surrendered that town to Desmond, was taken in Cashel, brought to Youghal, and hanged before his own door. On the entrance of the queen's army into Youghal, they found it all desolate, no one man, woman, or child, within the walls, except one friar. We regret that the friar's name is not preserved, for in those dreadful days he ventured upon what must have been a dangerous act of humanity. He was at Tralee during the dreadful tragedy of Davels' murder, and he brought the body of Davels to Waterford, that it might receive the rites of Christian burial.

Desmond had now so openly connected himself with the rebellion, that his sending an arrogant letter to the lord-justice, stating that he and his followers had entered into the defence of the Catholic faith, with authority from the pope, and in concert with the king of Spain, and calling on Pelham to join them, can scarcely be regarded as an aggravation of his treason. The lord-justice and Ormonde, early in the year 1580, entered Kerry, burnt the country up to the mountains of Sleevlogher, and slew four or five hundred men. Pelham then besieged Carrigfoile which was garrisoned with nineteen Spaniards and fifty Irish, commanded by Julio, an Italian engineer. The castle was taken, after considerable resistance, and the whole garrison put to the sword or hanged.

Asceaton castle was, at the same time besieged. The garrison, fearing the fate of that at Carrigfoile, contrived to evacuate the castle. They abandoned it at night, leaving a train of powder to set it on fire. Great part was consumed, but the principal towers remained uninjured.

Every one of Desmond's castles were soon taken and garrisoned by the queen's forces. His vast estates were one wide scene of devastation. He himself, with his countess and with Saunders, wandered from one mountain fastness to another, in momentary fear of being taken. His youngest brother, James of Desmond, whose birth had but three and twenty years before been celebrated with unusual rejoicing, and at whose baptism lord-deputy Sussex had attended, was seized in the act of carrying off a prey of cattle from the lands of Sir Cormac M'Carthy. The party who assisted him in this plunder must have been considerable, for an hundred and fifty of them are said to have been killed on this occasion by the M'Carthys. James was mortally wounded, taken prisoner, and executed with every circumstance of cruel indignity, in the city of Cork. The misfortunes of the surviving parties were aggravated by mutual recrimination, and John of Desmond and Saunders left the earl in the hope of being able to join lord Balinglass, who, with one of the Fitz-Geralds of Kildare, was in arms in Kildare. The garrison at Kilmallock intercepted their little party,

which consisted but of four. Sir John and Saunders succeeded in escaping the immediate danger; but being unable to elude the vigilance of the English so far as to make their way to lord Baltinglass's army, returned to their haunts in the mountain fastnesses of Aherlow. Of the others one was slain, and the fourth, a friar named Hayes, was taken, and supplied his captors with evidence of the earl's connexion with the treasons of his brothers, so far back as the time of Fitz-Maurice's landing with the Spaniards. This was felt of moment, as at the very date of the proclamation declaring him a traitor, there was but little evidence of any overt act of treason against him.

Lord Grey of Wilton, the newly-appointed viceroy, had already arrived in Dublin with orders to spare no resources of the government in order at once to crush the rebellion in Ireland, and he was impatient of an hour's delay. Even before Pelham, the lord-justice, could return from the south to deliver to him the sword of state, he ordered the officers who waited upon him at his arrival, to proceed to dislodge from their haunts in the Wicklow mountains the formidable body of insurgents whom we have before mentioned, as under the command of lord Baltinglass. With Baltinglass was Pheon Mac-Hugh, chief of the sept of the O'Byrnes, and one of the Leinster Fitz-Geralds, a kinsman of the earl of Kildare. They were encamped in what was then called "the fastness of the glen," the valley of Glendalough, about twenty miles from Dublin. The valley was one of considerable length, lying among lofty and abrupt hills, the soil marshy and sinking under the foot; and where a firmer footing could be obtained, perplexed with rocks which could not be passed without great difficulty even by men unencumbered with arms; the sides of the steep mountains, through which the valley wound, were dark with ancient forest and underwood. The officers whom Grey ordered to this service, knew that he was leading them to almost inevitable destruction, but did not venture to remonstrate.

When Fitz-Gerald heard of this determination, he concealed himself and his men among the trees on both sides of the valley, and when the English had advanced about half-a-mile, at one of the most entangled parts of the valley, they were fired upon with murderous execution; Moore, Audley, Cosbie, and Sir Peter Carew, distinguished officers, were slain. George Carew, whom we shall have occasion to mention in the after wars of Ireland, was forcibly prevented by his uncle, Wingfield, the master of the ordnance, from joining his brother in this day's rash service. The party in advance, both officers and soldiers, were almost to a man slain; the rest retreated as they best could, scrambling over rocks and sinking amid marshes. The Irish commenced a pursuit, but retired into their woods on the approach of the deputy, who, with his staff and a party of horsemen, was stationed on the side of the mountain. He returned to Dublin, dispirited, and awaited the return of Pelham from the south of Ireland to be sworn into office.

This success of the insurgents in Wicklow, gave the disaffected in Munster momentary hope, which was increased by the circumstance of vessels from Spain finding an opportunity of baffling the vigilance of admiral Winter, and landing at Smerwicke seven hundred Spaniards,

with arms for five thousand men. They brought cannon, ammunition, and money, which they were directed to deliver to the earl of Desmond, his brother John, and Saunders. They added new works to the fort which Fitz-Maurice had begun, and called their fortress the *Fort del ore*, or Golden Fortress. Ormonde marched against the invaders. On hearing of his approach, they fled to the neighbouring woods of Glanigalt, a fastness resembling in many points that of Glendalough, and equally dangerous to an invading enemy. Ormonde did not think of pursuing them to the desolate glens and precipitous hills, whither the greater part of them, led by the country people, escaped. While Ormonde rested for the night, a party of Spaniards, about three hundred, returned to their fortress, and re-occupied it. After sallies from the fort, and some skirmishes between the Spaniards and Ormonde, he retired to Rathkeale, where he was met by the lord-deputy.

Sir William Winter had now returned. Grey encamped as near the fort as he could, and Winter, with his vice-admiral Bingham, besieged it at sea. After considerable resistance, the fort, which the Spaniards described themselves as holding for the pope and the king of Spain, was taken. The garrison sought to obtain terms: Grey would grant none. He was fighting, he said, against men who had no regular commission either from the king of Spain, or from the pope, and who were but private adventurers giving their assistance to traitors. They surrendered at discretion—Wingfield disarmed them, and an English company then took possession of the fort. The commander, and a few of the officers, were made prisoners of war. The garrison were put to the sword. This execrable service was executed by Raleigh. Grey is said to have shed tears at the determination of the court-martial; and Elizabeth, to have expressed pain and displeasure at the event. On the continent, where a false statement was circulated of Grey's having made terms with the foreigners that they should be permitted to depart in safety, and with all the honours of war, the account was received with horror.*

With the destruction of the Spanish fort, Desmond's last hope expired. His extensive territories were one wild solitude—and he himself a houseless fugitive, sheltering with a few of the humblest of his retainers among the woods. Famine and disease now came to add to the inflictions of war. Spenser has given a picture of the scene which, though often quoted, we cannot omit:—"Out of the corners of the woods and glens the natives came creeping forth upon their hands, for their legs could not bear them; they looked like anatomies of death; they spoke like ghosts crying out of their graves; they did eat the dead carions, happy when they could find them, yea, and one another soon after; insomuch as the very carcasses they spared not to scrape out of their graves; and if they found a plot of water-cresses or sham-rocks, there they flocked as to a feast for the time, yet not able to continue therewithal, that in short space, there was none almost left, and a most plentiful and populous country suddenly left void of man and beast."†

A yet more shocking account is given by another faithworthy writer.

* Leland. Cambden.

† Spenser. State of Ireland.

We feel it a painful duty to transcribe the loathsome details, that the horrors which accompany civil war may be if possible fully felt. We slightly abridge the language of our authority:—"Famine followed; whom the sword did not destroy, the same did consume and eat out. They were not only driven to eat horses, dogs, and dead carrion, but also the carcasses of dead men. In Cork, a malefactor was executed, and left on the gallows. The poor people came secretly, took him down and ate him. A ship was wrecked at Smerwicke, and the dead bodies which were washed on shore, were devoured greedily. The land itself, which before these wars, was populous and well inhabited, was now become barren both of man and beast. From one end of Munster to another, from Waterford to Smerwicke, a distance of one hundred and twenty miles, no man, woman, or child was to be met except in the towns, nor any beast but the very wolves, the foxes, and other like ravening beasts."*

Several narrow escapes of Desmond from the parties in pursuit of him and his brother, are recorded. The movements of John were betrayed by one of his associates to Zouch, a distinguished English officer, who succeeded in coming up with him. He was killed by Zouch's party. His head was sent to Dublin—his body to Cork, where it was exposed hanging by the heels over the north gate of the city. His head was placed on one of the turrets of Dublin castle. We wish that we could suppress all record of such acts as these. Their effect is to create ferocity, demoniacal cruelty, and burning revenge. Saunders sunk under the fatigues of a wandering life—he was found dead in the woods—his body mutilated by wolves and birds of prey.

The earl had now survived all his brothers—his son was in the hands of Elizabeth—his countess, occasionally sharing his abject fortunes, occasionally seeking interviews with such of the court as she thought would assist her in obtaining any terms for her unhappy husband. Allen and Saunders were both dead. The unhappy earl had none to advise with, but some hunted priest, or poor gallowglass, or woodkerne. In his misery he wrote to Ormonde a letter, which we transcribe.—"My lord, great is my grief, when I think how heavily her majesty is bent to disfavor me; and howbeit, I carry the name of an undutiful subject, yet God knoweth that my heart and mind are always most loyally inclined to serve my most loving prince, so it may please her highness to remove her displeasure from me. As I may not condemn myself of disloyalty to her majesty, so I cannot excuse my faults, but must confess I have incurred her majesty's indignation; yet when the cause and means which were found to make me commit folly shall be known to her highness, I rest in an assured hope that her most gracious majesty will think of me as my heart deserveth, as also of those who wrong my heart with undutifulness. From my heart I am sorry that folly, bad counsels, slights, or any other things, have made me forget my duty; and therefore, I am most desirous to get conference with your lordship, to the end I may open and declare to you, how tyraneously I was used; humbly craving that you will appoint some time and place, when and where I may attend your honour; and

* Chronicles of Ireland in continuation of Holinshed.

then I doubt not to make it appear how dutiful a mind I carry; how faithfully I have, at my own charge, served her majesty before I was proclaimed; how sorrowful I am for my offences, and how faithfully I am affected ever hereafter to serve her majesty: and so I commit your lordship to God. (Subscribed) GIRALD DESMOND."

This letter was disregarded. We approach the termination of this tragical story. Desmond continued to hide himself in woods and bogs, shifting his quarters often, both for the purpose of concealment, and because his whole means of subsistence was derived from the success of his followers in taking preys of cattle. In the earl's better days, such exactions were not unknown, and the customs of the country clothed them with some pretence of right, when the demand was confined to the cattle of his own vassals. In the present exigencies of the earl, the same acts were felt as plunder. In the autumn of 1582, the earl had his retreat in the mountains above Glencely, and in the fastness of Aherlow; in the winter "he kept his christmas" in Kilquieg wood, near Kilmallock. His hiding place was discovered by the garrison at Kilmallock, and an effort made to surprise and take him was nearly successful. A wide river, swelled at that time by the the winter rains, between Kilquieg and Kilmallock, must be crossed before the earl's cabin could be reached. The party who thought to have taken him crossed the river on rafts made of hurdles. At break of day they were at the earl's cabin, but the underwood grew so close round this miserable place of shelter, and the ground at the side of the house was so miry that the military party moved at a few spears' paces from the walls; before they reached the door the earl was alarmed by the noise of their approach, and ran into the river that flowed by the cabin. He was accompanied by the countess, and the soldiers searched the place in vain. Dowdal, the captain of the garrison at Kilmallock, led the party engaged in the pursuit of Desmond.

The earl, driven from Kilquieg, returned to the Aherlow mountains. Some three score gallowglasses now joined him. Their mode of sustenance was by such plunder of cattle as we have before mentioned. "Like a sort of deer," says one of the old chroniclers of the period, "they lay upon their keepings, and so fearful were they, that they would not tarry in any one place any long time; but where they did dress their meat, thence would they remove and eat it in another place, and from thence into another place to lie. In the night they would watch, in the forenoons they would be upon the hills and vallies to descry the country, and in the afternoon they would sleep." A detachment from the garrison at Kilmallock surprised them in the night, when some were asleep, and some feeding upon a horse which they had just stolen, for they were without other food. Most of them were slain. When this party of gallowglasses was destroyed, the rest of the Irish rebels were so dismayed that all disturbances ceased in Munster.

The earl, thus hunted from the mountains of Limerick and Tipperary, repaired to Kerry, and was discovered by lord Roche's men, and Dowdal, his indefatigable pursuer, to be lurking in the woods near Dingle. Goron M'Swiney, one of the captains of gallowglasses, who,

a few years before, had made his appearance at Cork, to welcome Sidney in his viceregal progress, was with his brother, Moyle Murrrough M'Swiney, still with Desmond, and by plunders of cattle supported their little company. Goron was slain in one of those marauding expeditions by some of the country people, whose cattle he was driving away. No garrison was yet placed at Dingle, and the earl continued to take, as he best could, cattle in the neighbourhood, chiefly from such as had forsaken his cause, and placed themselves under the protection of the English.

Desmond, on one of these occasions, sent two horsemen and one of his wood-kernes to take a prey of cattle from the neighbourhood of Castlemagne, on the strand of Tralee. Among the cattle taken were those of a poor woman, of the name of Moriarty. The cattle were her only property, and she and her brother followed the track of the plunderers. At Castlemagne the constable of the castle gave them the assistance of some ammunition and a few wood-kernes. The party was in all three and twenty—one of whom, Kelly, an Irishman by birth, but who had in these wars served under the English—they made their captain. Moriarty, who was well acquainted with the country, undertook to be their guide. They followed the track of the kine till they came to the side of a mountain, and a winding path led them to the deep and wooded valley of Glanikilty. It was now night, and they thought to have rested for the night in the shelter of the wood. The glimmering of a fire among the trees at a little distance attracted their notice, and one of them cautiously approached and saw through the windows of a ruinous old house five or six persons sitting by a wood fire. The party immediately determined on ascertaining whether these were the men in pursuit of whom they came. They retired for a moment to consult how their object might best be effected. Before their return all had departed but one man of venerable appearance, who lay stretched before the fire. Kelly struck the old man with his sword, and almost cut off one of his arms; he struck at him again, and gave him a severe wound upon one side of the head. The old man cried out "spare me, I am the earl of Desmond." The appeal was one which he knew was not under any circumstances likely to be made in vain. If no feeling of compassion for fallen greatness could be expected to stay Kelly's hand, still his avarice or ambition might be interested, for though large rewards were offered for Desmond's head, yet the great object of the government was, as all their proclamations expressed, to take him alive. The appeal was unfortunately too late. He was too severely wounded to be easily removed, and Kelly was perhaps afraid of the arrival of some of his retainers. Kelly bade him prepare himself to die, and smote off his head. It was brought to Ormonde—sent by him to the queen—and impaled on London bridge. His body was concealed by his followers; and after several weeks interred in the little chapel of Killanamanagh, not far from Castle Island.

For many a long year after the earl's death there was a popular belief that the place where he died was still red with his blood.* The persons instrumental in his death were the object of detestation to the Irish, and in every unfortunate incident that from time to time

* O'Sullivan,

occurs in their families, there is a disposition to read judgments inflicted upon them by heaven for the destruction of this champion of the faith. Kelly had his reward. For some thirty years he continued to receive a pension from the government; but the detestation of his own countrymen rendered it necessary for him to live in London, and the Abbé McGeoghegan, with evident delight, tells of his being at last hanged for highway robbery.

Desmond was attainted, and his vast estates vested in the crown by act of parliament. That act was obtained with difficulty. A feoffment of his lands, made by him several years before, to one of the Munster Geraldines, was produced for the purpose of defeating the forfeiture. As proof, however, was given of this Fitz-Gerald being himself implicated with the earl in treason before the date of the conveyance, the houses of parliament, in the excitement of the moment, disregarded the instrument, and no longer hesitated to pass the acts of attainder and forfeiture. One hundred and forty of Desmond's accomplices in treason were attainted at the same time, and their estates declared forfeit. The lands thus forfeited included almost the entire of four counties, and contained five hundred and seventy-four thousand six hundred and twenty-eight acres.* The opportunity was now given of trying on a large scale Elizabeth's favourite plan of English plantation—with what success is to be hereafter recorded.

In a work that does not assume the ambitious tone of history, we may venture faintly to allude to the legends connected with our subject. Among the superstitions of the south of Ireland, one of the most fanciful is, that earl Gerald of Desmond still lives, like the Arthur of British fable, in an enchanted cavern beneath the mountain lake that washes the ruined walls of his ancient castle of Loughgur—that every seventh year he is seen riding a snow-white charger upon the rippling surface of the waters; and that when his horse's shoes, which are of beaten silver, shall have been worn out, the melancholy enchantment which now holds him, will be at an end, and the earl return to conscious life and power.† The ceremonials of the ancient faith are to be re-established in splendour worthy of the holy island of the west, and the estates forfeited by the adherents of Desmond—a favourite and dangerous dream of the poor—are to be restored to the descendants of ancient families now trampled down into the humblest classes of the peasantry.

Richard Bourke.

A. D. 1585.

WE have already had occasion to notice many of the descendants of the noble and ancient house of De Burgo. At the period of history in which we are now engaged, although this race had fallen from its ancient elevation of nearly regal power, it had branched into many wealthy and distinguished families, of which the history would be an instructive volume. We are compelled, by the peculiar nature of our task, to select but a few of the most illustrious names, whose history is interwoven with that of Ireland; for this has been the general

* Lodge. Leland.

† Fitz-Gerald and Macgregor's Hist. of Limerick.

criterion of our political series; and thus reluctantly to set aside the claim of many who were in their own day great and powerful.

We have already stated, in our notice of the murder of William de Burgo in 1333, how two of the collateral heirs of his family took advantage of the minority of his daughter and sole heir, and seized wrongful possession of his extensive territories; confirming their defective title, by throwing off the jurisdiction of English law, and assuming with the law of tanistry the language and manners of the Irish. Of these, one took the title of MacWilliam Eighter, or Upper MacWilliam, the other MacWilliam Oughter, or Lower MacWilliam. Of these the first was the origin of the family of Clanricarde, and held the territories bordering the western part of the county of Roscommon.* The other took possession of the more western districts lying on the Galway coast.

The second of these, Edmond Bourke, had four sons; of whom the first was the ancestor of the earls, and the second of the viscounts Mayo. From the second, at the distance of five generations, descended Richard, the person of whose life we are here to notice the chief events.

The first distinct mention we find of Richard Bourke, of any considerable weight, occurs in 1552, when he was strongly recommended by the lord chancellor, Cursek, in a letter to the duke of Northumberland, as a person who, as a "president, or yet as a captain, with a competent number of men, continuing at Galway, will cause all the country to be good subjects; and he, with the earl of Clanricarde, and a captain, will be able to rule all Connaught, which is the fifth part of Ireland."

In the year 1576, the following distinct and descriptive testimony of his character occurs in a letter from lord Sidney to the council. "I found him very sensible, though wanting in the English tongue, yet understanding the Latin, a lover of quiet and civility, desirous to hold his lands of the queen, and suppress Irish extortion, and to expulse the Scots, who swarm in those quarters, and indeed hath almost suppressed them. In some proof whereof, he tarried with me most of the time I remained at Galway, and thence went with me to Athlone, and departed not until I went from thence, where very reverently, by oath, he showed his fealty and did his homage, as humbly binding himself, as well by oath as by indenture, ever hereafter to hold his lands of her Majesty and her crown, and pay yearly 250 marks, and to find 200 soldiers, horsemen and footmen for two months, by the year, &c. He received his country at my hands by way of Seneschalship, which he thankfully accepted. The order of knighthood I bestowed upon him, whereof he seemed very joyous, &c.

. Surely my lords he is well won, for he is a great man, his land lieth along the west-north-west coast of this realm, wherein he hath many goodly havens, and is a lord in territory of three times so much land as the earl of Clanricarde is."

In the year in which this letter was written by Sidney, the sons of the earl of Clanricarde, who had already given proofs of a rebel-

* Old Map published with State Papers,

lions temper, rose in arms to besiege Ballyreagh, a castle which had been forfeited to government by their father: they commanded a tumultuary force of Irish and degenerate English, but were aided by two thousand Scots. They were repulsed by a small garrison of one hundred foot and fifty horse, under captains L'Estrange, and Collier; but, continuing in a menacing attitude, and proceeding to despoil the surrounding country, the lord-deputy felt his presence to be required for the restoration of order. He was joined by Bourke, who was the principal sufferer from the devastations thus committed. The rebels did not venture to oppose him; but scattering into parties they contrived to evade his force, and to continue to harass the surrounding country. In this state of things, a local knowledge of the district became a matter of primary importance, and the lord-deputy, dividing and directing the operations of his forces by the advice of Bourke, contrived to surprise and route several of their parties, and thus dissipated their force. By this expedition Bourke obtained great honour, and was put in possession of many of his castles, which the sons of Clanricarde had seized.*

In 1505 he made a surrender of his estates, and received them by English tenure. He died the same year. He was married to the celebrated Grace O'Maly, and by her was father to the first viscount Mayo.

Feagh MacHugh O'Byrne.

SLAIN A.D. 1597

AMONGST the multitude of lesser chiefs who, without any exception, may be said to have taken part in the tumultuous proceedings of Ireland in the 16th century, we can select but a few as entitled to distinction, in the common occupation of all—plundering and being plundered, inflicting or suffering oppression and injustice. Of these Feagh MacHugh is entitled to notice, by reason of the persevering energy which gives prominence to his character—the territorial position which rendered his motions important to the inhabitants of Dublin and the surrounding lands of the English pale, but most of all for the dark interest which connects itself with the memory of one event; to which, the rest being comparatively of little interest, we shall pass as briefly as we can.

The county of Wicklow has been in modern times more peculiarly the object of interest to the inhabitants of Leinster: but while its outlines are all as familiar as the pen and pencil can make them, and all its steep and rocky passes, lakes and wooded heights, are numbered by the curious explorer of natural beauty and magnificence; it is a curious proof of apathy to the historic associations of scene, that form and colour only seem to occupy the tourist's thought. The tourist of our kindred mountains in the Scottish Highlands, presents a singular and edifying contrast: without any pretension to be more marked

* Ware's Antiquities.

by the recollections of traditionary record, all its scenes are rendered romantic by the impressive associations of the past: every wild glen, or rugged height, or solitary and savage lake and creek, has its tale to tell. The most splendid scene is not more awakening to the imagination, affections, and memory, than the names that have left their echo there: the MacDonalds, the MacGregors, MacLeods, Grames, Campbells, &c. But here, our very guide books babble of green fields, and talk their tasteful slipslop, as if the hills of Wicklow or Glengarriffe had no history; or tell the plan, site, and architecture of the dwellings of modern proprietors, as if no one had lived there, or nothing happened there before them. All this is, to be sure, what should be, because it is what the public demand; yet we do these clever and useful books no wrong, when we express our trust to see other works in another spirit from the same competent hands.

The country of the O'Byrnes, in an ancient map, lately published by the State Paper Committee, is marked in that part of the county of Wicklow, east of the river Avon, which runs from Lough-Dan to Arklow. The O'Byrnes and O'Tooles, always mentioned together as belonging to the same sept, occupied this region of the Wicklow mountains. Spenser, who collected his account from the people themselves, and improved his knowledge by extensive study of such documents as were to be then had, affirms their descent from the ancient Britons, and observes that this descent is evidenced by their names, as *Brin* signifies woody, and *Tool* hilly, in the ancient British. It is not improbable, that a hardy race had, at an early period, when driven from their native woods in Britain, taken possession of a district which, considering its coldness, dampness, and barrenness, was little likely to be disputed with them. Amid this wild district, these septs spread and built many castles, of which the ruins were abundant in the 16th century. They were subjects to the MacMurroughs; but after the English settlement, when by the subjection of Leinster to the English, they were set free from the strong control of the paramount lord, they began by degrees to assume independence, and to make themselves very conspicuous by inroads to which their near propinquity to the pale, and the difficulty of access into their steep and marshy fastnesses, rendered resistance or retaliation difficult and dangerous.

Spenser mentions, we should presume on the authority of the Byrnes of MacHugh's own time, that Shane MacTirlagh, the grandfather of Feagh MacHugh, "was a man of meanest regard among them [the O'Byrnes] neither having wealth nor power! But his father, Hugh MacShane, first began to lift up his head, and through the strength and great fastness of Glanmalur, which adjoineth to his house of Ballinacor, drew unto him many thieves and outlaws, which flew unto the succour of that glen as to a sanctuary, and brought unto him part of the spoil of all the country, through which he grew strong, and in short space got unto himself a great name, thereby, among the Irish."* Such is the account given by Spenser; and, if there is any strength in the testimony of position, this account is well attested by the rude and cliffy chains of steep hills which run parallel to each other

* Spenser's View.

at a quarter of a mile distance along the narrow vale, through which the Avon runs in a south-easterly direction towards Ballinacor. It was one of the three passes by which the surrounding mountain-country could be entered; and was, so late as the rebellion of 1798, a formidable pass, and the scene of many bloody deeds, when a military road was made through the glen, and a barrack built at Drumgoff.

In this well-known fastness of rebellion, Byrne held a position of power which, in the great struggle then fast rising to its height, gave him personal importance among the surrounding opponents of the English. The Cavanaghs, the O'Mores, and the Butlers, swelled his wealth and force, and drew protection from his mountains and ramparts and forest coverts. Some miles north, near Annamoe, and a little to the east of Glendalough, stood castle Kevin, the stronghold of the chief of his allied and kindred clan the O'Tooles.

From this place of strength, Feagh MacHugh, made himself so formidable to the English governor, that it became at length an object of urgent necessity to expel him, and obtain possession of a place of such importance to the security of the pale.

In the year 1580, lord Grey de Wilton was sent over with instructions such as were not uncalled-for by the state of the country. In England there prevailed the utmost ignorance of the real difficulties which prolonged an interminable strife between foes whose utter disparity in all by which civilized nations are accustomed to estimate power, made the unsatisfactory and uncertain war seem quite unaccountable. In their ignorance of the real character of this warfare, conjecture but too often supplied accusations against the deputies and lords-lieutenant, whose seeming remissness allowed a barbarous, untrained, and almost naked enemy, to keep the field against a British army. Thus lord Grey was ignorant alike of the affairs of the country, and of the difficulties he should have to encounter. Looking no further than the prepossessions and prejudices of the English court, and rudely estimating the defensive resources of the Irish chiefs by the known inferiority of their armies in the field, he could conceive no reason for the failure of the queen's former deputies in reducing the country to tranquillity, but the absence of a sufficient promptness and determination to sweep all opposition from the field by force of arms. Thinking too lowly of the claims of the Irish chiefs to consideration, and neglecting to consider that amongst the causes of their disaffection, there were some just grounds of complaint, and many wise reasons for tempering force (for this was still the main desideratum) with conciliatory moderation, he resolved to bear down all resistance by unhesitating and unrepressed exertions of military strength. An occasion but too soon occurred to let him into the secret of Irish resistance. Shortly after his landing in Dublin, he received intelligence that captain Fitz-Gerald, an officer of a company in the queen's pay, had revolted with lord Baltinglas, and joined Feagh MacHugh, and that they were encamped within twenty-five miles of Dublin, and daily increasing in numbers. Grey was naturally enough indignant that the power of queen Elizabeth should be held in defiance within so short a distance of the seat of government; and, without delay, ordered off such forces as could be brought together to attack them. The

veterans who received these orders were fully aware of the dangerous and difficult nature of the service on which they were sent. They knew that the enemy they were peremptorily commanded to rout, was secure in the same impenetrable fastnesses which had already for nearly 400 years enabled them to hang over the pale like a thunder cloud, ever ready to scatter waste and devastation from its unassailable position and desultory explosion; and that to encounter a strong force, in positions so peculiarly framed for their mode both of attack and retreat, and so unsuited to the tactics of the English, must be attended with the utmost risk. When they arrived at the pass into the valley of Glendalough, the danger became more apparent; and here it is said that captain Cosby, a veteran officer of considerable experience in the wars of Ireland, remonstrated with lord Grey. The remonstrance must appear to have been needless to any one who is aware of the nature of the ground. A long, winding, and deep marsh terminating in lakes, and thickly masked with copse and stunted forest, which has since disappeared, ran between two ranges of wild precipitous mountains, which overhung it with their projecting sides, or here and there retreated in secret and shaded outlets, so as to present the most complete model of an ambuscade contrived by nature. In this position, which a little military knowledge might have seen to be inaccessible, an invisible enemy was prepared to receive them. Cosby's remonstrance was disregarded; and it now seems like infatuation that no precaution appears to have been taken to ascertain the position of the enemy, or the securest mode and points of attack. Lord Grey stood on a neighbouring height, and ordered his troops to march into the valley; and it is nearly certain, that the leaders and foremost companies of that gallant and devoted band, as they entered the still and ominous hollows of the swampy vale, knew that they were not to return. All was for some time still; and lord Grey, from the hill on which he stood, saw his veterans tread on unobstructed into the dangerous maze: he probably thought that the enemy whom he held in ignorant contempt, had sculked away from the approach of the queen's representative and his army. His error was not of long duration; scarcely was the last of the English column secure within the fatal defile, when wood, and craggy cavern, and all the dark steep above its marshy and tangled hollows echoed with a yell of deadly defiance. It was followed by the roar of musketry, which poured thick, incessant, and unreturned from the enclosing heights on every side. There was no battle, for there was no resistance. Every thicket, and each projecting steep, as the devoted victims of Grey's precipitation came within its range, sent forth its vollied thunder, and poured its deadly shower upon the defenceless victims. Discipline and valour were impotent, and retreat as dangerous as advance. Some, desiring at least to grapple with a foe, attempted to rush up the steeps: these, however, were only pervious to an accurate local experience: they who thus attempted, soon came to some fatal stop, and were butchered in detail. Others became more deeply entangled in the morass, and presented sure marks for the ambushed foe, who took them down with cool deliberation from the nearest heights. Lord Grey perceived his error when it was too late; his

men could not be extricated from a position so fatal; the soldiers were slain in heaps as their efforts, either to find an enemy or to effect their escape, chanced to throw them into parties. The most active of the officers fell in the vain attempt to extricate their men. Captains Dudley, Moore, and Sir Peter Carew, were among the slain.

The next noticeable trace we find of Feagh MacHugh, occurs about two years later. The tale is curious enough, but not very distinct. It is first mentioned that one of the Byrne's offered captain George Carew, to bring him the head of his leader Fitz-Gerald, already mentioned as an ally of MacHugh's. Before Byrne could effect his traitorous purpose, he was himself hanged by Fitz-Gerald, who received some intimation of what was going on; but immediately after, alarmed at the summary justice he had executed, or as we should suspect, himself tempted by some report of the reward to be received by his own murderer, he made overtures to Carew, for the delivery of the much more valuable head of Feagh MacHugh. He was, however, caught in the same trap with Byrne; Feagh was informed of the intended favour, and hanged Fitz-Gerald; or as Cox tells the story, "fairly hanged his friend Fitz-Gerald in his stead."

In 1584, he seems to have found the expediency of entering into amicable terms with the government, or was led by the wise and equitable character of Sir John Perrot, and the general tranquillity which made its transient appearance, to deliver pledges for his conduct. During the following ten years he is not very distinctly to be traced; but it is quite sufficiently apparent, that he continued through that interval to be as troublesome to the inhabitants of the Wicklow side of the pale as his force and safety admitted. In 1594, we read of an order of council ordering the lord-deputy on some important service, in which a provision is made for the defence of the pale against Feagh MacHugh, during his absence. At this time the Irish rebellions, for a time partially extinguished, had begun to increase, and assume a character of method, concert, and military discipline, till then unknown. The celebrated Red Hugh O'Donell, whom a few years before O'Byrne had succoured in his flight from Dublin castle, and entertained at his castle of Ballinacor, was sweeping like a torrent over the western counties; and the emissaries of Spain and Rome were with secret influence awakening and combining the scattered fires that were so soon to burst forth under the command of that able and powerful leader, Hugh, earl of Tyrone. In the beginning of 1595, the lord-deputy entered MacHugh's own territory, and, driving him and his people into the Glenmalur, took possession of Ballinacor, in which he placed a garrison. In the same year Feagh came into Dublin castle, and made his submission on his knees, on which he received the queen's pardon; nevertheless, while under solemn engagements, and having a protection, he continued to correspond with the northern rebels, and watching his opportunity, surprised and took Ballinacor, which he razed to the foundation. On this the lord-deputy marched into Wicklow, and encamped for a few days at Rathdrum, where he took several preys of cattle and many prisoners. It was probably his expectation, that MacHugh would have come into terms; but finding this hope vain, he ended by hanging two of

his pledges—a proceeding which surely stamps the barbarity of the time, yet which was nevertheless difficult to be evaded. Without such a severe equity, the system of pledges, the firmest security of the period, must have been absolutely null, and more valuable interests, both in life and property, must have been sacrificed to the absolute want of any security. The pursuit of MacHugh, was pleaded as an injury, and as an excuse for rebellion, by Tyrone.

At the close of 1596, Feagh was brought to an action by captain Lea, and defeated with a loss of upwards of 80 men; and in a few months after, May 1597, the lord-deputy again overtook him with a strong party, when he was slain in the skirmish which took place.

Hugh Roe O'Donell, last Chief of Tyrconnell.

BORN A. D. 1571—DIED, A. D. 1602.

As we shall have to relate the particulars of the war in Ulster, which occupied the latter years of the reign of queen Elizabeth, with great detail, in our memoir of Hugh, earl of Tyrone, whose actions occupy the main position in this period of Irish history; we have, in this life, thought it advisable to adhere as nearly as we can to the statements and spirit of the ancient document from which it is mainly drawn. This account, yet unpublished, and only half translated from the original Irish, was written by the secretary of O'Donell; and, though evidently the production of one who saw with a partial eye the characters and events which he describes—an objection common to all contemporary history—yet unquestionably, his account must be considered to be a faithful and honest representation of his own impressions, which were those of the Irish of his day, and must be allowed to contain true statements of the facts of which he was the witness, and the reports and opinions which passed current in the sphere of his observation. Both the translation and the original are preserved in the library of the Royal Irish Academy.

Sir Hugh O'Donell had been always on the most amicable terms with the English government; his sons were four—Hugh Roe, Rory, Manus, and Cahveen. Among the tribes of Tyrconnell, there was a lively competition for the fosterage of the eldest, Hugh Roe; and he was intrusted to O'Doherty, a chief, descended from the stock of O'Niall; and, according to the ancient biographer from whom these particulars are drawn, there was a prophetic expectation that great and singular events were to await on his maturer years. As he grew to man's estate, these expectations were strengthened by the promise of his youth: at the early age of fifteen, his singular accomplishments of mind and body were the theme of universal wonder; and his reputation for every gift that his age knew how to appreciate, was spread over the five provinces of Ireland.*

The most unquestionable tribute to his growing reputation was, however, the apprehension which soon began to be entertained by the English government. According to the biographer, they feared

* MS.

the result of the union likely to be established by fosterage, (a bond more strong than blood,) between this young chief and the family of Niall: and the more so as Hugh Roe's sister was the wife of the earl of Tyrone. Repeated complaints against this earl had been made to the government; and, though at the time submissive to them, he was yet an object of suspicion and fear. It appeared, therefore, on all accounts, desirable to secure the districts of Donegal and Derry, by obtaining possession of Hugh Roe—yet a boy, but likely to become a restless, ambitious, and able enemy.

On these grounds, Sir John Perrot and his council came to the resolution of seizing the youth. It was the opinion of some of the council that a force should be sent into Tirconnell for this purpose; but Sir John alleged that it would demand an army of between 2,000 and 3,000 men. A stratagem was therefore resolved on. The following plan was accordingly devised and effected:—a ship was sent laden with wine, chiefly sack, of which the Irish were fond. The captain was ordered to sail and take up the nearest position he could to the house of O'Donell, and to manage matters so as to inveigle him on board. The vessel sailed, and arriving in the harbour of Swilly, anchored opposite Rathmullin, which stood on the sea-shore. The captain next continued to spread the report of his cargo, and soon the people flocked in from every side to buy his wines. It was, most probably, according to their expectations, that Hugh came on a visit to Dundonald, the castle of M'Swiney, and a message was immediately dispatched to the ship for a supply of wine to entertain the guest. The captain sent back word that there was now only enough of wine remaining for the use of the crew, and that he could not dispose of any; but that if the gentlemen would come on board, he would willingly entertain them, and give them as much as they could drink. M'Swiney, the master of the fort, vexed at the refusal, advised Hugh O'Donell, his lord, to accept of the invitation. Hugh, who had come there on a truant excursion from the constraint of his governors and teachers, needed no better sport; and the party visited the ship with the design of making the captain's wine pay for the refusal. Hugh had been accompanied by other noble youths of the O'Niall family: the sons of the famous Shane O'Neale, whose tale we have already related.

Taking a boat, the party rowed over to the ship. The captain received Hugh Roe, M'Swiney, and the most distinguished of the party, but refused the rest; and a plentiful entertainment was followed by a rapid circulation of the wine cup, until the deluded guests were become incapable of resistance. In the mean time their arms had been secured, the hatches shut down, and no means of escape left, when the crew collected round the party, and told them they were prisoners. M'Swiney, and a few of the party were sent on shore; and we are informed by the MS. biographer, that the report was soon spread, and the people crowded to the shore to rescue their chief: but in vain—the vessel was already out at sea. Hostages were offered and refused.

The vessel reached Dublin; and Hugh, after being brought before Sir John and the council, was confined in the castle. Here he remained three years and three months.* Sir John Perrot left Ireland in

* MS.

1588; and at his departure left Hugh Roe O'Donell together with several others of his kindred in confinement, as pledges for the peace of Tirconnell. While Hugh was thus in a state of constraint so galling to his spirit, the resentment occasioned by his capture was working into a flame; and the north of Ireland was growing into a state of exasperation, which was the origin of the subsequent bloody and expensive rebellion in Tyrone.* Hugh was, in the mean time, heated with plans of escape, and schemes of future vengeance. But to escape was no easy matter. Every night he was shut up in one of those close and dreary cells, which yet remain in the ruins of ancient dungeons. A wide fosse, filled with water, surrounded the castle; and the only outlet, over a narrow wooden bridge, was strongly guarded.

In spite of these precautions, a scheme of escape was planned by O'Donell and his companions. By a long rope, they let themselves down from the battlements on a dark night, before their hour of separation; and by contriving to fasten the door of the enclosure, so that the guards could not get out, until assisted by the citizens from without, they contrived to evade all immediate pursuit, and to reach the Dublin mountains. Then, however, Hugh Roe after suffering great hardships from the badness of his shoes and the tenderness of his feet, found that he could go no farther, and took refuge with Felim O'Toole, who had been some time before his fellow-prisoner, and had professed great friendship for him. The pursuit was, however, so warm, that O'Toole was deterred by his fears from harbouring his friend; and worse motives than fear probably influenced him, when he resolved to give him up to his enemies. This design, which no excuse can clear of its baseness, he effected; and O'Donell was once more consigned to the hardships which were aggravated by increased caution and suspicion.

A year of dreary confinement elapsed, when in December, 1592, Hugh Roe resolved on another effort for liberty. It was the feast of Christmas; and his keepers had, perhaps, indulged in the festivities of the season too freely for their charge, and Hugh Roe saw, and seized upon, the opportunity for escape. According to the minute detail of our ancient authority, he first proceeded with his companions to the refectory, where they stole off their fetters. They then went to the jakes, taking with them a long rope, by which they let themselves down through the jakes into the deep ditch that fenced the fortress all around. From this they crossed over to the other mound on the opposite side of the ditch!! Having cleared all impediments, they were under the unpleasant necessity of throwing off their defiled upper garments: but the danger of re-capture was greatly lessened, both by the darkness, and also by the circumstance of the streets being still crowded with people who were visiting from house to house. Advancing silently and swiftly, Hugh Roe and his companions—of whom the chief were Henry and Art O'Neale, the sons of Shane O'Neale—soon cleared the city; and, as on the former occasion, made their way over hedge and ditch to the mountains.

It was, perhaps, also in favour of their escape, though a sad aggravation of their hardships, that the night came on with a drizzling

* MS.

tempest of rain and driving snow, which chilled their half-naked bodies, and made the way slippery and difficult. As they reached the mountains Art O'Neale became severely fatigued; and O'Donell, who had, as yet, suffered least, endeavoured, with the help of a servant, who was their companion, to support him up the hill: the effort was severe, and the whole party became so worn, that when they found a high ledge of rock on the summit of one of the hills, they were glad to rest themselves beneath its shelter.

From this they sent on the servant to Glenmalur, to inform Feagh M'Hugh O'Byrne of their situation, and to desire refuge. On receiving their message, O'Byrne selected a party of the stoutest of his people, and sent them off with all necessaries to the relief of the party.

Hugh Roe and his suffering companions had, in the mean time, yielded to the dreadful influence of cold, and lain down in their half-naked state, to be covered with freezing snow. When the party dispatched by O'Byrne came up, they were found nearly insensible; and for some time resisted all efforts to rouse them from a sleep which, had it been protracted but a little longer, must have ended in death. In the language of the old biographer, "the sleeping coverlet that enveloped their tender skin, and the bolster that supported their heads was a high roll of white-bordered hail, freezing on all sides of them; covering their light vests and shirts of fine thread, encompassing their bodies, their well-proportioned thighs, their wooden shoes, and their feet, so that they appeared to those that came in search of them, not like men, but as sods of earth after being rolled in the snow; for there was no motion in their members, and they were lifeless as if they were really dead." Art O'Neale was past recovery; but Hugh Roe gradually revived, so as to be able to swallow a portion of the ardent spirit which they poured into his mouth. He quickly regained his strength, but his feet were chilled beyond the power of any remedy they could apply, and they were under the necessity of carrying him away to Glenmalur.

In Glenmalur, he continued for some time concealed in a private house, in the covert of a thick wood, where the physician that was employed to heal his frost-bitten feet, might have constant egress, and also where he might be free from the noise and bustle of a small fort, during his illness. But his safety was sedulously watched over and all his wants supplied by the care of O'Byrne. A messenger was dispatched to his guardian and kinsman, Hugh O'Neale, and it was not long before he was sent for. He was, however, not yet healed, and it was found necessary to lift him on his horse. O'Byrne sent a strong guard with him, to protect him until he should have passed the Liffey, at all the fords of which strong guards were posted by government, which, having received information of the place of O'Donell's concealment, made arrangements to intercept him. Notwithstanding these precautions, his party crossed the Liffey, near Dublin, without being perceived.

Having passed this ford, the party separated, and Hugh remained alone with O'Hogan, the servant who had been sent for him. This man was a confidential servant of Hugh O'Neale; he could speak English, and was commonly sent by his master to Dublin, to com-

municate with his numerous English friends. He was, therefore, here a useful guide, and knew well how to avoid real danger, and seize with confidence the safest ways. Travelling through the night, they crossed the county of Meath, and near morning, came to the river Boyne, near Drogheda. Their way lay through this town, but they feared the risk of being recognised, and therefore they turned from the road, towards the banks of the river, where there was a poor fisherman's hut. The man was at the moment loading his boat, when the fugitives calling him aside, asked him to row them across, promising a recompense; he agreed, and landing them on the other side, received a liberal reward. In gratitude for this, the poor man then re-crossed the river, and brought their horses through the town, to where they waited at the landing-place.

They rode on a little way, until they came to the dwelling of a wealthy Englishman, who fortunately chanced to be a steadfast friend of the earl of Tyrone. Here they entered freely, and were received with all hospitable care. A secret chamber was fitted for Hugh Roe, and he was enabled to rest that day and the following, after all his fatigue. On the evening of the next day, as it grew dusk, they once more mounted their horses, and began their journey over the hill of Slieve Breagh, in the county of Louth, which they crossed, until they came to Dundalk. It was, fortunately, still early in the morning, and they were thus enabled to cross the town without being noticed; this course they preferred, as they were aware that the English had stationed soldiers to watch for Hugh Roe on either side, wherever there was any possibility of his passing; but it struck Hugh that they would not suspect so bold a course as that which he now wisely selected. They passed through, therefore, without any halt, and felt a sense of thankful security that the danger was now all over. They stood on the territory of Hugh O'Neale, earl of Tyrone. It is needless to pursue the remainder of their progress from friend to friend, until they reached their immediate destination, the abode of the earl. He, though rejoiced to see Hugh Roe, was compelled to observe a strict secrecy during his guest's sojourn, as he was himself in subjection to the English government. Nothing was, however, neglected to contribute to the comfort and refreshment of Hugh Roe, who remained with his kinsman until he was quite recovered from all sense of fatigue. We shall not follow him in the short eventless journey which brought him to his own father's castle, at Ballyshannon, on the river Erne. Here he was received with enthusiasm by the people of his own tribe, who honoured him as their future prince.

These people were at the time in a state of great distress. O'Donell's father was very old, and little capable of the active efforts necessary to keep his own people in subjection, or to repress the incursions of the English from the province of Connaught. The biographer of O'Donell mentions, that a party of English had taken possession of the monastery of the order of St Francis, which stood near O'Donell's; they amounted to two hundred men, under the command of captains Willes and Conville. From the stronghold thus seized, they made plundering parties, and exercised considerable power over the country. According to the Irish biographer, O'Donell sent word to them to

leave the monastery, to quit the district of his father, and leave all their plunder behind. To this they felt themselves under the necessity of submitting, and their submission was attributed to the terror of the youthful chieftain's name and reputation; but it is probable, that having, with so small a force taken up the position, on the ground that there was no danger from the divided and dispirited population of the surrounding country—they had the sagacity to estimate justly the change of circumstances attending on the new enthusiasm, union and spirit, awakened by the presence of a spirited young leader. Preparatory to this message, Hugh Roe called upon the people of Tirconnell to meet, and they were fast flocking in from every side.

Some months, however, elapsed before Hugh Roe found himself in a condition for any decided step. His feet were yet unhealed, and he was obliged by his ulcerated chilblains, to submit to a tedious confinement under the care of his physicians; and it was in opposition to their advice, that, when the spring was far advanced, he again sent forth a summons to the chiefs and people of Tirconnell, to meet him on the west side of a lofty hill in Donegal. The ancient MS. proceeds to enumerate at length, the numerous chiefs who flocked together at the summons; amongst the assembly were his father and mother, a woman distinguished for her masculine virtues and political ability. It was, perhaps, by the influence of this lady, that on this occasion it was unanimously agreed to by the assembly, with the consent of his old father, to raise Hugh Roe to the chieftainship. He was, therefore, solemnly inaugurated on the spot. Before he allowed the force, thus brought together, to separate, Hugh Roe determined on a probationary essay of his strength in an expedition into the neighbouring territory of Cincal Owen, the clan of Tirlogh Lynnogh O'Neale, who was then hostile to O'Donell's tribe, as well as to the earl of Tyrone. We shall not delay to describe particulars, which were in no way memorable; nor shall we detail a second incursion into the same district, when the conquering progress of O'Donell was stayed by the remonstrance of a chief who asserted the claim of having been once his fosterer: on which, the chief returned home to Donegal, where he was again compelled to place himself under the care of his physicians for two months. At the end of this time, he once more collected his men and invaded the same territory, and marching on to Strabane, he set fire to the town. They here found and drove away a large prey of horses, and returned home unmolested by Tirlogh Lynnogh and the English party which he entertained in his castle of Strabane.

The earl of Tyrone, in the mean time, made a journey to Dublin, where lord Fitz-William was lord-justice, and made an earnest application in behalf of O'Donell, that he should be admitted to the king's peace. The lord-justice assented, and a meeting between him and O'Donell was appointed at Stradbally. O'Donell was found by the earl on his sick bed; the physicians, unable to prevent the spreading of the dreadful ulcers on his feet, were obliged to have recourse to a desperate remedy, and his great toes were both amputated. It was with no small difficulty that he was persuaded to consent to the arrangement made by his kinsman; but he yielded, and the meeting took place, when he was received with kindness by the lord-justice,

who, considering his present illness, visited him in his own quarters. The arrangement was then satisfactorily completed, and a protection, dictated by the earl of Tyrone, was subscribed by the lord-justice and council.

The result was, in other respects, satisfactory to O'Donell; the tribes of Cincal Conail came in to proffer their submission, and agreed to pay him his dues as their rightful king. O'Donell, therefore, now began to govern his extensive territories, according to the ancient laws of the land. At this period, his historian, the eye-witness of his life and deeds, gives this quaint account of his character. "Hugh O'Donell, on the very first year of his government, was popular, familiar, joyous, progressive, attentive, devastating, invasive, and destructive; and in these qualities he continued to increase every year to the end of his days."*

It was not in the nature of O'Donell to remain in tranquillity. The peace he had made was politic, but his heart still burned with the sense of those injuries, of which he bore the lasting marks about him. He had now settled his affairs on the securest footing, by a peace with his troublesome neighbour Tirlogh Lynnogh; and, feeling himself free to pursue his favourite design, he soon began to lay broad and deep foundations for war against the English government. With this view, he sent the bishop of Kilala as his ambassador to Spain; he also sent active envoys into Scotland, and took every means to excite and combine the restless and turbulent spirits around him, into a participation of his purpose. Of these, Hugh M'Guire, the chief of a district near Lough Erne, a man of daring character, was easily roused by the secret instigation of O'Donell, to collect his dependents, and make an assault on a strong place held by the English. M'Guire, by the friendly aid of a dark morning, surprised a patrol, of which he slew seven men, with their officer, "William Clifford." The incident drew down a destructive retaliation; "the lord-deputy sent a strong body of men under the command," writes the old biographer, "of the earl of Tyrone, who was not much pleased with the office." This force meeting M'Guire and his men at the ford of Ath Chuile nain, a river running from Lough Erne, gave them a severe and decisive overthrow. "The Irish," writes the biographer, "were unprepared to oppose the English with their exotic armour, their pikes of blue iron, and their guns of granulated sparks," &c. They were completely routed. The earl of Tyrone considered that his own doubtful fidelity was concealed by a wound which excused his inactivity to the English. The deputy recalled his army, having left a small party to protect one of the M'Guire's, who was at enmity with his kinsman.

O'Donell, all this time, concealed his designs by a politic reserve, and as they did not attack himself, avoided the useless risk of his plan, by any premature display of hostility. In this prudent course he was confirmed by the advice of his friend the earl, with whom he held an intercourse by secret messengers.†

In 1594, the lord-justice marched by surprise into the county of Fermanagh, and took the castle of Hugh M'Guire, without resistance, and

* MS., R. I. A., p. 41.

† MS.

this he garrisoned with thirty men. O'Donell began to feel ashamed of his prudent delays, and, collecting a strong body of men, he laid siege to the fortress of Eniskillen. While he was thus engaged, he received a message from the Scottish leaders, M'Donald and M'Leod, to inform him of their having landed with five hundred men, and desiring his immediate presence. O'Donell, after some hesitation, left his army under the walls of Eniskillen, and went to meet his allies. The appearance of the Scotch is described with amusing accuracy, by the biographer, who probably accompanied his lord on the occasion. "The outward clothing they wore, was a mottled garment, with numerous colours, hanging in folds to the calf of the leg, with a girdle round the loins, over the garment. Some of them with horn-hafted swords, large and military, over their shoulders. A man, when he had to strike with them, was obliged to apply both his hands to the haft. Others with bows, well polished, strong, and serviceable, with long twanging, hempen strings, and sharp-pointed arrows that whizzed in their flight."*

Meantime, the English governor had sent a strong party to the relief of Eniskillen; they were intercepted by M'Guire, who lay in ambush for them near a difficult ford. A sharp conflict ensued, in which the English were worsted, and compelled to retire, leaving behind the provisions which they were bringing to the relief of the fort. From this encounter, the ford received the name of the Ford of Biscuits (*Beal-aha-nam-riscoid*).† The scene of this fray was in the hills between Cavan and Leitrim. George Bingham, who led the English party, with difficulty escaped over the heights, and made his way to Sligo; in consequence of this disaster, the castle of Eniskillen was surrendered to M'Guire.

O'Donell, with his allies, remained for some months unoccupied in the vicinity of Lough Erne, but in continual expectation of an attack from the lord-justice. This nobleman was by no means master of the means for putting a sufficient force in motion, and perceived that the most efficient course must be, to let the armament of the Tírconnell chief consume its strength in quiet. Accordingly, after continuing encamped from August to October, O'Donell found it necessary to dissolve for the season his expensive armament; and having paid the Scotch their hire, he dismissed them till the beginning of the next summer.

Early in the spring of 1594, O'Donell received strong and pressing applications from the chiefs of Connaught, who swarmed to his castle, and represented the entire and melancholy subjugation of that province. It was completely held in awe by the numerous English garrisons by which all its strong positions were taken up, under the command of Sir Richard Bingham. The discontent of the native chiefs was compelled to be still; but they looked with a stern and gloomy anxiety on the conduct and character of O'Donell, as offering a hope of vengeance, though it should bring no redress. O'Donell, on his part, was not behind them in the same vindictive craving. We are told by his faithful and friendly biographer, that "his hatred and rage against the

* MS. p. 53.

† MS. ib.

English was such, that it was easy to tempt him to pillage and plunder them for the defence of the others.”* He therefore entered with the full animosity of his temper and character, into the spirit of the Connaught chiefs, and planned his first attack on Rath Crochan, in “the very centre of the English, where they had collected their herds and cattle.”† The principal positions of the English in Connaught, were well selected, in the most difficult passes; the old historian describes them by their ancient denominations: “in the castle on the banks of the old river from which flows the flood, that is after it, called the Sligo”‡—the fortress of Ballinote, near the hill of Reiscorran; in Newport, between Lough Rea, and Lough Arrow; on the river Boyle; and in Tulske; Sir Richard Bingham kept his head quarters at Roscommon. To pass through these well-disposed positions unobserved, at the head of the warlike tribes of Tirconnell, was the highest test of O'Donell's consummate mastery of the light-footed and freebooting tactics of the ancient Irish, while it also indicates the strong and universal devotion of the people, to the cause in which he moved; and the tenacious discretion of the peasantry, still so perceptible a feature of their character, was represented in the rapid march which spread devastation without awakening the vigilance of numerous military posts. In a long nightly march, O'Donell “passed over the deserts and wastes of the country, without being observed or heard,” to the banks of the river Boyle, which they crossed at nightfall, at Knocbriar; from this they took their silent way, winding through Moylurg, and on through Maghair, and Trimbhear-nuigh, till at day-break they reached the Cruachin of Rathair, in the near vicinity of the royal fortress. Here they halted, and, dispersing in every direction, they collected the cattle of the English, and drove them off unmolested to Elphin, where O'Donell lay. “It was a long time,” writes the secretary, “before this, that an equal assemblage of spoils, the plunder of one day, had been collected together in one place, by any one of the descendants of Goodhal glas the son of Niall.”§

Of this incursion, Sir Richard Bingham received tardy intelligence, and drew together his troops from the different forts and castles, where they were distributed, and set forth from Roscommon with the hope to intercept O'Donell in his passage over the Boyle. But they lost the track, and probably intending a short cut, they took a direction during the night which completely separated them from the course pursued by O'Donell. This leader, in the meantime, sent off all the useless hands in his camp, to drive his vast plunder over the Shannon, at the ford of Kiltrenan. Bingham, grieved at having “missed the way” and pursued by O'Donell, sent messengers on every side to rouse the English to exertion. The consequence was, however, but a skirmish with some straggling parties of English, which had no result but that many men were hurt on both sides.

(1595.) Early in the spring of the following year, O'Donell collected his people, and again took the same way to Connaught, which had on the previous year led him to so many bloodless triumphs. His biographer details at length the course and incidents of his march,

* MS. p. 57.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

§ Ibid. p. 58.

and gives the particulars of an elaborate and dexterous manœuvre for the surprise of an English garrison in the monastery of Boyle. Placing his army in ambush near the monastery, he sent a small party to drive away their cattle, with the design of seizing the monastery as soon as the garrison should have left it for the purpose of rescuing their cattle. The garrison, however, were in due time apprized of their design, and O'Donell was obliged to content himself with taking all that he had left behind on the last occasion. He plundered the two Annaly's, and "did not leave a beast of any kind of cattle from the mountains of Uillim red-edged, the son of Fionn, which is called Slieve Carbry at this day, to Glas Bearramoin, the place which is called Eithne, the place where was drowned Eithne, the daughter of Eochaidh Feidhlioch."* On this course, such was the violence of their devastations, that the smoke of their burning often caused O'Donell's troops to take panic from mistaking their own company for the enemy.

The last exploit on this occasion was the capture of the castle of Longford O'Ferral; which was held by a garrison under Christopher Browne. The castle is described as impregnable, and Browne as a giant in prowess; notwithstanding which serious difficulties, O'Donell made himself master of the place, and of the person of its captain. Most of the garrison were killed, and many who escaped the sword were destroyed by the fire of the town: among the latter were sixteen hostages of the gentlemen of the country. Four other castles were also burnt by this party on the same day. From this O'Donell and his men turned homeward; they had more cattle than they found it easy to drive; cattle and men were weary, and a long distance lay before them; and the faithful secretary, the attendant of his master's excursions, complains that the "sleep of Hugh O'Donell was not pleasant nor heavy during that week." Their progress more resembled a moving procession of the fair of Ballinasloe, than any thing which modern nations may conceive of the march of a triumphant army.

New troubles awaited O'Donell. He received from his friend, the earl of Tyrone, a message informing him that the lord-justice, Sir William Russel, had obtained information of his secret favour to O'Donell's designs, and that he had in consequence sent a thousand English into Tyrone, to operate as a check on his conduct. On receiving this information, O'Donell marched directly into Tyrone, and encamped in the plain of Fochart, where in days of old "the illustrious Cuchullin performed his valorous exploits;" there they continued to await the approach of the lord-justice.

It would be rather tedious to pursue the minute details of operations which led to no result. During O'Donell's stay in Tyrone, his own country was plundered by George Bingham, who had retired with the rich plunder of the church of St Mary and that of St Columb, before O'Donell could come to their relief, and returned to Sligo. Here, however, Ulick Bourke, son of Redmond, son of Ulick of the Heads, anxious to oblige O'Donell, took the town and sent for him. O'Donell came and received possession of it with great satisfaction; and after placing a strong garrison in the castle, he returned home and remained

at rest till August, when he received intelligence that M'Leod of Arran was arrived in Lough Foyle with six hundred Scots to join him. The prince immediately went to meet his allies, and remained with them for three months. During this interval various preparations were made, and they marched into Connaught, where O'Donell obtained possession of some fortresses and strong places; and, as usual, collected an immense booty. Hearing that Sir Richard Bingham was in pursuit of him, O'Donell justly concluded that it would not be safe to await a collision with the English army, while his own force was disqualified by the incumbrance of their spoil. Reaching Sligo, they were enabled to place the spoil in safety, but had to encounter the defiance of a party of English who were in the neighbourhood, under a relation of Sir Richard Bingham. For these O'Donell planned an ambush, but an accident defeated his purpose; the English were in fierce pursuit of a party of horsemen who had been detached for the very purpose of drawing them on to the hollow where the ambush lay. One of these pretended fugitives happened to be mounted on a slow horse, and was thus overtaken by the English leader; as a last resource, the man discharged an arrow which, striking his pursuer on the breast where his armour had been ill riveted, inflicted a fatal wound. By this accident the pursuit was arrested, and the English escaped the trap that had been laid for their destruction. Sir Richard Bingham, enraged at the death of his nephew, immediately marched against the castle of Sligo, which he assailed with all the resources of ancient strategy. The biographer describes the moving castle, built from the spoils of the monastery, and filled with armed men, which was over night wheeled close to the walls; he also describes the besieged within rolling down large stones and shooting bullets through the loop-holes, until the besiegers were compelled to abandon their vain attempt, and raise the siege.

When Bingham had returned to Rosecommon, Hugh O'Donell came back and razed the castle of Sligo to the ground, from a fear that the English might otherwise obtain possession of it. From the same motive he also destroyed thirteen other castles in Connaught. Many of the Irish chiefs at this time flocked about him as their only protection; and many who had been entirely divested of their possessions were taken care of in his province. He spent the remainder of the year in adjusting the pretensions, and reconciling the differences of the De Burgos, of the MacWilliam family, and others of the chiefs who acknowledged his superior authority.

He was still at home, when, in the summer of 1596, he received an envoy from Philip III., king of Spain. On his landing, this Spaniard, whose name was Alonzo Copis, was conducted by many of the chiefs to Lifford, to O'Donell, who entertained him for three days. He had been sent to inquire into the condition of the Irish, and about their recent wars with the English: he was also empowered to promise assistance in his master's name. On their part O'Donell and his allies made suitable representations, and implored the early assistance of the Spanish king, offering "to become subjects to him, and his descendants after him." From MacWilliam, in the following June, he received an account that Sir John Norris was encamped on the

borders of Connaught, with the purpose of completely reducing it. O'Donell collected his own troops, and appointed a meeting with numerous other chiefs near the English camp. But the English had been consuming their provision; and, being thus for a considerable time deterred from their purpose by the presence of a numerous force (which they could not bring to an action), were obliged to relinquish their plan and retire.

The Irish had within the last few years made a rapid progress in the arms and arts of war, and, by the activity and influence of O'Donell, the chiefs were becoming united. These considerations disquieted the council and lord-justice. They had also heard of the king of Spain's designs, which they probably understood more fully than the native chiefs whom he desired to render instrumental to his policy. It was therefore thought expedient to send invitations to O'Neale and O'Donell to enter into terms of peace with the English government. For this purpose the earl of Ormonde and the archbishop of Cashel were sent with liberal offers, which, as they were not accepted, we need not detail. "They related to them the conditions which the council proposed respecting the peace, viz., that they should have the entire possession of the province of Conor, except that part of the county extending from Dundalk to the Boyne, which was possessed by the English for a long time; and that the English should not pass beyond the hill, except that the English of Carrickfergus should be free from plunder by this agreement for ever, and the English of Carlingford and Newry to have the same privilege; and that the English government should not send any officer as a governor over them, nor in any other way force any rent or taxes upon them, except whatever tax their ancestors used to pay," &c.* The parties on either side met on a hill near Dundalk; Ormonde delivered his errand, and when he had done, O'Donell and O'Neale retired to consult. O'Donell represented strongly all the wrongs they had suffered from the English, and insisted there was no faith to be given to their promises; he also referred to their treaty with the king of Spain, and the danger of losing his countenance and assistance for ever after, should they now deceive him. With this view some of the chiefs agreed; while others, less resentful and more cautious, told him that they would be sorry if they refused the offers of government. O'Donell's voice outweighed all resistance, and Ormonde and the bishop returned to Dublin.

On this, writes the biographer, the queen ordered large preparations for an Irish war. Bingham was recalled from Connaught, and Sir Conyers Clifford sent over. The munificence and popular manners of this gentleman conciliated many of the Connaught chiefs. Among those who joined him were O'Conor Roe, and Macdermot of Moylung, and O'Conor Sligo; of whom the latter had been at the English court, and came over in command of a body of English.

O'Donell commenced by a plundering inroad upon the territories of O'Conor Sligo, after which he encamped in Brefne of Connaught, to await the coming up of his friends. Upon being joined by these,

* MS.

he marched against Athenry. There he was joined by MacWilliam Bourke, and they stormed the fort, which they took with considerable loss of life on both sides. Their loss was compensated by a very rich plunder of every kind of riches, "of brass, of iron, of armour, of clothing, and of every thing that was useful to the people."*

From this they sent their plundering parties through Clanricarde, and laid waste all the country to the gates of Galway. Near Galway they encamped at Lynch's causeway, and O'Donell proceeded to the monastery of the hill at the gates of that city, in order to exchange their plunder for arms and for more portable wealth, as he should be thus enabled to extend his operations when disencumbered of the vast droves of cattle which embarrassed all his movements. In this he failed, and was therefore compelled to direct his march homewards across the "centre of Connaught." On his way he had a skirmish with O'Connor Sligo, over whom he gained a slight advantage; in this affair a son of MacWilliam Bourke was slain. O'Donell proceeded home and suffered his own troops to disperse that they might rest; but left his mercenaries with the Connaught chiefs, to carry on the war with O'Connor, under the command of Niall O'Donell, a near kinsman of his own. This chief continued the work of plunder, which was carried on chiefly to compel the Connaught chiefs to return to O'Donell. By this means a few were gained to his party.

About April, a Spanish ship arrived bearing a small force to O'Donell. Landing in the harbour of Killibegs, they marched to Donegal, where they were munificently entertained. "He presented them with hounds and horses; they then returned carrying with them an account of the situation of the country."† We pass the details of a desultory struggle, in which MacWilliam Bourke was repeatedly expelled from his territories by a rival claimant with the aid of the English.

About midsummer, a new lord-justice, Thomas lord Borough, was sent over by the queen. He ordered Clifford to march into Tircconnell without delay. He was joined by the earl of Thomond, and Clanricarde, O'Connor Sligo, and O'Connor Roe, and a strong reinforcement of English troops sent by the lord-justice, so that, to use the description of the secretary, there were "twenty-two regiments of foot-soldiers, and ten regiments of cavalry of chosen troops, with their strong coats of hardened iron, with their strong-riveted, long-bladed, strong-hafted spears, with loud-voiced sharp-sighted guns, and with sharp swords of hardened blades and handsome firmly-fixed hafts, and with crooked combed helmets."‡ This army marched by Sligo to the banks of the Samer, all the fords of which were strongly guarded by O'Donell—they resolved to pass at the ford of Cuil-uain-an-tsainre. Here they passed, notwithstanding a bloody resistance, in which Morogh O'Brien, baron of Inchiquin, was shot in the middle of his men, and died in the water. The English marched to the brink of Easroe, where they encamped to await the artillery which the governor had ordered to be brought by sea from Galway. On Sunday these arrived in Lough Erne, and they proceeded to batter the fortress on the brink of Ath

* MS.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

Seanaigh. Of this affair, the account given by O'Donell's biographer compels us to suspect that his estimate of the English force must be a violent exaggeration, as he tells us that they were routed by the fire of the fort.

According to the prolix account of our MS. biographer, Hugh O'Donell contrived so dexterously to surround the English on every side, to cut off stragglers, and to intercept supplies, that in some days they found it necessary to retreat; but were so enfeebled with long watchings, and insufficient food, that even the retreat through a hostile territory was become dangerous and difficult. The Irish had now, by the care of O'Donell, arrived at a high state of discipline, and were become formidable antagonists to encounter in the charge. Under these trying circumstances, the only course which remained was to cross the Samer at a deep and dangerous ford, to which none but the best and bravest knights were held equal. Here the English army crossed with the loss of many, who were carried down by the force of the waters. They were also attacked by a brisk fire by O'Donell, which they had no means to return, and which destroyed many; and to crown their misfortunes, they were compelled to abandon the whole of their artillery and military stores which could not be carried across. O'Donell led his troops over one of the fords which he had in his possession, and coming again up with the English, who were in a most deplorable condition, there ensued a desultory exchange of fire with considerable loss on both sides, but without any decisive result, until both were compelled to cease from fatigue, or the approach of night warned them to desist. The English reached Sligo, and O'Donell marched home.

Not long after, O'Donell received a summons to march to the aid of O'Neale. The English lord-justice was come to Armagh, by Drogheda and Dundalk, with an army. O'Donell lost no time; and then, according to the new system of tactics which seems to have been chiefly adopted by him, the English were soon surrounded on every side by bodies of Irish, who distressed them with perpetual assaults after the manner of the cossacks in modern war, allowing them to have no sleep or rest by night or day. On this occasion it chanced that the lord-justice took a small party to reconnoitre the country from a hill top at some small distance from his camp. Scarcely had they arrived at the summit when they were attacked by a strong party of Irish. The lord-justice and the earl of Kildare, who had accompanied him, received wounds of which they died in a few days after, and their guard escaped, with the loss of many, to the camp. The English, deprived of their leaders, found it necessary to retire.

The remainder of the year 1597, and the commencement of the next, were chiefly employed by O'Donell in a plundering excursion into Connaught, against O'Conor Roe; and also in compelling O'Rourke, whose politics were unsettled, to join the native party. But he shortly received a complaint from O'Neale, of the great inconvenience he sustained from a fort which the English had erected some time before on the great river* north of Armagh, and garrisoned

* The Blackwater: this fort was long contested by the earl of Tyrone, being the key to his country.

with three hundred men. After some useless assaults, O'Neale contrived to cut off the means of supply, and the fort soon became reduced to great distress. On hearing this the government sent an army of five thousand men to their relief. O'Donell soon joined his ally, and the two armies, in a state of complete preparation, soon fronted each other in battle array. The biographer of O'Donell tells the whole of the array and preparations on both sides, and the speech with which O'Donell cheered his followers. He assured them of the victory on the strong ground of the justice of their cause. They were still further encouraged by the prophecy of a "prophetic saint who could not tell a lie," and it is added by the simplicity of the biographer, that "he who first showed this prophecy of the saint, was a famous poet, who had an extraordinary *talent for invention*. His name was Ferfeas O'Clery."

O'Donell drew up his army opposite to the English, and behind a line of deep trenches which he caused to be dug. Here he ordered that the charge of the English should be awaited. The result was according to his expectations: when the English came on, the force of their charge was broken by the interruption thus offered. While they were so arrested, O'Donell caused them to be attacked on both flanks. To resist this the English were obliged to weaken their centre, and their line was broken by O'Donell's men, who rushed with impetuosity in among their thinned ranks. This might have been counteracted by the superiority of the English tactics and armour; but an accidental occurrence turned the fortune of the day. A soldier whose ammunition was exhausted, went to supply himself at a powder barrel; and in doing this he let fall a spark of fire from his match into the powder. An explosion was the instant consequence: several score of barrels of powder blew up, spreading destruction and terror from the centre to the utmost flanks of the English. The field was for sometime in total darkness, and as it cleared away it appeared that the English general and most of his staff were slain. The English were scattered, and the leaders on the opposite side seeing and seizing on the occasion, poured in amongst them, insulating them into small groups, and cutting them to pieces in detail; so that half their number was lost, and of the rest few escaped unhurt. Such was the battle of the Yellow-ford.

In consequence of this tremendous loss, Armagh was surrendered by the English; they were not allowed to take their arms, the commander alone excepted.

O'Donell completed the operations of this year by compelling the MacDonoghs to sell him the town and castle of Ballymote.* They had been for several years in possession of the castle, which stood on their own patrimony, and had been accustomed to make it a repository for the plunder of the surrounding country. It was now, however, to be apprehended that it might fall into the hands of the English. To prevent this, O'Donell resolved to obtain possession, and gave the MacDonoghs the equitable price of £400 and three hundred cows. Here he took up his residence. His numerous expeditions in a southern direction seem to have made this change desirable on the score of

* On the north bank of the Moyne, a river between the counties of Mayo and Sligo.

convenience. And it also placed him in a position more favourable to the enlargement of his apparent prospects, as occupying a position more central, more within the range of a country over which he might hope, by the expulsion of the English, and the forfeitures of their Irish allies, to obtain a wide-spreading dominion, without interfering with the territories of the O'Neales and other northern chiefs, his faithful allies and kinsmen.

A main part of his hopes rested on the support he expected from the alliance of Spain. Thither his eye was turned through life, for the effective aid which might be hoped for from the wealth and warlike reputation of the Spaniards, as also from the inveterate hostility between the courts of Philip and Elizabeth. In the present year, 1598, he sent thither an ambassador to hasten this lingering but often promised succour; after which, his restless activity found vent in an expedition against Clanricarde, to which he had made a convenient approximation of residence. Having overborne the now feeble resistance of the earl of Clanricarde, and slaughtered many of his men, he swept over Clanricarde and returned with his plunder to Ballymote.

In the year following, the restless activity of O'Donell received a new direction. The Connaught chiefs having been spoiled year after year, until they had no longer any thing to lose, at last were allowed to enjoy the immunity of this dreary condition; and Red Hugh looked to the rich and well-stocked hills of Munster for the spoil which pillaged Connaught could no longer supply. There were for this other motives no less powerful than a love of plunder—the thirst for vengeance. The earl of Thomond had joined with the English governor in his attack on Tyrconnell. With these intentions Red Hugh appointed a meeting of his forces and allies at Ballymote, and marched into Thomond on the 17th February, 1599. Spreading his troops in the wonted manner over the country, they swept together a vast booty of cattle of every kind, took the castle of Inchiquin, with many others, and returned home with the plunder of the whole country, having left almost nothing behind. This was the work of about twelve days, during which the invaders met no check.

In the following June, O'Donell's emissary to Spain returned in a Spanish vessel, laden with a supply of arms, which were distributed between O'Donell and his ally, the earl of Tyrone.

The lord-lieutenant had in the meantime suffered his activity to be wasted by rebels of much less immediate importance. He overran Leix and Ophaly with a large army, and returned to Dublin. His force was thus weakened unnecessarily, and he was compelled to apply for a reinforcement for the purpose of invading the insurgent chiefs of Ulster. In pursuance of this duty, he directed the president of Connaught to approach Belick to menace the earl of Tyrone on that side, while he himself should attack him on the other. Sir Conyers Clifford marched with 1500 men, and taking his way as directed, was met in a pass of the Curlew mountains—by a party of Irish which Ware, Cox, Leland, and most other writers who mention the circumstance, describe as led by O'Rourke, who is not mentioned in the account of the Irish historian. Assuming each party to have known best the circumstances of their own side, and taking the particulars in

which they agree, the following is the narration nearest to probability:—Hugh O'Donell, having heard that he was to be attacked by Sir Conyers, in concert with O'Connor Sligo, and presently discovering that O'Connor was in the castle of Coolmine, on the banks of the *Avonmore*, proceeded at once to invest that castle with his troops. Sir Conyers, either proceeding according to the orders above stated, or as the MS. historian asserts, detached to the relief of O'Connor, marched towards the pass of the Curlews as mentioned. O'Donell, leaving a sufficient force at the castle, led a considerable division to wait for the enemy at this post of advantage. Having occupied these mountain passes, O'Donell detached a party to prevent one of the Bourkes from landing, and by these operations weakened his force. He had already waited here for two months, when Clifford, having collected such additional men as he could, came up, and a battle began, in which, according to the English account, a party of the Irish were repulsed; but the English grew slack in ammunition, and the Irish, who had perhaps concentrated in the meantime from different parts of the Curlew range, finding this want of the English, and perhaps also taking them at disadvantage in the pass, they charged with renewed vigour, and succeeded in gaining a victory—having slain Clifford and several officers. From this O'Donell derived for a time additional confidence, and his reputation increased among the chiefs. O'Connor Sligo sent to treat with him; and Theobald Bourke entered also into a treaty, and submitted to him on his own terms. O'Donell pursued his advantage, and raised a contribution on the town of Galway.*

In 1600, his friend, Hugh M'Guire, lord of Fermanagh, was slain in a battle fought between Warham St Leger, and O'Neale, on which the people of Fermanagh assembled to elect a chief. One of the family, Conor Roe M'Guire, was supported by O'Neale, to whom he was half brother. The other claimant, Cuchonaght M'Guire, sought the interest of O'Donell. When O'Donell received letters from O'Neale, informing him of what was going on, and bespeaking his vote, O'Donell kept a discreet silence as to his intentions; but, with a select party of horse and foot, he took with him his brother Rory, and the rival candidate, and repaired to Dungannon, where O'Neale dwelt. When O'Donell appeared in the assembly, O'Neale made a speech, in which he expressed his own wish and appealed to O'Donell for his consent. To his great concern and perhaps surprize, O'Donell, after calmly hearing him out, declared that he could not consent to the election of Conor, on the ground of his having been the constant adherent of the English. His declaration very much chagrined O'Neale; but O'Donell's voice had now become the voice potential. The decision was for Cuchonaght. The feast which seems to have completed the election is thus described:—"After the breaking up of the council, they were entertained at a splendid feast by O'Neale, at which he placed O'Donell in the most honourable situation, and Conor Roe M'Guire next to him. O'Neale took a cup of wine and drank to O'Donell, who, taking another cup from the butler, cast a quick glance through the room, and not seeing Cuchonaght M'Guire, desired that he should be called in. This was done; and when Cuchonaght came in, Red Hugh

* Sir William Betham, Ware, Leland.

desired him to sit down by his brother Rory in the midst of the company. When Cuchonaght was seated, O'Donell took the cup in his hand, and drank to him by the name of M'Guire. This was followed by several others; and thus was Cuchonaght declared the M'Guire, which none opposed, seeing it was O'Donell's desire. On the next morning O'Donell bade farewell to O'Neale, and he and M'Guire and their people returned to their homes."

In reading the life of O'Donell at this period, a slight and partial view of the affairs of the country is all that can be expected. It is to be recollected, that although the historian on whose account the whole of our notice is grounded, was an eye-witness, we may yet, without questioning his veracity, assume that he saw only that aspect of the stormy events which occupied the whole of his master's life, which connected itself with the acts and influence of this chief. O'Donell so far as his historian could see, was the prime mover in a fierce struggle, of which a more detached observer might have observed that he only bore a part—a chief part, it is true. He was one amongst three or four powerful and warlike partizans, whose talent and resolution for a moment nearly poised the scale of contest against the power of Elizabeth. The follower of this chief was in some respects like the soldier who, in the tumult and confusion of a battle, sees but the movements of the division to which his regiment is attached, and conceives them to be the deciding charges of the fight, and the indications of victory or defeat. It is thus that we are struck with the extraordinary difference between the statements of this biographer and those of the general historian. While the events stated in these pages were in their course, some of the most considerable rebellions of which there is any account in Irish history, are related with minute detail by every historian; and while the earl of Tyrone in the north, and the Sutan earl in the south, are the theme of every chapter, and in fact fill volumes with their turbulent activity, O'Donell takes his place rather as a conspicuous partizan of the powerful Tyrone, than as the arbiter of elections and the marshal of the field. From this character of the curious and almost singular document which records the life of O'Donell, arises a necessity to take the statements of the writer with a caution which, without impugning his veracity, is yet doubtful of his means of observation, and makes allowance for the spirit of clanship, and of attached service, that sees partially and trusts fondly.

In the year 1599, there had been an increased activity on the part of the English government. The queen, alarmed by intelligence that the king of Spain, with whom she was at war, was preparing for the invasion of England, and that an army of 12,000 men was destined for Ireland, became seriously and justly alarmed for the safety of the latter. Under these impressions she had yielded to the specious persuasions of the earl of Essex; and, listening rather to partiality than to sound judgment, she sent him over to mismanage the affairs of a nation where prudence, caution, moderation, and sound discretion, as well as firmness and sagacity, were indispensably required. Essex was rash, luxurious, and vain, self-confident, and unreflecting; he possessed talent, but wanted the moral virtues which give a practical value to intellectual endowments. His military ardour and his fluent eloquence

were mistaken, and he was sent to a command where the mistake was likeliest to be soon detected. On his arrival in Dublin he enjoyed the gratification of military display; the "pomp and circumstance" of war filled his heart with confidence, and inflated his inconsiderate temper. He was not long allowed to indulge in the vain dream of conquest without toil and trouble. Those around him were more correctly informed of the true state of the country, and Essex was apprized that the enemies with whom he had to contend were more numerous, better trained, and far more exercised in the field than his raw levies. At the time the actual state of the Irish chiefs was this:—The earl of Tyrone, who was in reality at the head of the insurrection, occupied the north with a well-disciplined and appointed army of six thousand men, while O'Donell, with an army not inferior in arms and training, was prepared to maintain the war in Connaught. Both were aided by many chiefs, of whom some were not much less formidable than themselves; while those who opposed them, and took part with the English, were chiefs of far less power and influence, who were mostly maintained in their authority and possessions by the protection of the government. There was at the time a general impression in favour of the insurgents, their cause and prospects, which was a main source of their strength. It was known to what an extent the Irish soldiery had profited by the lessons of their enemies. There was a universal reliance on Spain, and the rebellion had assumed a serious character.

Such were the actual circumstances under which Essex entered on a misguided career of errors, of which we have already mentioned some of the chief consequences. We shall, in our notice of the earl of Tyrone, have to take a view somewhat more enlarged, of this period of our history, to which we must refer the reader. We must here endeavour, as far as is possible, to confine ourselves to the life of O'Donell.

A change of administration gave a more favourable aspect to Irish affairs in the latter end of 1599. Lord Mountjoy was sent over as deputy, and Sir George Carew as president of Munster; and early in the following year, advantages were gained by these able commanders which struck misgiving and dismay through the hearts of the national leaders. A detachment which the president sent into Carbery, under the command of captain Flower, was intercepted by an ambush, yet obtained a signal victory over M'Carthy and O'Conor Carbery, the latter of whom was slain; in consequence of which M'Carthy and others submitted. Meanwhile the lord Mountjoy garrisoned the northern towns. Among these vigorous dispositions the historian of O'Donell confines his notice to those which more peculiarly affected Tirconnell and its neighbouring districts; and his statements, though strictly correct, exhibit in a curious manner the confined and ignorant observation which we have endeavoured to describe. A body of men, stated at 6000 by this writer, was embarked in Dublin, under the command of Sir Henry Doekwra, and, on the 10th of May, arriving in Lough Foyle, landed in Inishowen, the land of O'Dogherty. Here they seized on the fort of Culmore, and fortified it, and parties were detached to Dunalong, in O'Kane's country, and to Derry, which were also seized, fortified and garrisoned.

This judicious and serviceable disposition of force is otherwise interpreted by our historian, who tells us that the English shut themselves up in their forts so as to afford O'Donell no opportunity of bringing them to action; on which he, conceding the main object for which these garrisons were placed, resolved to leave O'Dogherty to take care of himself, and marched away with the main body of his troops to punish the earls of Thomond and Clanricarde for joining the English, by the plunder of their estates. In this design, which was after all the most prudent under the actual circumstances, he was as usual eminently successful. Calling together his Connaught adherents, he swept away the cattle and property of every kind from both these districts, leaving unpillaged no house but the monasteries and other places of religious establishment; and, dividing the spoil among his chiefs and allies, returned home in triumph.

Having rested his army for some months, O'Donell received intelligence that the English in Derry were in the custom of sending out their horses to graze daily, under the care of a very small party. He lost no time in sending a select body of horse under the cover of night to conceal themselves so as to be between the horses and the town, and another party were ordered to be in readiness to drive them off. Accordingly, when the English detachment appeared next morning on the plain, they were surprized by an unexpected party of Irish, who began unceremoniously to drive away their horses. This proceeding soon attracted notice from the walls, and a large body came out precipitately to the rescue. O'Donell himself pressed forward, and was encountered by Dockwra in person, whom he wounded. The English were compelled to retire within the walls, and lost two hundred horses. O'Donell having waited to the end of October, in the vain expectation that the English would evacuate the fortresses and towns they held, left the country and repeated his former severe inflictions on the lands of Thomond.

The next important occurrence in the history of O'Donell is, the defection of his cousin and brother-in-law, Niall O'Donell. The importance of the event is as usual magnified by the Irish historian, who considerably overrates the efforts made by the deputy to gain over Niall, by high offers of command and treasure; and misrepresents equally the sick and tired condition of the English, whom he describes as relieved by this treachery. The truth will better appear from a statement of the previous facts, which did not fall within the scope of this writer's design.

On the 23d of April, previous to the circumstance last mentioned, lord Mountjoy gave a feast in celebration of St George's day, at which were present those chiefs whom the success of his military operations had induced to make their timely submissions to a commander who, it had become quite apparent, was not to be much longer resisted without destruction. These were mostly chiefs of an inferior class, but all of whom had a little before taken an active part in resistance. Their names are MacHenry, captain of the Fewes; Macooly, chief of the Fearny; O'Hanlon, an Ulster chief; MacFeagh, chief of the O'Byrne's, and son to the war-like chief, of whom so much has been related—with Spaniagh, chief of the Kavenaghs. All these had been

received to mercy on their submission. The kindness with which they were entertained, was an influential inducement, which led to the voluntary submission of many greater chiefs who were more immediately connected with the districts in an insurrectionary state—these were M'Carthy Reagh of Carbery, O'Sullivan Bear and O'Sullivan Bantry, with other less known chiefs, who came in to offer submission, a step which they would not have dared, if the great chiefs of Tyrone and Tircconnell were in condition to call them to a reckoning. Shortly after a pardon was granted to Phelim MacFeagh O'Toole, and a protection to Ross MacMahon till he might sue for pardon.

When the treachery of O'Donell's kinsman—for such we must account it—is viewed in connexion with these and many similar facts which we might easily bring together, the defection is a sufficient evidence of a state of things, and of a general impression on the minds of the chiefs; and it becomes a high probability that, great as was the enthusiasm in favour of O'Donell, a strong tide of adverse fortune was generally perceived to be setting in against the cause for which he fought so ably, but with so little *real result*. The greater part of the most distinguished of his exploits, could have no immediate effect of any kind but to impoverish the lands of Thomond and Clanricarde which he plundered. The English held places of strength which he did not even attack—with small contingents of force, not designed to meet him in the field, but to secure these positions. This course, which O'Donell must have rightly understood, is evidently misconceived by the simplicity of his biographer, who treats it as the manifestation of weakness. We are the more particular in laying stress on this, because the curious MS. to which we advert, while it is invaluable for the internal view it gives of the manners and warfare of the day, is only calculated to mislead the antiquarian who might be led to treat it as history.

O'Donell's brother-in-law, according to the biographer, having long continued proof against the extravagant offers of the English—vast treasures and the sovereignty of Tyreconnell—at last gave way, and drawing after him his brothers, Yellow Hugh and Conn-Oge, declared against the chief. The English were thus relieved from the necessity of a more laborious warfare. Niall O'Donell put them in possession of Lifford, an ancient residence of O'Donell, at the time decayed. This the English fortified for themselves.

O'Donell, on receiving this disastrous intelligence, marched to Lifford, with a small army, and encamped within two miles of the fort, which they were yet completing. His presence had the disadvantageous effect of restricting their excursions, and lessening their means of subsistence. They, on their part, not having force equal to a battle, watched their opportunity and made a desperate sally, but failed to repulse the Irish, and were compelled to retire after a smart skirmish. In this encounter Manus O'Donell, Red Hugh's brother, received a mortal wound from the hand of the traitor Niall, who was himself wounded by Rory O'Donell. Manus lingered for seven days, and died on the 27th October, 1600.

Having blockaded the English for some time longer, O'Donell learned that a vessel, bearing supplies from Spain, was arrived in the

harbour of Invermore. Sending messengers to O'Neale, he went to meet the Spanish envoy at Tirboghaine. On this occasion the sum of £6000 was sent over by the king of Spain, and divided between O'Donell and O'Neale. And in the beginning of January, 1600, O'Donell, having consulted fully with the Spaniard on the affairs of the country, and doubtless concerted the next invasion from Spain, which occurred so soon after, returned to his camp at Lifford.

While thus engaged, he received intimation that O'Connor Sligo had entered into an engagement to seize on his person and deliver him up to the English. Having communicated this alarming intelligence to his friends, they resolved to prevent O'Connor's design by seizing himself. This was quickly effected, and he was sent to Lough Esk, and kept as a hostage.

The movements of both parties which succeeded, as they had little or no result, are scarcely worth the narration. Many skirmishings and marchings took place without decisive issue.

It was in the month of October that events occurred, which at first promising a favourable turn to the affairs of O'Donell, ended in their total ruin. A Spanish fleet arrived in the harbour of Kinsale; this event broke up all minor plans, and brought the two great leaders of the Irish, O'Donell and O'Neale, with their whole forces, to meet and join their allies. It also caused a powerful concentration of the English under the lord-deputy and president, to the amount of 7,600 men. The Spaniards were 4,000, under the command of Don Juan D'Aguila. The Irish force cannot, with any tolerable certainty, be stated, but may be reasonably rated at many thousands. All circumstances had for a considerable time favoured the military improvement of the Irish. They had, according to the statements of the Irish biographer, received arms for upwards of 20,000 men, besides the large supplies taken in plunder, and not numerically stated. A great part of the money sent over from England came by the same course of traffic into their hands, and the English possessed resources far inferior to those they thus obtained. It was, indeed, to meet the disadvantage arising from the Irish being thus enabled to purchase all they wanted in Spain, that the English cabinet adopted the unsafe expedient of a debased coinage, by which the currency might be confined to the country.

As this great struggle, which terminated the insurrection of O'Donell, O'Neale, and the other chiefs who were leagued with them, at this period, will come more appropriately into the life of Tyrone, when we shall have occasion to bring forward in detail, a fuller view of various concurrent events, we shall here confine ourselves as nearly as we can to those particular incidents in which O'Donell was more immediately a party.

The Spanish took possession of Kinsale and Rin Corran, being the main places of strength on either side of the harbour of Kinsale. They were deprived of Rin Corran; and Kinsale was closely besieged by the lord-deputy. On the seventh of November, the lord-deputy having intelligence that O'Donell was approaching, as was also Tyrone, called a council, in which it was agreed to send the lord-president Carew and Sir Charles Wilmot with their regiments, amounting to a thousand men, with two hundred and fifty horse, to meet O'Donell

—a force which the Irish biographer, with the exaggeration of party feeling, and a very excusable ignorance of the fact, states as four thousand men.

O'Donell was waiting near Holy Cross, in Tipperary, for the earl of Tyrone; his camp was strongly fortified by the strong fastnesses of wood and bog, which he had secured by plashing on every side: so that no immediate assault was practicable by the English party. These in the mean time were strengthened by a regiment of foot and a few horse, under Sir Christopher St Lawrence. It was not the object of O'Donell to risk a premature conflict with this detached body before he could effect a junction with his allies; and he very wisely determined to avoid an encounter. It was still less desirable to be cooped up within his entrenchments. He escaped by a combination of good fortune with that skill in marches, which, throughout, appears to have been a conspicuous part of his tactics. The nearest available way through which his army could pass was twenty miles distant, near the abbey of Ownhy. His way was intercepted by the English. The only passage besides lay through the heights and passes of the mountain Sleuwhelim, which were rendered impracticable by recent rains which flooded the numerous bogs and marshes which obstructed the mountain and rendered the acclivity in every part miry and slippery, so that no army could pass without leaving their entire *materiel* behind them. A sudden frost consolidated the marshy surface; and O'Donell, at once seizing the occasion, led his troops over a path entirely impervious on the preceding night-fall. The English lay about four miles from the Irish camp; and ere long were apprised of the enemy's movement; and about four hours before dawn they began to pursue, still hoping to intercept O'Donell before he could reach the pass. They reached the abbey by eleven in the forenoon, and heard that he had been there before them and had hastened on to a house of the countess of Kildare, called Crom; his whole march being thirty-two miles. The president pushed on to Kilmallock; but before he could reach Crom, O'Donell had departed with all his men to Connelloge. The president on this concluded the pursuit hopeless, and returned to Kinsale. O'Donell, following a circuitous and difficult path, at last joined the Spaniards at Castlehaven.*

Between the English and the Spanish in Kinsale, many fierce encounters had taken place, hereafter to be described; and each had been strengthened by strong reinforcements. When O'Donell and Tyrone were come up, they received a letter from Don Juan, strongly urging an immediate attack on the English;—he informed them that the English had not men enough to defend the third part of the intrenchments, and that if their first fury were resisted, all would end well.

On the receipt of this letter, O'Donell and Tyrone held a council, in which the MS. biographer of O'Donell affirms that they disagreed: O'Donell urging an attack, and O'Neale opposing this advice. O'Donell prevailed; but the MS. mentions, that the consequence was a quarrel between them, fatal to their cause; for neither chief giving way,

* Sir W. Betham.

after a night of warm dispute they separated in the morning, and each party came separately before the English at day break.*

It will here be enough to state, that they were attacked by the lord-deputy with 1,100 men; and that they were routed with desperate slaughter, leaving 1,200 dead on the field, with 800 wounded. This battle was fought within a mile of Kinsale; and terminated the insurrection of O'Neale and O'Donell. The Spanish treated for their surrender; and the Irish, it is said, disputed for several days on the proposal of another battle. Pacific resolutions prevailed, though the consultation wanted little of the violence of a fight.

O'Donell, still bent on maintaining the struggle to which his life had been dedicated, embarked with Don Juan for Spain, from Castlehaven, on the 6th of January, 1602; and landed at Corunna on the 16th of the same month. The king was at the time on a progress through his dominions; and O'Donell repaired to him at Zamora in Castile. He was received kindly by Philip, who listened with the appearance at least of generous sympathy to his complaints against their common enemy. He was promised every assistance of men and means; and desired to wait in Corunna. O'Donell returned to Corunna, and for eight or nine tedious months suffered the penalties which but too frequently await those who put their trust in princes. The spring passed away in eager hope;—summer still smiled on the lingering day of sickening expectation. When autumn came, the impatience of the fervid son of Tyrconnell had risen to its height. O'Donell could rest no longer—it is, indeed, likely enough, that he was forgotten—he again resolved to visit the king; and set out on his way to Valladolid, where he kept his court, but did not reach the end of his journey. At Simancas, within two leagues of Valladolid, he fell sick, and died, 10th September, 1602. O'Donell was thus cut off in his 29th year; having, in the course of a few years, by his activity and the ascendancy of a vigorous understanding and decisive mind, done more to make his countrymen formidable in the field than the whole unremitting fierceness and resistance of the four previous centuries had effected. He was prompt to seize every advantage—and cautious to avoid collisions to which he was unequal. He kept his people employed, and brought their faculties into training, while he accumulated arms and the means of war. Had he been allowed to persist a few years longer in that course of which his faithful secretary affords us many graphic views: acquiring ascendancy and wealth—spoiling the chiefs who held out against him—and recompensing with the spoil those who were his allies; exercising his troops without loss or risk, while he slowly concentrated the mind and force of the country under a common leader—it is hard to say what might be the limit of the achievements of his maturer years. Far inferior in power, experience, and subtilty to the earl of Tyrone, it is yet remarkable how early he began to take the lead on those occasions in which their personal qualities alone were brought into collision. On such occasions the temporizing temper of the earl seems ever to have given way before the frank resolution of Red Hugh. O'Donell, of all the Irishmen of

* Sir W. Betham.

his day, seems to have been actuated by a purpose independent of self-interest; and though much of this is to be traced to a sense of injury and the thirst of a vindictive spirit, strongly impressed at an early age, and cherished for many years of suffering, so as to amount to an education; yet, in the mingled motives of the human breast, it may be allowed, that his hatred to the English was tempered and dignified with the desire to vindicate the honour and freedom of his country. And if we look to the fickleness, venality, suppleness and want of truth, which prominently characterizes the best of his allies in the strife—their readiness to submit and to rebel; O'Donell's steady and unbending zeal, patience, caution, firmness, tenacity of purpose, steady consistency, and indefatigable energy, may bear an honourable comparison with the virtues of any other illustrious leader, whose name adorns the history of his time.

James, commonly called the Sугan Earl of Desmond.

DIED A. D. 1608.

JAMES, the fifteenth earl of Desmond, was first married to Joan, daughter of lord Fermoy. After the birth, from this union, of one son, Thomas, he obtained a divorce on the plea of consanguinity. Earl James married again, and the succession was by devise and settlement transferred to a son by his second wife, Gerald, the unfortunate earl, whose history has already been given at length in this volume. In the mean time, the son thus set aside, grew up and obtained possession of a sufficient inheritance in the county of Cork, where he built the castle of Conoha, in which he spent his life in quiet; prudently forbearing to entangle himself in the sea of disturbance, in which so many of his race had been wrecked. He married a daughter of lord Poer, by whom he had three sons and a daughter.

On the attainder of his unfortunate uncle, the sixteenth earl, James, the eldest of these, was induced to plunge into the troubles which were beginning to rise to an unprecedented height, and to menace destruction to the English possessions in Ireland. It was a subject of deep irritation to see an inheritance to which the obstruction to his own claim was now removed, in the hands of the English undertakers, and his last hope of obtaining redress, was reduced to the chances of rebellion. These chances seemed now to multiply in appearance; rebellion was beginning to assume a more concentrated form; the discipline of the Irish was increasing under the grasping activity of Hugh O'Donell, the cautious policy of Tyrone, which matured rebellion on a broad basis; and the enmity of Spain against the queen, which promised effectual aid. Such were the motives which led this claimant of the earldom to join Tyrone, of whose rebellion, his will be found to form the regular preliminary; so that we are led to pass in the natural order of events, from one to the other.

In 1598, he was raised by Tyrone's authority to the title of earl of Desmond. The earl of Tyrone, whose history virtually comprehends that of all the other insurgent chiefs of his time, had first sent Owny

M'Rory, with captain Tyrrel, and a considerable body of men, into Munster, for the purpose of awakening and giving a strong impulse to rebellion in that quarter. And, according to the account of the earl of Totness, who conducted this war to its conclusion, he shortly followed himself. Those whom he found in rebellion he confirmed, and from those who were doubtful he took pledges. But of all those whose influence he courted, as the most efficient in the south, the heir of the estates and principles of the princely and ever rebellious house of Desmond, stood foremost in his estimation. From the white knight he took pledges; Donald M'Carthy he deposed, and in his place raised Florence M'Carthy to the title and authority of M'Carthy More. On good subjects he inflicted the punishment of fire and sword: but the Sугan earl was his chief object and hope in Munster.

The Sугan earl began his career by a descent on the estates of the brave and loyal lord Barry, with a small tumultuary force of 100 kerne, and drove away 300 cows and 10 horses.

The lord-president early adopted a system of action, which in the Munster rebellion, he found in a considerable degree available. The operation of fear and self-interest had a material influence with its leaders, who were not like those of the north, strengthened in the secure and unshaken hold of their vast possessions:—Desmond and M'Carthy were scarcely seated in their authority; and Dermond O'Conor was a soldier of fortune, whose reputation as a soldier, along with his marriage with a daughter of the old earl of Desmond, were in reality his chief claims to authority. These were, nevertheless, the heads of the rebellion, and if allowed, likely to gather a degree of power, which might, considering the state of Ulster, become difficult to cope with. The president therefore tried the effect of separate treaties, and had the address to divide these shallow but dangerous spirits. Florence M'Carthy was awed into a temporary neutrality, and O'Conor was easily detached from his rebel kinsman.

Dermond O'Conor had been appointed by Tyrone to the command of his men, whom he left in Munster; and being retained for pay, was therefore considered by the president as a fit person for his purpose. For this and other considerations, he assailed O'Conor through his wife, who, being a sister to the son of the late earl, at the time confined in the Tower, would be the more likely to take a strong part against the pretender. It was through this lady settled with O'Conor, that he should take Desmond prisoner, and deliver his person up to the president, for which service he should receive £1000, and be appointed to a company in the queen's service. Dermond also stipulated for hostages, which were granted. The lord-president selected four persons who were likely to be safe in his hands, and to prevent suspicion they were met taken as prisoners by a party of Dermond's men sent to meet them for the purpose.

In the mean time, each party pursued its preparation. The president contrived to spread a premature alarm, which brought together the rebel forces in the forest of Kilmore, between Moyallo and Kilmallock, where they waited for ten days in daily expectation of the enemy: after which, having consumed their provisions and wearied conjecture, they were forced to separate. By this contrivance the presi-

dent was enabled to scatter the rebel force, and at the same time ascertain its extent. The following letter, from Desmond to Florence M'Carthy, was written 17th May, and may serve to give a view of his condition at the time, as well as of the motives which he thought most likely to be influentially put forward.

Letter to Florence M'Carthy.

“After my very heartie commendations, having received intelligence of your happie escape out of Corke, it was very joyfull to mee and many other your cosens and adherents heere; the fruite of your conferenee with the president, and the rest, I hope shall purchase ripe experience, and harvest of further knowledge, to cut off the cruell yoke of bloody enemies, who daily studie to worke our perpetuall destruction and exile: I am given to understand, that they pretend a journey towards the countie of Limerick, I am gathering the best force, and rising out of these parts to resist their wicked desires: Redmond Burke is bordering on the confines of Ormonde, expecting to heare from me, if occasion of important service should require, I have the other day received his letters signifying his constant service, to be ready whensoever I shall send to him, what news you have with your best advice in all causes tending to our generall service, I expect to heare, and if the president doe rise out (as it is thought), I pray you goode cosen slacke not time, with your best force and provision of victuals to prosecute him freshly in the reare-ward, as you respect me, the exaltation of the Catholike faith, and the ease of our countrey: I looke no excuse at your hands, which I pray to lay apart, wherein you shall further the service, and bind me with all my forces to second you at your need. I have retained Dermond O'Conor in Kerry, two hundred souldiers this quarter, besides the Claushikies and other borroghs with the rising out of my country, so as I think, I shall make up sixteen or seventeene hundred strong, well appointed, together with the force of Redmond Burke. Thus for the lacke of farther novelties, I commit you to the blessed guiding of God. From Crome the seventeenth of May, 1600.

“I am credibly informed, that five Spanish ships are landed in the north, with treasure, munition, and great ordinance, with a competent number of three thousand soldiers, pioneers, and religious persons, I expect every day advertisement in writing, and the coming up of captain Ferrell, with the munition sent me by O'Neyle. I appointed your cosen Mauriee Oge, Fitz-Mauriee Gerald, to have the charge of Keirryecorrie, I pray you afford him your lawfull favour.

“Your most assured cosen,

“JAMES DESMOND.”

Previous to Dermond O'Conor's attempt on the Sugan earl, another plan of the same nature was tried to be executed against his brother, John of Desmond. A person of the name of Nugent, who had been a servant to Sir John Norris, had on some real or imaginary grievance joined the rebel party, and, being a person of great valour, and activity, and resolution, became quickly very formidable in Munster. About the time in which we are now engaged, he saw

reason to return to the English, and came to the commissioners St Leger and Power, who sent him to the president. The president informed him, that after his great crimes, he could only expect to be taken into favour by the performance of some good service, in consideration of which he might expect pardon and recompense. Nugent offered to "ruine within a short time," either the pretended earl or John his brother. The president, relying on the plot already prepared for the earl, accepted his offer for the other. To prevent suspicion, he was brought before the council and reprimanded with great severity, his petition for mercy rejected, and himself only dismissed on the faith of the queen's word.

John Fitz-Thomas, as he is commonly named, was keeping possession of an island in Lough Gur, on which there was a strong castle, well garrisoned, and from its position till then impregnable. This place the president considered it to be of the first importance to reduce, as it rendered the way unsafe between Kilmallock and Limerick. Hither on the 25th May, 1600, the president marched from Brough, and made all necessary preparation for the siege. But the cost and delay of this difficult undertaking were saved; the person to whom John Fitz-Thomas gave the charge of the castle, delivered it up for the sum of £60. On receiving possession of this castle, the president marched on, and John Fitz-Thomas came from the island towards the "fastnesses of Arlough," where most of his men were. Nugent followed at some small distance, accompanied by a person named Copinger, whose aid he had, as he thought, secured. Approaching gradually to his intended victim, he came within pistol shot. He then drew out a pistol charged with two bullets, and was raising it to take aim, when unexpectedly the pistol was wrested from his grasp by his companion, who at the same instant shouted "treason." Nugent turned to escape, but in turning too sharply his horse fell, and he was taken and hanged next day.

The effect of this incident was to put John of Desmond in continual fear, and as Nugent before his death mentioned, that it had been his intention to have immediately repaired to the earl, and under pretence of giving him the account, to have also killed him: the same fear was communicated to the earl, who afterwards acknowledged to the president, that he and his brother never durst lodge together in one place, or even serve at the head of their troops, for fear of being shot by some of their own men.

The execution of Dermond O'Connor's stratagem was now to be furthered by a movement of the president. As the capture of the Sугan earl was rendered both difficult and dangerous by the presence of his army, it was thought advisable to induce him to dismiss it by the division and separate cantonment of the English, who were for the purpose ordered to several garrisons in possession of the English. It fell out accordingly, when the president had, to the great surprise and dissatisfaction of his officers, thus distributed his troops, the Irish were allowed to scatter away to their homes. Shortly after, all being prepared, O'Connor sent a messenger to the Sугan earl, desiring a conference on the 18th June, to arrange some operations for the conduct of the war. The earl accordingly came; his suspicion had been

slightly roused by some secret intelligence, which he did not, however, credit; he came nevertheless attended by 200 foot: O'Connor brought with him 150. A quarrel seemingly accidental, was easily excited, and under the pretence of interference quickly spread until the tumult became confused enough to afford a pretext for any construction: O'Connor easily found an excuse to be angry, and to affect the suspicion of some treasonable intention. Unsuspicious of design and only desirous to appease him, the Sugan earl offered to dismiss his kernes. The offer was insidiously accepted, and they were at once removed to some distance from the place of parley. This having been adjusted, the bonnogs or men of O'Connor drew round the place where they stood, and O'Connor laid hold of the Sugan earl, and told him he was his prisoner. The earl expressed surprise, and asked for whom and what cause. "For O'Neale," answered O'Connor, "and I purpose to detain you till his pleasure shall be known, as you have conspired with the English, and promised the president, to deliver me alive or dead into his hands;" in confirmation of which he drew forth and read out a letter which he pretended to have intercepted, but which was really contrived for the purpose. This letter has been preserved by the president himself in the account which he left of the transaction.

Pretended letter from the Lord President to James Fitz-Thomas.

"SIR,—Your last letters I have received, and am exceeding glad to see your constant resolution of returne to subjection, and to leave the rebellious courses wherein you have long persevered, you may rest assured that promises shall be kept; and you shall no sooner bring Dermond O'Connor to me, alive or dead, and banish his bownogs out of the countrie, but that you shall have your demand satisfied, which I thanke God, I am both able and willing to performe; beleve me you have no better way to recover your desperate estate, then by this good service, which you have proffered, and therefore I cannot but commend your judgement in choosing the same to redeeme your former faults: and I doe the rather believe the performance of it, by your late action touching Loghquire, wherein your brother and yourselfe have well merited; and as I promised, you shall finde mee so just, as no creature living shall ever know, that either of you did assent to the surrender of it; all your letters I have received, as also the joynt letter, from your brother and yourselfe; I pray loose no time; for delays in great actions are subject to many dangers. Now that the Queenes armie is in the field, you may worke your determination with most securitie, being ready to releive you upon a dayes warning: so praying God to assist you in this meritorious enterprize I doe leave you to his protection this twentie ninth of May, 1600."

This specious imposture reconciled the minds of the persons present. But to ensure their satisfaction, O'Connor gave three other gentlemen whom he took at the same time to his chief captains to keep them for their ransoms. The Sugan earl was then, with the other prisoners, mounted on some lean hacks, and conveyed through Counilogh to castle Lyshin, where O'Connor's wife and family with the English pledges were. From thence he went and took the castle of Ballianinan,

belonging to Rory Maesbihy, father to two of his prisoners; and having done so, he sent for his wife, family, and the English pledges, leaving at castle Lyshin sixteen trusty persons to guard the earl and his companions. O'Connor's fear of a rescue caused him to divide his prisoners and pledges thus. He then sent John Power, one of the English pledges to apprise the president of his success, and to beg of him to draw towards Kilmallock, with such force as he could muster, where his wife should meet him to receive the thousand pounds and to deliver the prisoner.

The president had about one thousand foot, and two troops of horse, having sent the rest of his army under captain Flower, to the earl of Thomond, on whose lands O'Donell had made a sudden descent. With this force he drew toward Kilmallock, in the hope of receiving there a prisoner of such importance. There however, he was delayed nearly six days, without any account from the lady Margaret, who was detained by the danger of the way, but at last brought an account that castle Lyshin was besieged by the people of Connaught. The president ordered a march to raise the siege, but had not gone a mile when a messenger brought word of the escape of the earl.

Dermond O'Connor soon found himself compelled to enter upon terms with his country, who ever after held him in distrust. A letter from the rebel chiefs of Munster to O'Donell, inviting him to their assistance in their attempts to rescue the Sagan earl, was intercepted and brought to the president. He, on his part, having received Dermond's letter, that he was besieged in Ballyaninan, marched that way by Conniloe, and the town of Killinery, to relieve him. But when he arrived within three miles of Ballyaninan, the rebels being unwilling that a person so dangerous as Dermond should be leagued with the English, resolved to treat with him. Dermond, perhaps unaware that relief was so near, and also uncertain as to his reception from the president, consented, and surrendered the castle and himself on terms more favourable than he had reason to expect.

The lord president now directed his march to the Glynne castle, belonging to O'Connor Kerry, in the county of Limerick. On his way he took Crome castle, at the entrance of Conniloe; and on the 30th June, came to Askeaton, where he continued a few days in expectation of supplies. On the 4th of July, he continued his march west from Askeaton, while during the entire day, the enemy to the number of 3000, continued marching in sight. It seemed to the president, that they were all the time on the watch for some occasion of advantage for an attack. There was, however, division in their camp; they were composed of two classes, the provincials and the hired troops, who entertained a mutual jealousy of each other. The bonnogs or mercenaries from Connaught began to perceive that they were likely to be disappointed in their sanguine expectations of plunder, and the situation of the earl was such as to make their hire itself precarious. This was made apparent by several letters from some of the leaders, who desired safe conducts from the president to retire with their people.

A letter written at this time, from the Sagan earl, to Florence M'Carthy, explains his position and gives some additional interest to these movements.

Letter from James Fitz-Thomas to Florence Macarthy:—

“ MY VERY GOOD LORD,

“ I was driven through the treacherous dealings of Dermond O'Connor, to let the president and the English armie pass into Glenne, without any resistance; and yet they are but thirteene hundred foote, and one hundred fiftie horse; Dermond O'Connor did undertake that the Connaght men should not medle with them, nor take our parts, being the only encouragement of the English, to venter this enterprise: but now God be prayسد, I am joining my forces with them, and doe pray you to assist mee with your forces, for now is the time to shew ourselves upon the enemy, for they are but very few in number, and destitute of all reliefe, either by sea or land: if your lordship bee not well at ease yourselfe, let your brother Dermond, and the chiefe gentlemen of your forces come without any delay; assuring your lordship, that I will, and am ready, to shew you the like against your need: beseeching your lordship once againe, not to faile, as you tender the overthrow of our action; even so committing your lordship to the tuition of God Almighty I end. Portrinad the fifth of July 1600.

“ Your honours most assured friend and cosen,

“ JAMES DESMOND.”

On the 5th of July the lord president sat down before the castle of Glynn, the army of the Sugan earl and his allies looking on from a hill, in reliance on the great strength of the castle. By engaging the besieged in a parley, the president contrived to plant his two cannon within battering range without any resistance. The attack seems to have been delayed for one day more by different parleys and negotiations both with the besieged and with the chiefs of the rebel host. Of these latter, the Knight of the Valley sought and obtained a safe conduct to confer with the earl of Thomond; through this lord, he conveyed his demand of an audience from the lord president, who refused to see him, unless on his absolute submission. This condition he rejected, and was commanded to depart; “he saw,” writes the president, “the cannon already planted, and his son, then a child, in the president’s hands ready to be executed, being by himself formerly put in pledge for his loyaltie.” The sight for a moment shook the resolution of the knight, and the conference was renewed, though in vain; ambition, resentment, or partizanship, were stronger than the parental tie, and frustrated every attempt to bring him to yield, and in the evening of the same day, he was dismissed. The constable of the castle came to the same earl under a safe conduct, and represented the danger of the attack; as he assured him the earl of Desmond would attack the English and drive them into the Shannon.

The earl of Thomond laughed at the threat, and in return advised the surrender of the castle, assuring him that the lives of the garrison should be spared; this, however, he would not hear of, and a little after, as he was departing, he received a message from the lord president. “that since he refused the earl of Thomond’s favourable

offer, he was in hopes before two days were spent, to have his head set upon a stake.”*

On the following day, the president ordered his battery to be opened, but the cannon on which their dependance was placed, was found to be so clogged at the touch-hole, that it could not be freed. The lord-president, by a curious expedient, which he records for the instruction of posterity, contrived to remedy this obstruction. He ordered the gun to be raised on its carriage, as nearly as possible into a vertical position; then “he willed the gunner to give her a full charge of powder, and rouse a shot after it, whereby the touch-hole was presently cleared, to the great rejoicings of the armie.”† The president then ordered the knight of the valley’s child to be placed on one of the gabions, and sent word to the castle, that “they should have a fair mark to bestow their small shot upon.” The constable, in terms not sufficiently decorous to be repeated, answered that the knight of the valley might have more sons, and that they should not spare their fire on account of the child. On this the president ordered the child to be removed and the cannon to be discharged against the walls. A fire commenced on both sides, and before long a breach was made into a cellar under the great hall of the castle.

Into this breach a party, led by captain Flower, entered, and forced their way into the hall, driving the garrison before them into a neighbouring tower which opened from it. Here four of the English were slain by shots from a spike-hole. Captain Flower then led his men up the narrow spiral stairs, which led to two turrets, on the top of the castle; these they gained with the loss of an inferior officer, and planted the English ensigns upon them.

By the time the last-mentioned service was effected, it had grown quite dark, and as it was impossible to make any further progress, captain Slingsby was ordered to maintain the position already won till morning. During the night, there was some firing on both sides within the castle, each party being kept in apprehension of the other. The constable, seeing that he was unlikely to save himself by any other means, thought to escape during the darkness under cover of a sally. The English guard was too alert; his party was repulsed and himself slain. In the morning, it was found that the Irish had retired into the tower of the castle. The stone stairs, which were the only ascent, were so narrow that one only could mount at a time: this difficult ascent was guarded by a strong wooden door, to which the assailants set fire. By this means the narrow way became so filled with smoke, that a considerable time elapsed before any further step could be taken; when the smoke was cleared away, several English officers, followed by their men, ascended in single file; they met no resistance; the Irish had made their way out on the castle wall. An offer to surrender, on condition of their lives being spared, met with no answer, and they then resolved to sell them dearly. The English, led by captains Flower and Slingsby, rushed out through the door which led to the battlements, and a rough and desperate but short struggle took place in the gutters, between the battlements and the

* Hiber. Pac.

† Ibid. Pacata.

roof of the castle: here many fell on both sides—mercy was unthought of, and the narrow gutters ran with blood; eleven English soldiers were killed and 21 wounded. Of the Irish, fell 80 in all; some were slain on the battlements; some who hoped to escape by leaping over into the water below, were killed by the English who surrounded the castle.*

The earl of Desmond had not resolution to offer any interruption to the taking of this castle, the importance of which was very considerable. It had served the Irish as a secure factory, from whence, by means of a Limerick merchant, all their wants had been supplied.

The Sugan earl in the meantime, seemed to be content with the show of war. With a force in general nearly triple that of the English, he was content to hang at a safe distance on their march and observe their movements, or seize occasion to show hostility by some small depredations or assaults on straggling parties. The president pursued his operations, very much as if there was no hostile force in the field.

The county of Kerry had until recently, been untouched by these military operations, and abounded with men and provisions. In the heart of this district lay the strong castle of Lisaghan, an object of the utmost importance, and presenting no small obstacles to any hope of successful attack. The enterprise was however undertaken by Maurice Stack, a gentleman in attendance upon the lord president, and highly reputed for his conduct and valour. He was probably favoured by the tranquil and isolated position of the place, for he contrived to take the castle by surprise. The loss was felt by the rebel chiefs to be a serious blow, and all means for its recovery were put in motion; force and fraud were tried in turn and failed. The siege was repelled, and the rebel army compelled to retire with some disgrace from before the walls. A little after, while the brave Stack was away, and the command entrusted to Walter Talbot, Florence M'Carthy, whose conduct seems to have been curiously temporizing, and ordered very much with a view to avoid committing himself, came to Talbot, and endeavoured to cajole him into a surrender. Such efforts were little likely to succeed; but when reported to the lord president, he thought it prudent to visit him, and accordingly took with him 1000 foot, and 75 horse, and in five days came to Kilrush; when by the aid of the earl of Thomond, he had his troops ferried across the river.

In the meantime these movements were not unobserved. A letter was written by the Sugan earl to Florence M'Carthy, which was, we presume, intercepted by the lord president, on whose authority it is given.

Letter from James Fitz-Thomas to Florence M'Carthy.

“COUSEN,

“Yesterday I came over the mountaine, and brought with mee the Bonnaghs of Conelloe, the residue and force of the countrey I have left to keepe their Crets. I understand since my comming, that Sir Charles Wilmott, with six hundred foot, and fiftie horse, are come

to Clanmorris, and this night pretend to be at Tralee. I have sent to the knight, and all the country presently to meet mee to-morrow, to resist their determination; and for your better furtherance and accomplishment of our action, I am to entreat your lordship, as you regard your own quiet, and exaltation of the service, to make what haste you may, and speedily to yeeld us your helping assistance, for which, will rest thankfull and most readie to answer your lordship at your need; and thus referring the consideration hereof to your lordship, I commit you to God. Primo Augusti, 1600.

“Your lordship’s very loving cousen,

“JAMES DESMOND.”

Thus was the wave of destruction rolled into this hitherto unmolested district. On reaching Carrigofoyle, the president obtained information that the Irish had come to a determination to destroy their castles in Kerry; on which he sent Sir Charles Wilmot to prevent them. Sir Charles made a rapid march and came by surprise on several castles—Lixnaw, which had been undermined by its lord, who afterwards is said to have died of grief, for this work of his own folly: Tralee the house of Sir Edward Denny, which 150 soldiers of the Sagan earl were in the very act of destroying; while these were yet busy in the completion of this exploit, the noise they made in the vaults which they endeavoured to undermine, prevented them from hearing the approach of Sir Charles and his troop of fifty horse, who killed 32 of them, and seized the arms of a hundred men.

We have already mentioned the very peculiar position which Florence M’Carthy was all this time endeavouring to maintain; in which it seems obviously his object was to keep fair with either party, and finally to attach himself to the stronger. The league which was at the time in the course of progress against the English, was such as to raise strong hopes of their entire subversion; when the concentrated forces of the northern and southern chiefs, strengthened by the men, money, and arms of Spain, should be brought to bear upon them. But the vast superiority of the English force, in point of efficiency in the field, was still such as to cast a strong doubt on the success of any numerical superiority which could be brought against them. The best indication for the Irish, was the caution they had learned; they now evinced a strong sense that their only safe tactics consisted in vigilant observation for the moment of advantage. Hence it may be observed by the reader, that such was the conduct of Desmond’s army; with all his numerical superiority, he was contented with such a course that while the utmost activity was maintained on either side, the English appear, by all statements, to have moved in a perfectly unobstructed course to the execution of their objects. Such was the state of things at a juncture, which actually constitutes the turning point of the fortunes of the pale. And which may without great rashness be taken as the cause, which suggested so much doubt, and caused such continual wavering among the native chiefs. It was a question, whether they were to embrace safety or irreversible ruin, and the grounds of decision presented as yet no very decisive aspect, to the subtle yet circumscribed observation of these barbarous leaders.

Of these, the most curious instance of conduct rendered perplexed and vacillating from indecision of character, together with embarrassment of position, was that of Florence M'Carthy. This chief, sincere to neither party, and keeping on doubtful terms with both, presents us with that species of general illustration which is sometimes to be found in an extreme case: steady only in availing himself of all circumstances, which could for the moment render him important to either party—or gain an object, or divert a suspicion. Still, though an anxiety for his own safety was uppermost in his wavering counsels, he undoubtedly preferred the rebel cause. It was at the period of his arrival at Kerry, that the lord-president, hearing that this chief was near, and having strong reasons to suspect him, sent to desire his presence at Carrigfoyle. M'Carthy sent excuses joined with oaths of fidelity. Another message was dispatched with a safe-conduct, but all was of no avail. This confirmed the suspicions of Carew, who a little before had received information, that Florence M'Carthy, was engaged in the negotiation of a marriage between Desmond and the sister of Cormac M'Carthy of Muskerry. As this alliance, was if possible, to be prevented, the lord-president resolved to exert himself for the purpose. With this in view, he committed the military operations in Cork to Sir Charles Wilmot, and repaired to Kerry to counteract the subtle underplotting of M'Carthy, of whom, he was accustomed to say, that he saw him, “like a dark cloud over his head, threatening a storm to hinder and disturb his proceedings.”* The apprehended marriage was prevented by a negotiation with M'Carthy of Muskerry, who by dint of threats and promises, was induced to undertake for his sister's appearance on the summons of the lord president or the council.

While this point was in course of attainment, many incidents of less moment marked the slow progress of the war in Munster. A detachment, commanded by captain Harvey, was passing through a village belonging to the white knight. One of the houses was unthinkingly set fire to by a few of his men, who mistook their position, and by a very pardonable error thought themselves in an enemy's country. The outrage was instantly arrested in its commencement; but a party of 160 foot and 18 horse was drawn together by John Fitz-Gibbon, the knight's younger son. Captain Harvey explained the error of his men, and promised satisfaction. But the inexperienced youth, relying on the numerical superiority of his force, conceived the unlucky notion that the English were in his power, and only saw the tempting occasion to perform an exploit of arms: giving no answer to captain Harvey, he ordered a charge upon the English. His party came rapidly up to the charge, but stopped short when close to the enemy's line, and stood surprised at the tranquil aspect with which their rush was awaited. Seeing that they hesitated, Harvey ordered his men to charge. Fitz-Gibbon's troop gave way at once, and left nearly half their number dead or wounded on the field. The white knight, on being informed of this affair, condemned the rashness of his son; and the guide, who, on enquiry, was discovered to have set on the English

* *Pacata Hlib.*

soldiers from a malicious motive, was, by order of the president, hanged.

The president, aware of the enthusiasm of the Kerrymen for the Desmond family, caused a person in the livery of the young earl of Desmond to be shown in several places, and a report spread, that the earl himself was soon to make his appearance in the country—an expedient at this time actually entertained, and soon after tried. The Sугan earl had with him five hundred mercenaries, together with such forces as the chiefs of his party could draw together. But the activity of Sir Charles Wilmot, to whom in the interval the main operations, consisting chiefly of detachments, had been committed, brought over the minds of many, and among these of Fitz-Gerald the knight of Kerry—so that he not only professed his desire to become a British subject; but on Desmond's coming to Dingle, refused to give him entrance to his castle. In return, the Sугan earl destroyed as much as he could, and went on to Castlemagne. Not long after the knight made his submission, and was accepted in form; and the Sугan earl, with Pierce Lacy, entering his country with a view to plunder, he gave them battle, and routed them with a loss of sixteen of their men and two officers of mercenaries.

The affairs of the Sугan earl were gradually drawing to a point. The lord president, unable to carry matters by a decisive action, had contrived to make the most judicious arrangements, securing the country every where as he advanced his line of operation. He carried the war into the disaffected parts, and placed his garrison in the most commanding positions in the countries of his chief opponents. Above all, he had at an early period of the year, occupied Askeaton and Kilmallock with strong garrisons, which were productive of more decisive advantages as the rebellion approached nearer to its crisis.

The garrison of Kerry at the present period, (the beginning of September, 1600,) distressed the Sугan earl so much, that he found it difficult to maintain his force. In this juncture he wrote the following letter to Florence McCarthy:—

“MY LORD,

“Your letter I have received, and the present time of service is now at hand, which by letters, nor any excuse so ineffectual ought to be delayed; and whereas you write, that you intend to confer with the president and the earl of Thomond, I marvel that one of your lordship's acquaintance with their proceedings, doeth not yet know their enticing bayts and humours to entrap us all within the nets of their policies; your vow to God and this action for the maintenance of the church and defence of our own right, should not for any respect be unregarded: you know that of long time your lordship hath been suitor to the queen and council, and could not at any time prevail nor get any likelihood of your settlement. And now, being duly placed by the assent of the church, and us the nobilitie of this action, your lordship should work all means possible for to maintain the same. You know the ancient and general malice that heretofore they bare to all Irish birth, and much more they rave at the present, so as it is very bootless for any of us all to seek their favours or countenance, which were but a mean to work

our total subversion. Write me effectually your lordship's mind, and what resolution you purpose to follow, whereby I may proceed accordingly. This armie is but very slender, for they are but sixe hundred foot, and eightie horse. Wee expect your lordship's assistance, which we heartily desire, and not any further to deferre us with letters, as you respect us and the service: and, whereas you write, you have no force, your own presence, and the fruite of your comming, will much further the service, and dismay the enemy, &c.—2d September, 1600.

“ Your loving Cousen,

“ JAMES DESMOND.”

But the situation of the Sугan earl was too replete with danger to admit of open assistance from one so cautious as M^cCarthy who satisfied his affection to the cause, with temporizing messages, and perhaps vague intentions. The earl, closely pressed by Wilmot, was driven out of Kerry. His allies and associates began to perceive the ruin which was coming so fast upon his cause; yet reluctant to desert him, strongly urged his flight from the south, promising to support him when he should return with an army sufficient to make resistance practicable. So strongly, indeed, was the necessity of submission beginning to be felt, and so fiercely at the same time did the fire of rebellion burn under its embers, that the chiefs sent an ambassador to Rome to purchase absolution for their feigned submission to the queen,* and a dispensation for their further continuance in a course so inconsistent with their profession of faith.†

The Sугan earl, having left Kerry, was on his way to the fortress of Arlogh, when the report of his approach reached Kilmallock; several companies stationed in this place hastened out to meet him: and unfortunately for the earl, his troops were seen and intercepted before they were able to gain the covert of a wood, near which they were marching. They were instantly charged by captain Graeme's company, who obtained possession of their baggage, and killed all those who guarded it. A spirited rally was made by the Irish for the recovery of their baggage; but a few more charges threw them into confusion. Flight and slaughter began to fill the plain: 120 of the earl's men were killed, and 80 wounded. Among other things, three hundred horses laden with baggage, with a large prey of cattle, were secured by the English party. In this battle captain Graeme had sixteen of his men slain, and a few horses wounded.

From this moment the fortunes of the Sугan earl became hopeless. His friends departed to their homes—his followers deserted—and he could no longer collect a hundred men. With his brother John, the knight of the Glyn, and two other gentlemen, he left the county of Cork, and made the best of his way into Tipperary and Ormonde: from whence his companions retired from a field of enterprise which now presented no hope of retrieve, and took refuge in Ulster; where under the earl of Tyrone's command, the cause of insurrection still held its precarious existence. The rebellion in Ireland had not in fact, at any time, assumed its most formidable aspect in the south; it was rather a perplexed tissue of intrigues, murders, and tumults, than

* Pac. Hiber.

† Camden.

a contest of military operations. Sir George Carew has been condemned by some of our historians, for the means which he sometimes adopted to obtain his ends; were it worth while, and could we allow ourselves space, it would be easy to show that he had no better means than to avail himself of the character of the allies and the enemies with whom he had to deal: their moral code was not of the strictest, and their laws of war included every crime within the broad latitude of human nature. The age itself was but doubtfully advanced in civilization: the contest was carried on with an enemy which had little idea of war without murder, robbery, breach of faith, and treachery; then there was no strict rule, either express or understood, to debar Sir George Carew from taking the occasional advantages afforded by the tactics of an enemy who, it must be recollected, stood upon the low ground of treason and rebellion in the estimate of the English government. Amongst those shocking and revolting incidents to which this monstrous state of things gave occasion, we could enumerate many. It was at the time at which we are now arrived, that Honor O'Brien, sister to the earl of Thomond, and wife to lord Kerry, invited a person of the name of Stack to dine with her, and caused him to be murdered; his brother, who was a prisoner in the castle, was next day hanged by order of lord Kerry. Such was the summary justice of Irish chiefs in that age: it was evidently the maxim that every one had the right, now only recognised in fields of battle, to kill his enemy as he might; and every one whose death became in any way desirable, was an enemy.

The unfortunate earl of Desmond found little prospect of relief or aid in Ormonde; he had perhaps come thither for the purpose of escaping the attention of Carew, and with a design to return when he safely might. In October, the president obtained intelligence that he had stolen back and was lurking with a few followers about the woods of Arlogh.

In the month of October, in the same year, the queen put into execution her plan for drawing away the affections of the county of Kerry from the Sagan earl by sending over the son of the 16th earl, attainted 1582. This youth had in his infancy been detained in England, where he had been born, and kept prisoner in the Tower. He was now sent over with the title of the earl of Desmond, to the care of the lord president. For his maintenance, a captain and his company were to be dismissed, and their pay allotted to this purpose. The patent for his title was to be retained by the lord-president, until he might be enabled to judge of the success of the plan. From the reception of the young lord by the people this was soon decided.

To bring this matter to the test, the president gave the young lord permission to travel into Limerick, under the care of the archbishop of Cashel and Master Boyle, clerk of the council, (afterwards first earl of Cork.) On a Saturday evening the party entered Kilmallock. The report of their coming had reached this town before them; and the effect was such as might seem to warrant the most sanguine expectations. The streets were thronged to the utmost with the people from the surrounding country—every window was full of earnest and eager faces—the roofs were alive with a shouting and

cheering rabble—and every “projecting buttress and coigne of vantage” bore its share of acclamation and loyalty to the heir of the old earl. He was invited to dine at Sir George Thornton’s, and so dense was the crowd, that it was half-an-hour before a lane of soldiers could enable him to reach his mansion. After supper the same press retarded his return to his own lodging.

All this enthusiasm was easily dispelled. If the young lord had drawn favourable hopes, or high notions of the loyalty of the Limerick people to the house of his fathers, a few hours more were to enlighten him on this head. The next day was Sunday, and he was, as was his wont, proceeding to church, when he was surrounded by a multitude, whose language he did not understand, but who, by their tones and gestures, were evidently endeavouring to dissuade him from entering the church. The young earl went on and entered. On coming out after service he was met with abuse and execration: and from that moment no one came near him. It was also quickly ascertained, that the numerous persons who had possession of the Desmond estates under the crown, looked with natural apprehension on the chance so detrimental to their interests, of the restoration which would transfer them from the lax management of the English plantations, to the gripe of the exacting and despotic earl of Desmond.

This unfortunate youth, the rightful heritor of the house of Desmond, having been thus painfully held for a few days in a position of high and flattering expectation, was restored to an obscurity rendered doubly painful by disappointment. If his long state of depression had not eradicated in his breast all the spirit of his race, his misfortune, to which education and the habits of life must have reconciled him, was aggravated, and the penalty of his father’s crimes, revived to be inflicted afresh on him. What had been a privation hardly felt, was thus become an insult and a wrong. And such we should infer from his brief remaining history was the manner in which this reckless act of despotism affected its unhappy object. Having been found of no use in Ireland; and after having exerted himself to the utmost to meet the wishes of the queen, he was brought back to England, where he died in a few months, and with him the honours of the house of Desmond.

The Sугan earl was become a fugitive, and with two or three persons led a life of fear and hardship, skulking from forest to forest, and from desert to desert among the savage glens and defiles of Arlogh, in Drumfinnin, and in the county of Tipperary. In the latter place his maternal relations were ready to attend to his wants, but personal safety was become a principal object, and no place could long be safe for a fugitive, from the vigilance and activity of lord president Carew. Of his allies some had been more successful; Lacy had got together a small body of men and awaited the return of John of Desmond, who went to Ulster to apply to the earl of Tyrone for aid. Tyrone had, however, to mind his own defence, which, against the skilful and efficient conduct of the able and spirited Mountjoy, more than tasked his whole means and force.

In the month of November, most of the few remaining castles which were held against the queen were taken. The strong castle of Conni-

logh was surprised—Castlemagne was surrendered from regard to the young earl of Desmond—Listowel was taken after a short but desperate siege. Of this latter the incidents have too much interest to be omitted here.

The castle of Listowel belonged to Fitz-Maurice, lord of Lixnaw, who was one of the most inveterate opponents of the president's government. Being the only one of his castles which had not been taken, Sir C. Wilmot was determined to seize it. On the fifth of November he besieged it, and ordered the wall to be undermined. After nearly a week's hard work, his men had opened a deep mine under the foundation; but they had hardly finished the chamber in which the powder was to be lodged, when a spring gushed out upon the cavity and entirely frustrated the attempt. The labour was therefore renewed on another part of the foundation; and the miners were successful in reaching far under the middle of the cellar. An application was at this period made by the garrison for leave to depart from the castle; but as they had first done all the mischief in their power—nine of the besiegers having fallen, and had now no longer a choice—Sir Charles did not think it fit or expedient to grant such terms. They were therefore compelled to surrender at discretion; and the women and children were suffered to depart. Among the latter was the eldest son of the lord of Lixnaw: the people of the castle, aware, that if recognised, its seizure must ensue, disguised it by changing its attire, and having smeared it with mud, placed it over the back of an old woman who bore it away without being questioned. It was not long before Sir Charles became aware of the circumstance; and a pursuit was immediately commanded. All was vain, until he thought of questioning a priest, who had been taken among the prisoners. The following is the account given by Sir G. Carew himself of the conversation between Sir C. Wilmot and MacBrodie the priest:—MacBrodie admitted "that he could best resolve him, for that he himselfe had given direction to the woman where shee should bestow the child till shee might deliver him to his father. 'Why then,' saith Sir Charles, 'will you not conduct me to him? Know you not that it is in my power to hang you or to save you? Yes; and I assure you if you will not guide me to the place where he lieth hidden, I will cause you to be instantly hanged.' The priest answered, That it was all one to him whether he died this day or to-morrow; but yet, if he might have his word, for the sparing of his owne life and the childe, hee might reveale his knowledge; otherwayes the governor might do his pleasure. Sir Charles, though very unwilling to grant the priest his life, yet the earnest desire hee had to gett the child into his hands, caused him to agree thereto. The priest, being put into a hand-locke, is sent with a captaine and a good guard of souldiers about this businesse, who guided them to a wood, sixe miles from the eastle, by reason of thicke bryers and thorns, almost unpassable, in the middest whereof there is a hollow cave within the ground, not much unlike by description, to *Cucus* his denne, or the mouth of *Avernus*, in which desolate place they found that old woman and this young childe, whom they brought to the governor, and the priest and childe were shortly after sent to the president."^{*}

* Pacata Hib.

While the lord-president was at Clonmel, whither he had gone to confer with the earl of Ormonde, he received information that the fugitive lords were lurking in the vicinity, where they had already committed many extensive depredations. He therefore undertook a strict search. While he was thus engaged, a youth was brought before him, who had been in the Sугan earl's service; and, on being questioned, undertook to conduct a party to where his master lay. For some time there had been a close pursuit, of which we regret not being able to present the reader with any authorized details, but which can easily be followed up by his imagination, into the variety of romantic escapes and emergencies, of which every day must have had its share. The deep and rugged glens and mountain hollows, the marshy vales, and the broad wildernesses of dark forest and tangled thicket, were now all explored by human fear and misfortune, and traced through their recesses and leafy mazes, by the stern activity of military pursuit. Enmity guided by treachery, dogged the fallen earl from den to den, and from hut to hut, nor could he in this forlorn condition reckon on the fidelity of any one of those whose aid, guidance, or hospitality, his utter necessity required. The actual proof that this description is something more than imaginary, may be found in the brief statement of Sir George Carew, who mentions that they frequently reached the place of his concealment just a little after he had escaped from it. The earl of Thomond, Sir G. Thornton, and other officers, were now sent with their companies, along with this guide, who conducted them to the woods of Drumfinnan; but as they approached the border of the woods a cry was raised, and a tumult ran through the forest depth, as from persons in flight, while the soldiers, dashing aside the thick boughs, rushed in to give chase. The Sугan earl made his escape; he ran without waiting to put on his shoes. His companion, (a Romish priest,) was overtaken by the soldiers; but his "simple mantle," and "torn trowsers" deceived them—seeing but a poor old man, unable to bear a weapon, they left him unmolested. Thus were the Sугan earl and his companions reduced to the condition of hunted beasts, in daily alarm for their lives, without the commonest necessities, and compelled mostly to conceal themselves in places selected for their very discomfort. The province was, however, reduced to order and peaceful subjection. No castle was in the hands of an enemy to the queen's government. No hostile army levied contributions, seized or plundered, or kept the country in terror; but every one was enabled securely to leave his cattle in the fields. And the lord-president, having dismissed five hundred men, was enabled to offer to send a thousand to serve in Leinster.

On the 13th of January, 1601, the lord-president was enabled to give intelligence to the English council of the approaching invasion of the Spaniards. His information was avouched by a variety of documents, which left little doubt on the subject, and confirmed strongly by the appearance in the country of numerous foreign ecclesiastics, of the accuracy of this intelligence. Enough has been already seen in our notice of O'Donell, and will presently be more fully confirmed by the history of the earl of Tyrone's rebellion, which may be said to have comprized as the acts of a drama, all these lesser parts.

The Munster rebels were also ascertained to be chiefly maintained by the earl of Tyrone, and even the precise allowances in money or military stores were communicated to the lord-president, who amongst other statements mentions the following sums: to the lord of Lixnaw, L.14; to the Sugan earl, L.10; to Pierce Lacie, L.8; to M'Donough, L.12; to Redmónde Burke, L.500; to Teague O'Rouke, L.500. By which it may seem that these two last alone were in such a condition as to give the earl any hope of service from them.

The Sugan earl, was, at the close of the year, reduced to such extremities, that it was little likely he could continue much longer to find refuge in the protection or connivance of those who perpetually saw fresh reason to be cautious in their movements. One day the lord-president had notice, that he was at the time remaining with Dermond O'Dogan, a harper, by whom he was frequently received. A party of soldiers entered the wood where O'Dogan lived, but on reaching the house, discovered that the inmates had been on the point of sitting down to supper, but had on their approach taken flight into the woods; a mantle which they recognized, apprized them that Desmond was surely of the party. They instantly went in pursuit, but had not gone far when O'Dogan, and two others, having concealed the Sugan earl among the thickets, showed themselves in a distant open of the trees, until they attracted the soldiers' notice, and then took to flight, "with the Lapwings police."* They were readily pursued by the soldiers, who began to approach them after a long chase, as they reached the white knight's country, where a crowd of people rose in arms to their rescue. For this the pursuers were quite unprepared, and were compelled to leave them. On this pretence the lord Barry was loud in complaint against the white knight, against whom he entertained a violent enmity, and in consequence the knight was called before the president, who spoke to him so strongly, and with such decided effect, that the knight promised to exert himself for the capture of Desmond, engaging that in a few days he would give a good account of him, alive or dead, if he should be found in his country.

The white knight returning home, collected a few of his most faithful friends and followers, and informed them of his pledge. One of these asked if he would really seize the Sugan earl if he could find him. The knight assured him it was his sincere design, and the man undertook to guide him. On the 20th day of May, 1601, this party took horse and rode to the mountain of Slieve Gort. Here, in a deep cavern, among the mountain cliffs, the Sugan earl lurked with his little party. At the entrance of the cavern, the white knight, in a loud voice called on Desmond to come forth and surrender himself. But the earl, not believing that the knight's companions would seize him, and supposing that on sight of him they would rather take his part, came stoutly forth to the mouth of the cavern: as he was seen emerging from the darkness of the interior, he assumed a commanding manner, and called out to the party to seize on the white knight and secure him. As the knight and all his party were the subjects of

* *Pacata Hibernia*.

Desmond, this expedient was not without some hope of success; it was indeed his last chance of escape, and it entirely failed. Without condescending to make even a reply, the party at once surrounded their pretended lord and in despite of his peremptory voice and looks, they disarmed and bound himself and his foster-brother, and brought them away to the white knight's castle of Kilvenny, from whence a messenger was dispatched to the lord-president. On receiving this message a party from Kilmallock was sent to escort the prisoner. He was secured in Shandon castle, until he should be sent to England, and his custody was committed to captain Slingsby. The captain, considering that there was no hope for the prisoner, and that therefore nothing of a consolatory kind could be said, felt disposed to avoid all conversation with him, but Desmond who was not inclined to be silent, or to let pass any occasion of making an impression which might be afterwards useful, of himself accosted the captain, and spent the night in extenuations to which it is probable little heed was seriously given. He represented that he had been an unwilling instrument of rebellion, and throughout urged on by the influence of others; that had he withstood the motives for taking the title of Desmond, it would have been taken by his brother John. He also pleaded his having ever avoided the shedding of English blood. He asserted his own prior title to the earldom, of which his father had been unfairly disinherited by the influence of his stepmother. With these and such topics he entertained captain Slingsby during the night. On the next morning an order came that he should be conveyed to Cork, where he was to be tried. At Cork his trial took place: he was indicted, arraigned, convicted, and condemned to be executed as a traitor. But the lord president wrote to advise that he should be confined to the Tower of London, as while he lived his brother could lay no claim to the earldom.

While a prisoner in Cork, the Sujan earl wrote the following representation to the president, which was forwarded with a letter from the lord-president, both of which may interest the reader:—

“The relation of James of Desmond, to the Right Honourable Sir George Carew, lord president of Mounster, most humbly beseeching your honour to certifie her majesty, and the lords of her most honourable counsell of the same: hoping in the Almighty, that her highness of her accustomed clemencie and mercy, by your intercession will take most gracious and mercifull consideration thereof, to the end that her majesties realme of Ireland shall be better planted and maintained in good government by his release. The third of June 1601.

“First, it may please your honour, to consider that this action at the beginning was never pretended, intended, nor drawn by mee, nor my consent; but by my brother John, and Pierce Lacy, having the oaths and promises of divers noblemen, and gentlemen of this province, to maintaine the same, and not even consented unto by me, untill Sir Thomas Norris left Kilmallock, and the Irish forces camped at Rekeloe in Connolough, where they staid five or sixe dayes; the most of the country combining and adjoyning with them, and undertooke to hold with my brother John, if I had not come to them. The next sessions (before these proceedings,) at Corke, Sir Thomas Norris

arrested me (in person), therefore my brother, he being then suspected by him, and intending to keep me in perpetuall prison for him, untill I made my escape; by this the intent of Sir Thomas Norris being knowen, the feare and terrification thereof drew me into this action, and had I been assured of my liberty, and not clapt into prison for my brother's offence, I had never entered into this action; further, I was bordered with most English neighbours, of the gentlemen of this province; I defie any English that can charge me with hindring of them, either in body or goods; but as many as ever came in my presence, I conveyed them away from time to time.

"Also it is to be expected, that the Spanish forces are to come into Ireland this summer, and O'Neale will send up the strongest army of northern men into Mounster, with my brother John, the lord of Lixnaw, and Pierce Laey, and when they are footed in Mounster, the most part of the countrey will joyne with them: preventing this and many other circumstances of service, the saving of my life is more beneficiall for her majestie then my death: for it may please her majestie to be gracious unto me, I will reclaime my brother, the lord of Lixnaw, and Pierce Laey, if it please her majestie to bee gracious unto them, or else so diligently worke againste them with her majesties forces, and your directions, that they shall not be able to make head, or stirre in Mounster at all; for by the saving of my life, her highnesse will winne the hearts in generall of all her subjects, and people in Ireland, my owne service, and continuance of my alliance in dutifull sort, all the dayes of their lives.

"Farther, I most humbly beseech your honour to forsee, that there are three others of my sept and race alive. The one is in England, my uncle Garrets sonne, James, set at liberty by her majestie, and in hope to obtaine her majesties favour, my brother in Ulster, and my cosen Maurice Fitz-John in Spaine, wherewith it may be expected, that either of these (if I were gone) by her majesties favour might be brought in credit, and restored to the house, it may therefore please her majestie to bee gracious unto me, assuring to God and the world, that I will bee true and faithful to her majestie during life, by which meanes her majesties government may bee the better settled, myselfe and all others my alliance, for ever bound to pray for her majesties life long to continue."

But afterward being examined by the president, and the provincial council, he added some other reasons for his taking of arms against her majesty, which in its due place shall be mentioned. In the dispatch which the president made into England upon his apprehension, he wrote a letter to her majesty as followeth:—

The Lord President's letter to Her Majesty.

"SACRED AND DREAD SOVEREIGN,

"To my unspeakable joy, I have received your majesties letters signed with your royall hand, and blessed with an extraordinarie addition to the same, which although it cannot increase my faith and zeale in your majesties service, which from my cradle (I thanke God) for it was ingrafted in my heart, yet it infinitely multiplies my comforts in the same, and wherein my endeavours and poore merites shall

appeare to bee short of such inestimable favours, my never dying prayers for your majesties eternall prosperitie shall never faile to the last day of life, but when I compare the felicities which other men enjoy, with my unfortunate destinie, to be deprived from the sight of your royall person, which my heart with all loyall affection (inferior to none) evermore attends, I live like one lost to himselfe, and wither out my dayes in torment of minde, untill it shall please your sacred majestie to redeeme mee from this exile, which unlesse it bee for my sinnes, (upon the knees of my heart) I doe humbly beseech your majestie to commiserate, and to shorten the same, as speedily as may bee since my time of banishment in this rebellious kingdome (for better than a banishment I cannot esteeme my fortune, that deprives me from beholding your majesties person) although I have not done as much as I desire in the charge I undergoe, yet to make it appeare that I have not been idle, (I thanke God for it) I have now by the means of the white knight, gotten into my hands the bodie of James Fitz-Thomas, that arch traytour, and usurping earle, whom for a present with the best conveniencie and safetie which I may finde, I will by some trustie gentleman send unto your majestie, whereby I hope this province is made sure from any present defection. And now that my taske is ended, I doe in all humilitie beseech, that in your princely commiseration my exile may end, protesting the same to bee a greater affliction to me than I can well endure; for as my faith is undivided, and onely professed (as by divine and human lawes the same is bound) in vassalage to your majestie; so doth my heart covet nothing so much, as to bee evermore attendant on your sacred person, accounting it a happinesse unto mee to dye at your feet; not doubting but that your majestie out of your princely and royall bountie, will enable me by some means or other to sustaine the rest of my dayes in your service, and that my fortune shall not be the worse, in that I am not any importunate craver, or yet in not using other arguments to move your majestie there unto, then this, assai dimandi qui ben serve e face. So humbly beseeching your majesties pardon in troubling you with these lines, unworthy your divine eyes, doe kisse the shadows of your royall feet. From your majesties citie of Corke, this third of June, 1601.*

From this letter Sir G. Carew goes on to remark, "He was within one year before his apprehension, the most potent and mightie Geraldine that had been of any of the earles of Desmond, his predecessors. For it is certainly reported that he had eight thousand men well armed under his command at one time, all which he employed against his lawful soveraigne; and secondly, a notorious traytour, because hee sought to bring a most infamous slander upon a most vertuous and renowned prince, (his queen and mistress) with his false suggestions into forraine princes; and notwithstanding that her name was eternised with the shrill sounding trumpet of fame, for the meekest and mildest prince that ever raigned, yet was not hee ashamed; (so farre had the rancour of malice corrupted his venomous heart) to inculcate into the ears of the pope and Spanish king, that she was more tyrannical than Pharooh, and more blood-thirstie than Nero. But because I may be

thought to faine these allegations, to aggravate his treason, I will, therefore (for satisfaction of the reader), set downe the very wordes of two of his letters bearing one date, which he sent to the king of Spaine.

A letter from James Fitz-Thomas to the king of Spain.

"Most mighty monarch, I humbly salute your imperiall majesty, giving your highness to understand of our great misery, and violent order, wherewith wee are of long time oppress by the English nation. Their government is such as Pharoah himself never used the like; for they content not themselves with all temporall superiority, but by cruelty desire our blood, and perpetuall destruction to blot out the whole remembrance of our posterity; as also our old Catholike religion, and to sweare that the queene of England is supreme of the church. I referre the consideration hercof to your majestie's high judgment, for that Nero in his time was farre inferior to that queen in cruelty. Wherefore, and for the respects thereof, high, mighty potentate, my selfe, with my followers and retainers, and being also requested by the bishops, prelates, and religious men of my country, have drawn my sword, and proclaimed warres against them, for the recovery first of Christ's Catholike religion, and next for the maintenance of my own right, which of long time hath been wrongfully detained from mee and my father, who, by right suecession, was lawful heire to the earldome of Desmond; for he was eldest sonne to James, my grandfather, who was earle of Desmond; and for that, uncle Gerald (being the younger brother) tooke part with the wicked proceedings of the queene of England, to further the unlawfull claime of supremacie, usurped the name of earle of Desmond, in my father's true title; yet notwithstanding, hee had not long enjoyed his name of earle, when the wiked English annoyed him, and prosecuted wars, that hee with the most part of those that held of side, was slaine, and his cuntry thereby planted with Englishmen: and now by the just judgment and providence of God, I have utterly rooted those malepert bowes out of the orchard of my country, and have profited so much in my proceedings, that my dastardly enemies dare not show their faeces in any part of my cuntry, but having taken my towns and cities for their refuge and strength, where they doe remaine, (as yet were prisoners) for want of means to assaile them, as cannon and powder, which my cuntry doth not yeeld. Having these wants, most noble potentate, I have presumed, with all humility, to address these my letters to your high majesty, craving the same of your gracious elemencie and goodnesse, to assist mee in this godly enterprise, with some help of such necessities for the warres, as your majesty shall think requisite; and after the quiet of my cuntry, satisfaction shall be truly made for the same, and my selfe in person, with all my forces, shall be ready to serve your highnesse, in any cuntry your majesty may command me.

"And if your majesty will vouchsafe to send me a competent number of souldiers, I will place them in some of townes and eities, to remaine in your gracious disposition, till such time as my ability shall make good, what your majesty shall lend me in money and munition; and also your majesty's high commission, under the broad seal for leading and conducting of these souldiers, according to the prescript order

and articles of marshall discipline, as your majestie shall appoint me, and as the service of the land shall require. I praise the Almighty God, I have done by his goodnesse, more than all my predecessors; for I have reclaimed all the nobility of this part, under the dutifull obedience of Christ's church, and mine own authority, and accordingly have taken pledges and corporall oathes, never to swarve from the same; and would have sent them to your majestie, by this bearer, but that the ship was not of sufficiency and strength to carry so noble personages, and will send them whensoever your highnesses please. So there resteth nothing to quiet this part of the world, but your majestie's assistance, which I daily expect. Thus, most mighty monarch, I humbly take my leave, and doe kisse your royall hands, beseeching the Almighty of your majesties health and happinesse. From my campe, the fourteenth day of March, 1599.

"Your majesties most humble at all command,

"JAMES DESMOND."

Another letter from James Fitz-Thomas to the king of Spain.

"Your majestie shall understand that the bearer hercof, Captain Andrew Roche, hath been always in the service of the queene of England, and hath performed her manifold services at sea; whereby he had great preferment and credit, and being of late time conversant with Catholikes, and teachers of divine instructions, that were sory for his lewd life, made known unto him the danger wherein his soul was, so that, by their godly persuasions, he was at that time reclaimed, and subverted to bee a good Catholike, and to spend the residue of his life in the defence and service of the church; since which time of reconciliation, hee was to repaire to your majestie with his ship and goods, as is well knownen to your highness' counsell, who confiscated that ship to your majestie's use; himself being at that time stricken with extreame sicknesse, that he was not able to proceed in the voyage; and when his company returned into Ireland, they reported that the Santado wished rather his person than his ship, which made him fearefull ever since to repaire thither, till hee should deserve his freedome by some worthy service to your majestie.

"The heire apparent to the crowne of England had been carried by him to your highness, but that he was bewrayed by some of his owne men, and thereby was intercepted, and himself taken prisoner, where he remained of long, till by the providence of God, and the help of good friends, hee was conveyed into Ireland to me in a small boat; and leaving these occasions to your imperial majestie, and being assured of his trust, faith, and confidence towards mee, have committed this charge into his hands; the rather for that I understand your royall fleete is directed for England this yeare, to the end he may be a leader and conductor to them in the coast of England and Ireland, being very expert in the knowledge thereof, and in the whole art of navigation. And thus, with all humility, I commit your highnesse to the Almighty. From my campe, the fourteenth of March, 1599.*

"Your majesties most humble at all command,

"JAMES DESMOND."

While he remained a prisoner in Shandon castle, the president caused him to be frequently brought before him, and examined him minutely to ascertain the true causes of the Munster rebellion; he thus obtained some statements which were confirmed by circumstances, all of which are specially mentioned by the president of Munster as exhibiting in a clear light, how trifling were the pretexts of this rebellion. Many of these reasons will not appear now so trifling, but we shall, however, reserve them for an occasion further on, when we shall be enabled to give them a more full and satisfactory discussion. We shall here be content to state, that religion was the main and principal pretext—while the remainder were grievances which, though affording far more justifiable ground for discontent, were put forward as matters of less comparative moment.

Among these revelations of the Sугan earl, the most immediately important, were those which gave the fullest and clearest light upon the intercourse of the Irish insurgents with the king of Spain, and left little doubt that a Spanish expedition into Ireland was in preparation, and ere long to be looked for. And next the circumstantial crimination of Florence MacCarthy, as having taken a very leading part in this design. It was on this information, that the lord-president ordered the arrest of MacCarthy, which was the easier to effect, as the double part which he had throughout acted, prevented his taking much precaution. When he was arrested, his house was searched, and various letters were found, amply serving to confirm all the charges of the Sугan earl.

On the 14th of August, 1601, both the Sугan earl and MacCarthy were conveyed to London, and committed to the Tower. There the Sугan earl continued for the remainder of his life, and died in 1608. He was interred in the Tower chapel.

Hugh, Earl of Tyrone.

WE have already related the main incidents of the life of Hugh, earl of Tyrone, omitting as well as we might, many perplexing considerations which seem to involve the history of his time; some of these we must now notice ere we proceed to detail the memorable events which close this period of our work. As our materials for biography become gradually in the course of years more full—the springs of action, the characters of the agents, and the real connexions and causes of changes and events, become more clearly observable: the most prominent consequence of this, so far as our task is concerned, is unquestionably rather an increase than a diminution of the difficulty of that part of our duty which requires that we should administer historical justice with a strictly impartial hand. A duty which becomes more important, in proportion as the prominent actors in the events of their own times, have become the subject of praise or censure, and as the nature of that praise or censure is likely to involve either feelings or opinions which have still their place in the bosoms of mankind. This is aggravated by the critical importance of the events of the latter end of queen Elizabeth's reign, at which time much of the

political circumstances, prejudices, and parties, by which this island has been since affected for good and evil, may be regarded as having had their origin: and from this too, our historical materials, derive a character by no means favourable to the rapid investigations of modern history. Every statement is a party statement. This evil would be but comparatively slight, if confined to contemporary histories, such as Sullivan, Moryson, or the *Pacata Hibernia*: because in all of these there is both a certain necessary adherence to fact, and a simplicity of style, so that their attempts to give a partial colouring are too apparent to impose on any one. They mostly content themselves with accompanying their statements with an interpretation of their own, which can deceive no reader, and never even amounts to misrepresentation: the parenthetic 'forsooth' or the term 'traitor', the assertion of insincerity or the unauthorized imputation of meanings and intentions, still are but appeals to the reader's judgment, or prejudice, and leave untouched facts in which all statements agree. The real difficulties arise from the prepossessions of the present age. From the same old materials, modern writers have succeeded in dressing up histories and biographical sketches which are calculated to maintain the most opposite and contradictory views. The subserviency of these to the spirit of party, would be but a conjectural accusation, but for the manner in which these partial views are contrived. This consists in omission, so that nothing is admitted into a history designed to be popular, but those facts which favour a popular view of the person or event in question. Thus are false impressions on either side to some extent increased. Unquestionably, among these opposite faults, the most to be guarded against are those which favour a popular purpose; not only because they are designed to be the vehicles of party feeling in its least scrupulous form, but also because they are composed under the consciousness that they are to be subjected to no contradiction, the writers for the most part having the field entirely to themselves, and writing for a class with which their reception entirely depends upon the conclusions with which they jump.

The cause of truth requires that we should proceed in disregard of all preconceived impressions, however respectably supported; and, stating facts as we find them, conclude, where comment is required, according to the maturest judgment we can form on the whole of our data. Should it be found that we offend against the prepossessions of any party, by a little patience and candid attention, the reader so offended, will presently discover statements equally militating against the prejudices of those whom he opposes.

In the entire of the civil wars in Ireland, at the period now immediately presenting itself to our attention, the errors and crimes committed on both sides, will be found to form a heavy weight in either scale. The impartial historian of periods more disengaged from these will be very likely to resolve into the general theory of human nature facts and actions which now the writer shrinks from touching, by reason of the passions and prejudices with which they are involved.

Before we enter on the history of Hugh O'Neale, it may very much conduce to a distinct conception of many material points which personally affect him, to understand the precise connexion of the chief

O'Neales of his day. Con O'Niall, commonly called Con More, had two sons, Con Boccagh, the first earl of Tyrone, and Tirlogh Lynnogh, whose name frequently occurs in the history of the time. Con Boccagh was the father of Shane O'Neale and others, his legitimate sons, and of Matthew who was admitted to be illegitimate, and was further affirmed to be by another father of the name of O'Kelly, a smith, whose son he was publicly reputed to be until his fifteenth year, when by a disclosure of his mother's, the old earl ascertained him to be his own. This person was set up by the earl as his successor, and created baron of Dungannon, by queen Elizabeth. He was slain by the followers of Shane O'Neale, and left three sons, of whom the second was Hugh, the person here to be commemorated.

On the death of Shane O'Neale, his uncle Tirlogh Lynnogh was, by the law of tanistry, entitled to become the O'Neale, which title he accordingly assumed; but by the law of English descent, and by the disposition* already mentioned, Hugh was the immediate successor of his father Matthew, and entitled to the earldom of Tyrone.

He was brought up in England, and early received employment in the queen's service, in which he repeatedly distinguished himself, especially in the wars against Gerald the sixteenth earl of Desmond, in which he had the command of a troop of horse. At this time his reputation stood high with every party; while his valour and military talent recommended him to the English, the other party, accustomed to temporizing submissions, put the most indulgent construction on his adhesion to their enemies. Moryson describes his person and character with the authority of a contemporary and an eye-witness:—"He was of mean stature, but of a strong body, as able to endure watchings, labour, hard fare; being withal industrious and active, valiant, affable, and apt to manage great affairs, and of a high dissembling subtil and profound wit."†

There were at this early period of his career, various circumstances and many influences in growing operation, which were likely sooner or later to give to his conduct the direction which it afterwards received. But it may be safely admitted, that he was at first sincere in his adherence to a government, of which his rank and fortune were the creation, and to which with his questionable title, he must from the first have looked as his main support. These circumstances will sufficiently appear as we proceed, and may be easily anticipated by those who have read our previous notices. To a person of Tyrone's sagacious judgment, it must have been sufficiently apparent that it was his best interest, and the only course consistent with safety and honour, to preserve his loyalty without suspicion. But this did not altogether depend on him. It was a time when the very air of the country was loaded with suspicions and imputations: the designs of the queen, council, and in the main of the chief governors, may be allowed to have been upright; but the interests under question at the moment, were too large and weighty not to bring into the field and council, all the most sordid passions of human nature.

An important change was also working in the stormy elements of

* Vol. i. p. 463.

† Moryson.

Irish contention. The wave of the reformation had flowed in and the resistance of the Roman see gave new force, bitterness, and unity to the strife of four centuries. The enmity of Philip the Third, king of Spain, added its portion of fuel to the same flame. Ireland was too obviously the assailable side of the queen's dominions to be neglected, and the Irish chiefs were long cajoled by great promises and small aids, which were yet enough to give the excitement of hope to their ambition and hate.

Still Hugh O'Neale was looked on with an invidious eye by many of the chiefs. It was felt that he was an intruder on the territorial possessions of Tyrone; his known illegitimacy, and the still deeper disqualification, more than suspected, caused him to be slighted by some. His adherence to the English government excited the dislike of many, and a grasping and tyrannical disposition not peculiar to him, raised numerous enemies. To these O'Neale turned a front of subtle and profound dissimulation, which ended like all indirect courses in determining his course to the baser side. While he professed, and we believe truly, his attachment to the queen, he was compelled to dissemble with his fellow-countrymen. This conduct, which Irish authorities place beyond doubt, led in two ways to the determination of his conduct: it supplied in no small abundance material for misrepresentation, betraying him from time to time into positions of an equivocal nature; and it placed him under the occasional necessity of committing himself by acting in his assumed character.

He was as yet little affected by these embarrassments of position, when in 1587 he petitioned the parliament, then sitting in Dublin under Sir John Perrot, that he might be allowed to take the title and possessions of Tyrone. The rank and title were conceded, but for the possessions he was told that the question must depend on the queen's pleasure, on which he applied for Sir John's recommendatory letters to the queen, and represented that a large rent might be reserved to the crown, with his free consent. Perrot was reluctant,* but at the pressing entreaty of his Irish friends, gave him the required letters. Thus authorized, he straightway repaired to England to plead for himself, and put the best face on his own pretensions. O'Neale's address and practised suppleness eminently fitted him for such an occasion, and in Elizabeth he had a fair object for the exercise of such qualities. She received him graciously as an old acquaintance, and suffered herself to be pleased by his wily admiration, and the well-assumed simplicity which did not prevent his exhibiting his claims and enforcing their expediency, with all the dexterity of a sagacious statesman. He warmly expressed his regret at the slowness of his countrymen to receive the improvement of English manners and laws; was particularly earnest and pathetic in his representation of the afflictions of Tyrone; and with much force of argument, convinced the queen, that nothing could proceed rightly until she had put down the barbarous title of O'Neale. On the strength of these arguments, he urged his personal pretensions, and so won upon the queen that she complied with his demands; he thus obtained the princely inheritance of his

* Ware.

family free from any reservation of rent. The conditions were few and easy. It was stipulated that the bounds of Tyrene should be accurately limited; that 240 acres, bordering on the Blackwater, should be ceded for an English fort; that the earl should claim no authority over the surrounding chiefs of Ulster; that the sons of Shane and of Tirlough* O'Neale should be provided for. Some writers add a strange stipulation: that old Tirlough should still be continued the O'Neale or chief of the sept. This arrangement though seemingly subversive of the main principle of the agreement, was in fact, recommended by an obvious policy, as no great mischief was to be apprehended from Tirlough, who besides his age, was without the means of any extensive disturbance, and he was thus made to occupy that position in which the ambition of the powerful earl might become dangerous.

Sir John Perrot was very much offended by this arrangement and by the mode of its completion. The patent he felt should have been drawn by his own authority, and the conditions arranged with his privity and consent. He felt the slight, and disapproved of the remission of the heavy rent which he supposed himself to have secured. Notwithstanding this discontent, when the earl came over to Dublin, he was received with all courtesy by Sir John. He then proceeded to Tyrone, and easily prevailed on Tirlough to give up a territorial claim which he could by no possibility reduce to possession.

O'Neale had not long been thus invested with the possession of his country, before the inauspicious chain of circumstances which we have described as the main causes of his ruin, had their commencement. Among the first was his quarrel with Tirlough Lynnogh, and many other quarrels and discontents of the same nature, which arose between him and the surrounding chiefs and proprietors. Of these the immediate consequence was, a succession of complaints, which soon placed his conduct in a questionable point of view, and raised a host of watchful and acrimonious enemies who let nothing pass unobserved and unreported, that could injure him with government. On some quarrel between himself and Tirlough Lynnogh, he made an incursion upon his property, and drove away two thousand cows; and when ordered by the lord-deputy to restore them, instead of complying he took offence at the interposition, and made a second attack on his enemy at Strabane. Tirlough Lynnogh was, however, supported by two companies of English soldiers, with which the deputy had prudently supplied him, immediately on receiving his complaint, and the earl was compelled to fly. It was at the same time that he had the imprudence to allow himself to be led into an intercourse with the Scots, which, though not in all likelihood carried on with any disloyal purpose, was manifestly in a very high degree questionable. The temptations to assume the privileges of an independent chief, (to which he possessed no shadow of title,) were very considerable. Being in the place and position of the chief of Tyrone, he soon began to be recognised as such, by the surrounding chiefs; they addressed him as a prince, the representative of that ancient house, and as an influential leader on whom

* Shane's sons were Henry, Con, and Tirlough. Tirlough's, Sir Arthur who served in the English army in the following rebellion.

the hopes of his country were mainly fixed. These dangerous assumptions were not easy to repel, and his pride concurred with his fears to warp him towards a compliance not less unsafe. There were many reasons of a more cogent nature why he should aim to strengthen himself against his numerous surrounding enemies, and thus a very narrow-sighted policy combined with other motives to lead him to enter into alliances, which could only be maintained by acts capable of receiving a criminal construction. It was in consequence of these circumstances, that in the year 1587, many questionable reports were transmitted to the lord-deputy; among which was that of a treasonable alliance with the Scots, by which he sent them aid in men, on the condition of receiving the same from them against his enemies. These errors in policy have since received from most historians the same unfavourable construction, but we cannot help thinking, that in this there is a great neglect of allowance for human nature, and the spirit of the age. A more patient and therefore more distinct contemplation exhibits Tyrone carried on by a chain of controlling circumstances, although it must be admitted, that if such be the unfavourable construction of many undoubtedly able writers, their very error, if such, justifies the severe constructions of those governors whose harshness assisted in precipitating the earl in his ill-advised course.

The same constructions apply with still more force to a subsequent incident. In 1588, the Spanish Armada, so well known in English history, was dispersed by a storm and seventeen of the ships were wrecked on the Ulster coast. The prepossessions of the Irish in favour of the Spanish were strong, and had, of late years, been assiduously, though secretly, cultivated. The earl could not, without offending every prejudice of the surrounding districts, notice them otherwise than as friends: it was in the spirit of his nation and character to show hospitality; and an obvious, though near-sighted reasoning, pointed out the future advantages which were likely to follow. The report of his favourable reception of the queen's enemies, could not fail to be in a high degree prejudicial to the earl. Yet, so far as any fair inference was to be drawn from the general tenour of his conduct, there was in all this little to support the extreme constructions to which he soon became subjected. To suppose that one, pretending to the authority and dignity which at that period was ostensibly claimed by his ancient house, could at once altogether throw off the weight of ancient manners, prejudices, and obligations, the privileges immemorially preserved, and all considerations by which he was bound by a thousand links of opinion and custom, with the whole of his Irish connexions, dependents, and friends, was, in point of fact, to assume the extinction of his whole nature; and it is evident that any reasonable government, at whatever changes it aimed—and great changes were wanting to make Ireland a civilized country—should have proceeded on the principle of much toleration, and used much caution to avoid driving consequences more rapidly than there were means provided to ensure success, on any ground equitable or inequitable. While, here too, on the other hand, it cannot fairly be denied, that a person of Tyrone's clear perceptions must have seen and contemplated, as they arose, events and indications, which might soon render

it a course of necessity or safety to take a part against the English government.

Tyrone neglected no means of increasing his own power and authority. He was authorized by the queen, or rather bound by an explicit stipulation, to maintain six companies for the defence of Ulster; of this he availed himself for the increase of his military force, by changing the men in such a manner as to train his whole county to arms—an expedient which was afterwards made a subject of accusation, but which, according to the view here taken, only affords a very gross instance of slackness in the government which permitted the growth of a power so thoroughly at variance with the whole of its recognized policy.

Under all these circumstances, the recall of Sir John Perrot was exceedingly unfortunate. In the want of a sufficient application of controlling force, the next best course was that of a moderate and conciliatory government; though, in that vicious state of civil existence, the latter course implied much connivance at abuse, and much toleration of evil doing; there was no other alternative. Sir John was mild, just, and as firm as good policy permitted; he had won the good-will of the native chiefs, and thus materially fostered a disposition to submit and to perceive the real advantages of the English laws. But violent and grasping spirits were offended at a moderation which restricted the field of confiscation and attainder, and the queen, who did not supply the requisite means, was discontented at the slow progress of Irish affairs: the general sense of those who were unacquainted with Irish policy was that more might be effected by greater energy, and more violent and sweeping measures. Under these and such impressions, Sir John was recalled, and the government committed to Sir William Fitz-William.

Previous to his departure Sir John committed an act of injustice, which throws disgrace on his character, and which had the most pernicious consequences. This was the seizure of Red Hugh O'Donell, and of the two sons of Shane O'Neale, by an act of treachery not to be mentioned without disgust. Although the historian of O'Donell, and subsequent writers, make it seem that the capture of O'Donell was the chief object of that most disgraceful expedition,* yet we think it obvious enough that its design was far more indiscriminate.† The possession of the O'Neales was thought to afford a useful curb over the proceedings of the earl, as, while they were alive, their claim could if necessary, be set up in opposition to him. This unjust and oppressive step was, however, not sufficient to repress the good-will generally won from the native Irish by the mild and equitable tenor of Perrot's administration, or to counterbalance the good effects it had produced. There was a disposition to peace, order, and submission to authority, which had been hitherto unprecedented; the most powerful of the chiefs and noblemen were ready to come on the summons of the governor, and all sorts of provisions were plenty and cheap. Fitz-William's conduct was such as to unsettle the favourable dispositions of the country. The chief cause of every disaffected tendency was one which lay tacitly under a heap of pretended or fictitious

* O'Donell's Life.

† See Cox.

grievances; the fear of oppression, and the insecurity of rights: the chiefs had long been taught to feel themselves insecure in their possessions. Compared with this pervading sense, all other discontents were slight, being mostly in their nature local or personal. Rebellion demands a common cause, the only principle of popular union. Then indeed, as since, the moving principle has been ever something different, and wholly different, from the spurious convention which inflames and rallies round a common standard the passions of the ignorant and lawless multitude: and if there be any truth in this position, it is of material importance so to direct the remedial course as to meet the *real evil*, either by fair concession, or decisive and effectual resistance. It was the misfortune of the country that both were at the time required, and both neglected. Fitz-William's first course of conduct was to awaken the reasonable fears of the Irish chiefs, both for their property and personal liberty. If the seizure of O'Donell, for which there was reasonable ground, though the artifice was base and revolting, communicated a shock, the seizure of MacToole, Tyrone's father-in-law, and of O'Doherty, both persons of the most peaceable demeanour and the highest reputation for loyalty, without the pretext of any accusation, or of the shadow even of state necessity, struck fire through the whole of Ulster. The pride and fear of every one who had any thing to lose, or any sense of self-respect, was offended by an action so unwarranted and arbitrary as to convey the dangerous sense that no person or property was safe from such a power used in such a spirit. In the year 1589, Fitz-William having received information that the Spaniards, who were the preceding year wrecked on the northern and western coasts, had left behind them much treasure, first endeavoured to secure it by a commission; this failing, he travelled into the north at great expense in quest of the supposed riches. Irritated by not finding these, he seized the two gentlemen already named, on the report of their having a large part of them in their possession. The prisoners refusing to ransom themselves were imprisoned, and detained in captivity for a long time.*

In the meantime, Hugh Na'Gaveloch, an illegitimate son of Shane O'Neale, brought information to Fitz-William that Tyrone had entered into a secret alliance with the Spaniards. Tyrone was not long in discovering the informer, whom he caused to be hanged. It is said that it was difficult to find one to hang this offender on account of the name of O'Neale.

This, with the other circumstance related, and the general impression produced by all the various rumours in circulation to the prejudice of Fitz-William's character and motives, alarmed Tyrone. He knew himself to be a fair and tempting object for suspicion and cupidity, and resolved to anticipate the accusations which he feared by a personal appeal to the favour and justice of the queen. He went over to England in May, 1590. Owing to this journey having been taken without the lord-deputy's permission, he was at first placed under arrest. On submission he was liberated, and had a satisfactory audience from the queen, after which he agreed to enter into bonds for the secu-

* Moryson.

rity of the pale, and to keep the peace with Tirlagh Linnogh. He also agreed to put in pledges to be chosen by the lord-deputy, it being provided that these pledges should not lie in the castle, but be committed to the keeping of some gentlemen within the pale, and that they might be exchanged every three months—a provision remarkable for its fairness and humanity; but if looked on further, not less sagaciously adapted to the purpose of eluding the consequences of any violation of the terms on his part, or of the suspicions of government, which were at least as likely to occur. The articles of his former agreement were also, at the same time, confirmed by fresh engagements to the same effect.

On his return to Dublin, he came before the council, and confirmed the articles which had been transmitted from England. He, nevertheless, continued to defer their fulfilment, excusing himself by letters to the English and Irish councils, in which he entreated that Tirlagh Linnogh, and other neighbouring lords, should be rendered subject to the same engagements.

In the same year occurred the most unjust and impolitic execution of the chief of Monaghan, MacMahon, upon no ostensible plea of justice, and for which the only appearance of excuse was the false asseveration that the whole country seemed glad of his execution. The actual charge was as absurdly made, as the whole proceeding was treacherous and undignified; and the effect was a very violent aggravation of the discontents of Ulster. The story is worth telling. Some time before MacMahon had surrendered his property, which he held under tanistry, and received it in English tenure by a grant under the broad seal, in which the inheritance was limited to himself and his heirs male, and in failure of these to his brother, Hugh Roe MacMahon. In the year 1590, MacMahon died without heirs of his body, and the succession was claimed by his brother according to the patent. He was first put off on the excuse of a certain fee of six hundred cows, for, according to Moryson, “such and no other were the Irish bribes.” He was then seized and imprisoned, but after a few days released, with a promise that the lord-deputy would himself go and settle him in the county of Monaghan. Accordingly, in a few days, Fitz-William made a journey to that country with MacMahon in his company. Immediately, however, on their arrival MacMahon was seized, shut up in his own house, tried by a jury composed of soldiers and Irish kernes, which latter were shut up and denied all food until they found him guilty of a pretended misdemeanour, for which he was at once executed. His country was then divided among several persons, both English and Irish, all of whom, it was alleged, and may fairly be presumed, paid well for their shares. The whole of these facts, if truly stated, place beyond doubt that the design was preconceived and planned by the deputy, and that the journey was a contrivance to get the victim entirely into his own hands, by a removal from the constraint of the civil authorities before whom he should otherwise have been tried, and who would have treated as vexatious the charge that this person, two years before, had entered a neighbouring district, and levied a distress for rent due to him. Considering the general laxity of construction which prevailed at the time,

and the far more serious offences which were daily connived at or compromised—the arrest by a most fraudulent manœuvre—the clandestine and illegal trial and execution, and the division of the spoil—it would be setting at naught the ordinary laws of equitable construction to deny that an aggravated outrage was thus committed against right. The whole of this iniquitous proceeding was at once and universally understood. It struck at the root of all confidence—the wide-spread and deeply-seated elements of disaffection and hate were aggravated and apparently justified by a well-grounded distrust; and there were at the time active agents at work, by whom nothing was let fall inoperative that could awaken and concentrate hostility to the English. On the report of this execution, the chiefs of Ulster were not slow to express their sense by their language and actions. They showed the utmost unwillingness to admit any English sheriffs, or admit of any channel for the entrance of laws which they saw could thus easily be made the weapon of rapine and murder.

These transactions, whatever may have been their influence in determining the after-course of Tyrone, had the immediate effect of rendering his conduct cautious and watchful in an increased degree. He had a fray with his neighbour, Tirlogh Lynmogh, in which Tirlogh was wounded: Tyrone anticipated his complaint by a representation that the occurrence was caused by his neighbour's attempt to take a prey in his lands, from which he repelled him by force. He also, immediately after, permitted the county of Tyrone to be made shire ground. In July, 1591, the bounds of this county were defined by commissioners appointed for the purpose; who divided it into eight baronies, and made Dungannon the shire town.

One act of Tyrone, of which we only know the fact from its consequences, was perhaps more decisive of his fate than any other cause. It was that in the same year a complaint was preferred against him by Sir Henry Bagnal, for having carried off his sister and married her, his former wife being still alive. Tyrone defended himself by alleging that the lady was taken away and married by her own consent, and that his former wife had been previously divorced.

Amidst all these occasions of offence and fear, it is not improbable that a great change may have grown over the temper of the earl; yet his overt conduct, at least, still manifested a disposition to adhere to the English government. In the English council also there was a disposition to trust him: the main occasions of his irregular proceedings were understood, or met with a favourable construction; his reputation for sagacity also stood in his favour, for as his best interest lay in the shelter of the English government, he was allowed the credit of understanding this fact; while every charge which had hitherto been advanced against him met with a fair excuse, many services of an unquestionable nature ascertained his fidelity, or disarmed accusation of its pretext. Such, indeed, both in historical or political construction of the characters of public men, is the case which constantly recurs, and renders judgment difficult and fairness itself a risk. In their overt acts, fair appearances, honest motives, and universal principles, are kept on the surface, however base, dangerous, or dishonest, may be the motives and designs of the actors. There can be no

course of public conduct maintained in the public eye, that is not capable of being defended upon the ground of principle; while the more refined and less popular reasoning by which the secret can be traced, depends on facts and assumptions which, though plain to all thinking persons, are not so capable of being substantiated to the coarse perception and prejudiced sense of the public mind—so generally just in its practical maxims, and so inapt beyond them.

Judging by his public acts, by his fair professions, or by a due allowance for the just sense of his own interests, it is to be inferred that the earl of Tyrone was still at this period of our narrative sincere in his professions of loyalty. But it is impossible to make these allowances, without also insisting upon some allowance of an opposite value, for other facts of which he must have been fully cognizant, and in no small degree influenced by. We are made aware, by several statements of a very authoritative nature, that he maintained an intimate understanding with the Irish, who were at the same time entering into a most formidable conspiracy against the English pale.

While the state of English affairs seemed to be approaching to a steady and settled aspect of prosperity, a strong and dangerous under-working had set in, which menaced the very existence of the pale. O'Donell, whose capture and well-grounded hate to the English government we have related, had escaped from his cruel, impolitic captivity, and, after many romantic adventures, found refuge and friendship with Tyrone; and from this moment the latter was in fact a consenting party to all the machinations of the insurgents. This consent may be affirmed to have been insincere, but cannot be reasonably denied. If the defence be considered worth any thing, there is indeed ample ground for questioning his sincerity to either party; and it will, after all, be the best that can be said, that his deportment to either was the stern dictate of circumstance. It was the result of his position, that the contingencies belonging to whatever course he might take wore a formidable aspect; and his best excuse must be found in the conduct of the English government. The difficulties which pressed him on either side should have been allowed for; and while his conduct received the most indulgent construction, he should have been firmly upheld in the course which was imposed on him by his obligations to the queen's government.

Instead of support and allowance, on the fair principle of recognizing the difficulties of his position, these difficulties were soon indefinitely increased by a jealous scrutiny, which began to give the worst construction to every act, and the readiest reception to every whisper which breathed against him. It was unquestionably the duty of a vigilant administration to keep the most jealous eye on the conduct of one whose situation was exposed to so many varied impulses. But judicious watchfulness is not more vigilant to detect an indication, than cautious to avoid misconstruction; and it was, or ought to have been known, how much enmity and how much grasping cupidity were on the alert to hunt down so rich a victim as Tyrone.

While, then, to sum the fact in a few words, Tyrone truly or insincerely asserted his loyalty to the queen, with the same respective degree of insincerity or truth, he asserted his adherence to the party of

O'Donell, to whom he pleaded the necessity of preserving appearances towards the English; and under the operation of this most fatal position, the moment was fast approaching when he must of necessity have taken his choice, and when the indulgence of the English—for this too has its limits—would have been fatuity, not fairness. Such, then, is the ground which we desire to take, on a question upon which, we think, some able writers have taken a narrow and a partial view.

As yet, however, it is manifest the public conduct of Tyrone entitled him to be considered as a loyal British subject. In 1592, among other statements, he wrote to the English council that he had brought over O'Donell to the queen's allegiance, and "that he would persuade him to loyalty, and, in case he were obstinate, that he would serve against him as an enemy."* Another circumstance—one of the many which accumulated into the serious rebellion which followed—gave Tyrone an occasion to maintain his character of questionable loyalty. In the year 1593, M'Guire, chief of Fermanagh, began to take an active part in the gathering troubles of the north. He was, in common with all the surrounding chiefs of Ulster, alarmed and irritated by the execution of MacMahon; and the feeling was chiefly indicated by a reluctance to admit of an English sheriff within these territories. It is mentioned by Davis, that, when Fitz-William first intimated to M'Guire his intention to send an English sheriff into Fermanagh, the chief replied, "Your sheriff shall be welcome; but let me know his eric, that if my people cut off his head, I may levy it on the county." The sheriff was sent, with two hundred men to support him. And not long after, he was, with his party, assailed by M'Guire, and driven to take refuge in a church, where they would have been exterminated by fire, but for the timely interposition of the earl of Tyrone. The lord-deputy, on this, sent a party of soldiers into Fermanagh, who seized M'Guire's castle of Eniskillen; the chief was proclaimed a traitor; and the lord-deputy let fall some threats against the earl of Tyrone, which soon found their way to his ear. These expressions, whatever was their import, were afterwards referred to by the earl as a justification of his subsequent conduct. From the time he was apprized of the deputy's language, he said that he began to consider his safety doubtful, and to make up his mind to join with O'Donell.

Still he thought it necessary to preserve appearances; and when M'Guire, breaking into open rebellion, made an irruption into Connaught, Tyrone joined his forces to the English and took an active part in the operations by which he was driven back. On this occasion he received a wound. But whatever were his intentions, nothing could now divert the course of the suspicion and enmity which watched and severely interpreted every thing he did. Though ready to comply with his avowed engagements, there was much to support a jealous view of all his conduct: he gave his daughter in marriage to O'Donell, and refused to deliver up the sons of Shane O'Neale, whom he had seized and cast into chains.

In the month of August, 1594, Fitz-William was recalled, and Sir William Russell sent over in his room. The complaints against

* Moryson.

Tyrone had increased, and suspicion was growing fast into certainty, when he made his appearance in the metropolis, from which he had carefully absented himself during Fitz-William's government. The step was politic, but not without risk; for the enemies of the earl were many and powerful, and (had enmity been wanting) his conduct was open to suspicion. But, above all the whispers of suspicion, or the cautious doubts of guarded policy, the bitter animosity of Bagnal made itself heard. Bagnal earnestly urged that the earl's visit to the city was but an artifice to lull the suspicions excited by his long course of double dealing, entreated that he should be arrested, and offered to make good several articles of treason against him. The accusations of Bagnal had been repeatedly proffered, and comprised all the questionable acts of the earl's past life, most of which we have mentioned in their order of occurrence. They were chiefly these: That he entertained Gauran, titular primate of Ireland, knowing him to be a traitor—this Gauran had been but recently slain in an encounter between Bingham and M'Guire in Connaught; that he corresponded with O'Donell, who was at the very time levying war against the queen; that, being allowed to keep six companies in the queen's service, he so contrived, by continued changes of the men, to discipline the entire population of Tyrone; that having engaged to build a castle for his own residence after the fashion of the English nobility, he had availed himself of the occasion as a pretence to purchase a quantity of lead as if for the roof, but which he stored in Dungannon as material for bullets. But whatever may have been Tyrone's sincerity, he was no mean proficient in the arts of speciousness: he vindicated his character and intentions before the council, to whom, in the tone of ardent gratitude, he enumerated the many honours and benefits he had received from the bounty of the queen; and renounced all mercy from the Almighty if he should ever lift his hand against her. He promised to send his son to be educated in Dublin, and to deliver sufficient pledges for his future conduct. These representations, which were accompanied with specific answers to the several charges which had been made against him, impressed the council and the lord-deputy in his favour; and they agreed to dismiss him. The queen, who had, perhaps, before this been enabled to form a more correct estimate of Tyrone's conduct, was very much displeased, and sent over a severe reprimand. She thought that her deputy should at least have used the occasion to stipulate for the relief of Eniskillen,*—an object which, in the same month, was effected by Sir William Russell, who, by a week of rapid and laborious marching over mountain and bog, entered Eniskillen without a blow; the enemy having abandoned it on his approach.

Notwithstanding the strong professions of Tyrone, his real designs were now strongly impressed on the government in both countries. An equivocal course can only deceive for a short time, and suspicious conduct long persisted in becomes the certain indication of the crime suspected. The reason of this is plain enough; such appearances must, from their very nature, be casual, and cannot, therefore, long be al-

lowed against the course of probability : we mention this because it is the principle upon which we venture the assertion that Tyrone was at this time, decided in his purpose of rebellion. We have willingly conceded to those who are inclined to take the most favourable view, that his earlier professions of loyalty were sincere ; it is indeed the inference we have ourselves arrived at : we have also strongly asserted our belief that he was placed in a position which rendered perseverance in loyalty difficult in a high degree—between the accusations of those who loved his possessions, or resented his encroaching and tyrannical actions—the restless suspicions and despotic temper of lord-deputies, and the fierce remonstrances of his own countrymen. Viewing his conduct with every allowance of palliation, we think that from the commencement of 1594, he must be allowed to have engaged clandestinely in the design then openly avowed by O'Donell ; and all professions to the contrary were such as could only be allowed to pass by the most blameable remissness. It is at this point of time that we think it, therefore, important to draw a line, which has been obliterated by the strong party professions of those who have written on either side : Cox, whose prejudices blind him, and Moryson who lay within the dust of the struggle, and could not be expected to see beyond it, and the numerous historians who but follow in the wake of these : or, on the other hand, the recent writers who, with a far larger grasp of facts and principles, can only be just to the cause so far as their political creed allows of justice. Totally dissenting from the spirit of both, we have neither allowed the subject of our memoir to be set down as one of the most base and crafty traitors that ever breathed ; nor, on the contrary, one of the most injured victims of a base faction and tyrannical government. The government was often incompetent, often tyrannical, and in no instance administered on principles of clear-sighted and comprehensive policy or justice : but Tyrone was fairly open from the beginning to suspicion. Though sagacious, he had not discretion to resist the temptations of power : he was brave in action but he had not the firmness to preserve his consistency. The taunts and solicitations of the disaffected, the injuries and insults of the interested underlings of power, warped his course and brought him into positions, in which he met not perhaps all the allowance which these considerations might seem to claim : because, in reality, such allowance cannot in any case be made, but by the eye of omniscience. We shall not, therefore, with some contemporary writers, allow him the praise of a great man. He was, in our estimate, much sinning as well as much sinned against ; and it is precisely at the period of his life at which we have now arrived, that we are anxious to impress our reader with this distinction—that having till now wavered under the operation of causes hard to resist, he at length, under the continued operation of these causes joined the struggle, and began to move heart and hand with the rebel party.

But it was among the least equivocal indications of the double play upon which Tyrone had entered, that to the native chiefs who had at this time leagued against the English, he actually professed that such was the true nature of his conduct towards the English ; that his professions were intended for the purpose of deception : and that

his very acts of seeming good faith were necessary to support his professions. However his deception may be excused, he was a deceiver. But O'Donell, who had, from the beginning, taken the most decided course, now conceived that the time for disguise was over. The native Irish had gained discipline and confidence; they were beginning to be united into the sense of a common cause by the efforts of the foreign ecclesiastics who were sent amongst them from Italy and Spain. From the latter country, they received the fullest assurances of liberal aid in men, money, and military supplies. The hopes of the insurgent party were high, and not without strong grounds, both in their own strength and in the weakness of the English, for whom no efficient protection was yielded at any time. Under these circumstances, the temporising policy of the earl rendered him an object of suspicion to the Irish as well as to the English; and O'Donell now at once snapped asunder the cobweb tissue of his transparent deceptions, by a menace that if he did not declare himself openly he would at once treat him as an enemy. In this there can be, however, little doubt, that, considered with respect to policy, the step was premature. It was the more cautious design of Tyrone to avoid awakening the government into any decided course, until the aid so liberally promised by Spain should enable them to support their pretensions. The spirit and energy of O'Donell, with all their efficacy in stirring up the spirit of the land, were by no means as available in the combination of difficulties which were now soon to arise, as the circumspect and cautious character of Tyrone.

The true state of Irish affairs began to be understood in the English council; and it was resolved to take more effectual means to put down the rising troubles which had for some time worn a menacing aspect. A fresh supply of veteran troops was ordered for Ireland, and it was resolved to suppress and overawe the malcontents of Ulster, by encompassing them on every side. It was also directed that the lord-deputy should endeavour to detach O'Donell, of whose real spirit they were ignorant, from Tyrone: it was considered that O'Donell had received severe and gratuitous ill treatment, which demanded some offer of redress, and partly justified his proceedings.

The lord-deputy wrote over to request that, with the troops, an experienced commander might be sent; from whose judgment he might receive warrant and confirmation in the conduct of his military operations. In answer to this request, the queen sent Sir John Norris, who had very much distinguished himself as a general in the low countries.

When Tyrone was apprized of the contemplated reinforcement, he became very much alarmed for the consequences, and justly fearing the design which was rumoured about, he resolved to prevent it by the seizure of the English fort which had been built, according to his former agreement, on the Blackwater; and which was the main check which the queen's government possessed over his own movements.

Pretending some frivolous quarrel with its garrison, he attacked and took this fort, and burnt down the bridge to the water. It was the passage into his country, and had he been previously engaged in a course of open hostilities, he could not have taken a better step.

Having thus plunged into rebellion, he wrote letters to the earl of Kildare, to persuade him to follow the same mad course, and sent off emissaries to Spain to apply for aid and money. His next step was to invest Monaghan, the castle of which was garrisoned by the English.

On the news of this, general Bagnal marched to the relief of the besieged town on the 24th May, with fifteen hundred foot and two hundred and fifty horse. Late in the evening, the army reached a place called Eight-mile-church, and took its quarters for the night. While this was doing, Tyrone with a large body of horse came within sight, within about half a mile, but presently retired without any further demonstration. Next morning the English marched on until they reached a pass, when they were attacked; but succeeded in forcing their way, and proceeded on their march till they reached the town. The siege was raised on their approach; nothing material occurred during the remainder of that day, but the English leaders soon perceived that their position was not the most advantageous. Within a mile of where they lay, on a hill by the abbey of Monaghan, they were enabled distinctly to perceive the junction of the armies of M'Guire, and MacMahon, with the formidable host of Tyrone, forming a body of eight thousand foot, and one thousand horse, as well armed and scarcely less disciplined than themselves. The English, little more than the ninth part of that army in number, were besides but ill provided for an emergency, which nothing had led them to expect, and it was quite obvious that their best success would be to make a successful retreat. On the next morning the enemy's camp was in motion at an early hour, and strong parties were seen to march out in different directions with silent celerity, but not so secretly as to escape the observation of the veteran who commanded the English party. The rebel leaders conceiving that the English were in their power, and only to be secured, had prudently enough resolved to seize on every pass, and cut off their retreat. Bagnal was not prevented by the visible danger from taking such precautions as he thought necessary, for the relief of Monaghan, into which he sent men and victuals, and then ordered a retreat. This operation was, however, become in a high degree difficult; the rebel leaders, from their knowledge of the country, were enabled to throw themselves into a hollow through which the English must presently pass. When the English reached this place they were encountered by a severe fire, which, from the multitude of the assailants and their advantage of position, would quickly have annihilated them had it lasted; but by great good fortune the rebels were not provided with ammunition sufficient to keep up their fire which after some fierce discharges became slack. On this the English, knowing that the danger was over, prepared to encamp for the night: they had lost twenty men and had ninety wounded; of the rebels between three and four hundred had fallen. All night the English lay in the very midst of the Irish army, which occupied all the heights and posts of advantage round them. They lay in their arms and were fully prepared for any sudden irruption which might reasonably be anticipated from the known customs of the enemy with which they had to deal. This consequence was perhaps arrested by a much more prudent conduct on the part of Tyrone and

his friends. Thinking to make the matter sure they sent to Dungannon for a supply of ammunition, but providentially obtained none ; on the next morning, therefore, the English were allowed to pursue their way unmolested to Newry.

This bold step was followed soon by a proclamation, declaring Tyrone, O'Donell, M'Guire, and others, traitors. In the mean time, Sir John Norris had arrived with 8000 men, of which 2000 were veteran soldiers ; and on the 18th of June, they marched towards Dundalk. On the 23d, O'Donell, Tyrone, and other chiefs who were of their party, were proclaimed traitors, "both in English and Irish."* On this the insurgent chiefs, either took alarm ; or else, as is not unlikely under the circumstances in which they supposed themselves to stand, they thought it would be advisable to gain time, and by any means, avoid a premature trial of strength : and adopted the course of a pretended submission. Such expedients were indeed convenient, and easy in the highest degree, at a time when the most solemn engagements and binding pledges were entered into, and broken with a facility unintelligible in any modern state of things. The Irish chiefs, were under an illusory expectation of foreign aid, and had not been enabled by any experience to calculate on the real force which England could throw into the struggle if once fairly committed to it. They were imposed on by the desultory nature of the contest, in which they played unconsciously with the arms of the sleeping giant that had, when fairly roused, been ever found an overmatch for any nation on wave or plain. Yet making all allowances for the errors of the time, it is difficult for those who look through the medium of modern conventions, to comprehend satisfactorily the entire conduct of the rebel earl : or to reconcile even to any well devised system of deception, his frequent and anxious petitions for pardons which were spurned as soon as obtained : or his specious excuses and professions, with his bold and furious outbreaks—such as the demolition of the fort of Blackwater, his attack on Monaghan, and his treasonable correspondence with the earl of Kildare, in which he proposed to that nobleman, to join in rebellion.

Still more strange indeed, was the course which Camden attributes to the earl. While yet engaged in the preparations for an extensive combination against the English government,† he addressed letters to the earl of Ormonde, and to Sir Henry Wallop, to implore for their intercession in his behalf. He also wrote to the general-in-chief Sir J. Norris, to the same purpose, immediately after his recent defeat. Whatever may have been the character of Tyrone's applications, their purpose was partially frustrated by a manœuvre as dishonest, and a thousand times more base. The deceit of Tyrone, was sanctioned by usage ; it was a trick nearly conventional in the shuffling game of Irish politics : but the interception and suppression of his letters by marshal Bagnal, was the mean and dishonourable expedient of personal

* Cox.

† Something in this statement is to be allowed for the exaggerations of party. All the Irish historians of Camden's age, like those of our own, were, without exception, party writers.

malice—the base resource of a base passion. The letter to Norris, falling thus into the hands of Tyrone's deadliest enemy, was carefully held back until the proclamation had gone forth. But in addition to his other crimes, it was discovered that Tyrone had written to the king of Spain, to offer him the kingdom of Ireland for a supply of 3000 men and some money.* The queen was irritated by outbreaks so repeated as to remove all confidence in professions or pledges, and declared her resolution never to pardon the earl again—a resolution which, says Cox, she kept to her dying day.

Many strong considerations, however, weighed on the other side: the strength of the English was far inferior to the exigency of circumstances; and that of the rebels was fast augmenting in numbers, combination, discipline, and the munitions of war. The Irish force in Ulster alone was rated at 7,280. The incessant efforts of Tyrone and O'Donell had brought them into a state of training scarcely inferior to that of the English, of whom the greater part were but raw recruits. Sir John Perrot had been betrayed into an expedient, which had very much tended to this result: in his desire to increase his force with less cost, by fighting the Irish against each other, he had employed and trained to arms large bodies of men, who now swelled the ranks of the insurgent chiefs.

These considerations, with the strong urgency of those English lords, who were the personal friends of Tyrone, weighed with the English government. The treachery of Bagnal had also its weight in favour of Tyrone, and the queen gave her consent that a treaty should be entered on with himself and the chiefs of his party. A truce was therefore made on the 27th October, 1595, till the first of January following, for the purpose of hearing the complaints, and receiving the submissions of the chiefs, and coming to some distinct terms for their future government. For this, Sir Henry Wallop, and chief-justice Gardiner, were appointed commissioners, and a meeting took place about the middle of January.

The particulars of the conference are given at large, both by Moryson, and by the MS. historian of O'Donell. The representations of the chiefs were specious, and their complaints for the most part just; but this constitutes the vast difficulty of the Irish history of this entire period, that nothing on either side (especially on that of the Irish chiefs,) was precisely according to the ostensible pretence of the parties. The speeches were fair, and the demands not unreasonable; but nothing was meant by the leading chiefs but to trifle; and those amongst their number who were in good earnest, were perverted by the representations of O'Donell, who addressed them apart, and set before them, his view of their true prospects in the growing strength of their arms, and the promises of the king of Spain, who, he said, "should not be deceived, as he was incapable of deceiving them." Such is the true representation of one who could not have mistaken what passed before him, and is the best commentary on the statement of Moryson, which otherwise leaves the conduct of the Irish chiefs inexplicable. We extract it entire, as the most complete.

"Tyrone in this conference complained of the marshall for his usurped jurisdiction in Ulster, for depriving him of the queen's favours by slanders; for intercepting his late letters to the lord deputie, and lord generall, protesting that he never negotiated with forraigne prince, till he was proclaimed traytor. His humble petitions were, that hee and his might be pardoned, and have free exercise of religion granted, (which notwithstanding had never before either been punished or inquired after.) That the marshall should pay him one thousand pounds for his dead sisters, his wives portion; that no garrisons nor sheriffs should be in his country; that his troope of fiftie horse in the queenes pay might be restored to him; and that such as had preyed his country, might make restitution.

"O'Donell, magnifying his fathers' and progenitors' services to the crowne, complained that captaine Boyne, sent by Sir John Perrot with his company into his countrey, under pretence to reduce the people to civilitie, and being well entertained by his father, had besides many other injuries raised a bastard to be O'Donell, and that Sir John Perrot, by a ship sent thither, had taken himselfe by force, and long imprisoned him at Dublin; and that Sir William Fitz-William had wrongfully kept Owen O'Toole, above mentioned, seven yeeres in prison. His petitions were for pardon to him and his, and for freedome of religion; that no garrisons or sheriffs might bee placed in his countrey, and that certain castles and lands in the county of Sligo might bee restored to him.

"Shane MacBrian, MacPhelime O'Neale, complained of an iland taken from him by the earle of Essex, and that he had been imprisoned till he surrendered to the marshall a barony, his ancient inheritance. Hugh McGuire complained of insolencies done by garrison souldiers, and by a sheriffe, who besides killed one of his nearest kinsmen, Brian MacHugh Oge, and MacHowne, (so the Irish called the chiefe of that name surviving,) and Ever MacCooly, of the same family of MacHownes, complained of the above-mentioned unjust execution of Hugh Roe MacIlowne, in the government of Sir William Fitz-Williams.*

The commissioners admitted the fairness of many of these complaints, and frankly promised redress; but thought it necessary on the part of the queen to make such conditions as were absolutely necessary to secure the peace of the country in the interim. It was stipulated that they should lay down their arms, repair the forts they had razed, admit sheriffs into their territories and counties, restore property they had obtained by recent violence, abstain from their attacks on the garrisoned forts; that they should reveal their secret communications with the foreign enemies of the queen, ask pardon for their rebellion, and solemnly swear allegiance, and to avoid all future rebellion. As there was nothing in these demands inconsistent with the repeated promises and pretences of those who were now present, it would not be easy to assign any specious ground for a refusal; yet such was the result. The conference was held in the open fields, and in sight of the armed guards which either party thought necessary for their pro-

tection. But after listening with seeming respect to the propositions of the commissioners, they adjourned to a neighbouring hill, where speeches widely different from those we have just seen were made;* and the contest was fiercely terminated without any result, but a truce most injudicious on the part of the English, but precisely no more or less than the object which the insurgents desired, and which gave them further time till April.

In the interval the earl discovered that matters were not as ripe for war as he had anticipated; for in June, he was glad to receive terms substantially the same from Norris, who came to Dundalk with the intent of leading his army into Tyrone. On this occasion the earl signed a submission in which he agreed to separate himself from the rebels, to refrain from intermeddling with his neighbours, to admit a sheriff, to rebuild Blackwater fort, to supply the garrison for ready money, to dismiss his forces, to confess his foreign negotiations, to give in sufficient pledges, and to pay whatever fine the queen should think fit to impose. His pardon was signed on the 12th May, and he sent a letter from the king of Spain to be perused by the government, taking however care to swear his messenger not to permit a copy to be taken, as such a document would evidently have the effect of committing him with O'Donell, and the other chiefs, by the exposure of an act which they might have violently resented.

But such was the uncertainty of the earl's mind, that he had not yet completely executed the preliminaries of this agreement, when he repented. Either his pride, which apparently stood on low ground, or his fear of his Irish allies, or the influence of the frank and spirited O'Donell, or his hopes of foreign aid, or all of these motives weighed upon his mind, and deterred him from the course of honour and prudence. Sir Edward Moore, who was sent to convey to him his pardon and receive his pledges, could nowhere find him: he eluded his engagement by concealing himself. We believe the fact to be, that in the interval he received a letter from O'Donell, apprizing him of the arrival of three Spanish vessels with two hundred men, and a supply of ammunition, with the promise of more. There is sufficient evidence quoted by Cox for the assertion, that he immediately engaged in a treasonable correspondence with Feagh MacHugh. At length, on the 22d of July, he took out his pardon, and put in his pledges with strong protestations of future loyalty; but by a remissness on the part of government, which would be unaccountable if it were necessary to account for the numberless inconsistencies of this anomalous history, he was allowed to refuse taking an oath against foreign correspondence.

The next incident of this strange history is in character with the rest. A war, of which we have already related the particulars, broke out in Leinster with Feagh MacHugh, and while it engaged the attention of the English, the earl made a descent upon Armagh, which he attempted to surprize. In this assault, thirty-five of the garrison were slain, and eight were killed in the neighbourhood where they had been sent to collect wood.† On this he was written to by the lord-deputy and council, and replied that he was induced to this action by their

* MS. Life of O'Donell.

† Cox.

attack on his ally MacHugh—a reply plainly in the teeth of all engagements; so as indeed to show that with all the intelligence attributed to Tyrone, he never had a distinct conception of the real force of his agreements with the government. It was on the 30th December following, that Feagh MacHugh was killed.

In our summary of the above-mentioned particulars, we have taken the accounts most favourable to Tyrone, so far as they can be regarded as entitled to consideration. The account of Moryson in some respects presents a more unfavourable aspect of the earl's history; but unless when he happens to be an eye-witness, we must consider the report of a contemporary always to be received with no slight caution, and to be carefully tested by adverse writers. Some, however, of the particulars of the agreement last mentioned, are according to Moryson's view, such as to extenuate in some degree the conduct of Tyrone. We would not, however, be mistaken; we mean that sort of extenuation which arises from judging of men's actions from their principles of action, and their notions of right, however erroneous. Moryson mentions that Tyrone made his submission on his knees, but from the same account it appears that most of the stipulations which he thought fit to make were sternly rejected. For this it may indeed be admitted, that there was sufficient reason in the nature and design of these stipulations, some of which but too plainly exhibited that the earl was trifling, and some were inconsistent with the very principle recognized in his submission, namely, that he was a subject to the English throne. Among these, one was a petition for "liberty of religion," and was as the journalist says, "utterly rejected." This must now seem hard; at that time it was both just and expedient, for religion was the hollow pretext to concentrate under the shadow of a common cause, a rebellion originating in, and kept alive by motives of self-interest, pride, resentment, and fear. Under the sacred name of religion, it was then not uncommon to mask designs which could not safely be exhibited; but it was known that Tyrone scoffed openly at theological disputes, and in his personal conduct and private intercourse was really an irreligious person. "Hang thee," said the courtly earl of Essex in a friendly conversation, "thou talkest of a free exercise of religion—thou carest as much for religion as my horse;" the jest was taken in friendly part by the earl, who had too much tact and pride to make himself ridiculous, by an unseasonable hypocrisy. The day was yet far off when political craft involved the necessity of private dissimulation; but at the same time we must in fairness admit, that the rights of conscience may be contested by the most flagitious; and that liberty of religion, is a ground on which infidelity itself may take its stand with some degree of sincerity. Such is (or was) human nature. Among other stipulations, Tyrone demanded freedom from sheriffs and garrisons. This demand, so utterly inconsistent with the idea of submission, as well as with his station as a British earl, was of course refused.* He interceded for the pardon of O'Reilly; and it was justly answered, that being himself to be pardoned, he could not be received as the mediator for the offences of another. The whole

* Moryson.

of this portion of our narrative seems to place beyond controversy that Tyrone was treated with great forbearance, and that his notions of honour and justice, as well as his character for intelligence, sagacity, and education, are a little overstated by those writers who would raise him into a hero. Some eminent talents we must allow him, but of these the illustrations are yet to appear. We should not omit to add here, that the Irish government were at the very time of which we still speak, very much divided on his account. He had warm friends among the lords, an advantage which he well knew how to secure and make the most of, and which was no slight means of his long continuance to out-face the laws. There was even some dissension on his account between Norris and the lord-deputy, of whom the latter would be severe and the first indulgent. To this, among other circumstances, may have been due the protracted uncertainty of his conduct.

But although it is difficult to convey an adequate notion of Tyrone, without some description of the numerous repetitions of submission and revolt, which, however explained, form the main features of his history; yet to avoid extreme tediousness, it becomes necessary to pass, as lightly as our task will admit, over numerous details which with slight changes of scene and party may all be told in the same language. Indeed, so far is this true, that they are not uncommonly confounded by those who have written the history of that period.

In May, 1597, Russell was recalled, and Thomas lord Brough sent over with additional powers. It is probable that the queen was by this time grown discontented with Norris, whose successes did not keep pace with her impatience, as well as by reason of his known disposition to favour the earl of Tyrone. Among the first acts of the new lord-deputy, was an order sending Norris to his government of Munster, with a strict command not to leave it without express permission; Norris obeyed, and shortly after died, it is said, from the effects of vexation and wounded pride. The change was much to the disadvantage of Tyrone, who according to his wonted custom, immediately applied for a truce for one month. Lord Brough had resolved to disregard all such applications, which were now beginning to be clearly understood; but in this instance the truce was convenient, as it would enable him to make his own preparations.

When the truce was expired, lord Brough marched into the north and entered Tyrone. The earl attempted to intercept his passage through the woods near Armagh, by their ancient method of interlacing the boughs, but the English cut their way through without meeting any check. Arriving at the fort of Blackwater, they assaulted and won this important place; but they were yet on their knees giving thanks to God for their success, when the Irish made their appearance on the edge of the forest. Lord Brough ordered an instant attack, and the brave English rushed forward into the wood, in which a desultory and skirmishing conflict took place. The people of Tyrone soon fled, but not till some valuable lives were lost. Among the slain were two foster-brothers of Henry, earl of Kildare, who commanded a troop of horse on that occasion. Their death so grieved the earl that he did not long survive.

Lord Brough had not long quitted the north, when he heard that

Blackwater was again besieged by the earl of Tyrone, on which he turned back with a resolution to march to Dungannon, but died on the way. He was succeeded by Sir Thomas Norris, brother to the late general, but he also died on his arrival in Dublin, and the lord-chancellor Loftus, chief-justice Gardiner, with the archbishop of Dublin, were entrusted as lords justices with the civil government, and the earl of Ormonde was appointed to the command of the army, under the title of lord-lieutenant of the army. On this he was immediately applied to by the earl of Tyrone, to obtain a commission to treat with him. Lord Ormonde complied, and a truce for eight weeks was agreed on; this was followed by a general pardon under the great seal, obtained also by the strong intercession of Ormonde. But this pardon was never pleaded by Tyrone, who simply availed himself of the immediate immunity it afforded to follow the course in which he must now be regarded as decided; so that, as Moryson observes, he was afterwards, in the year 1600, outlawed on a previous indictment. The terms of this pardon were the same as those hitherto proposed, and were as usual with slight and fair exceptions agreed to by the earl.

The fort of Blackwater appears to have been a subject of constant irritation to Tyrone, although its preservation was a chief point in all his treaties for pardon: though one of his main conditions was an agreement to supply the soldiers with provisions, and to offer them no indignity or impediment, yet he never lost an opportunity to molest them; and an assault upon them was mostly his first step when by the intermission of a pardon he found all quiet. On the present occasion, he did not suffer more than two months to elapse, before he sent a party to the aid of O'Byrne, the son of Feagh MacHugh O'Byrne; and at the same time made a violent attack on the fort of Blackwater. He met on this occasion a bloody repulse; captain Williams with his small party of a hundred men, filled the earthen trench which surrounded them with the bodies of their bold assailants, so that they did not attempt to renew the assault. They then retired to a safer distance, and surrounded the fort by strong parties so as to cut off all supplies, and the condition of the brave little garrison became thus one of the most imminent peril. For about three weeks they continued in this trying situation, in the entire destitution of all ordinary means of sustaining life: fortunately for them they had a few horses in the fort, and with these they contrived to find some wild weeds in the ditch, which could be converted into food. They had eaten their horses, and were lying in the extremity of want, when lord Ormonde having heard of their condition, sent Sir Henry Bagnal to raise the siege.

The leader was unfortunately chosen. When Bagnal appeared at the head of his small force, at the entrance of the thick wood east of Armagh,* the hate of Tyrone was roused by the appearance of his deadliest enemy, and the event of the battle was suspended on the fate of Bagnal, against whom the earl directed his entire fury. The first charge decided the fight, for Bagnal fell by the hand of his enemy, and the usual effect took place. The few companies which he led were panic-

* Moryson.

struck by the fall of their leader, and gave way. The fury of their antagonists did not allow them to rally; and first falling into confusion, they were scattered into groups, and suffered the most dreadful slaughter which had hitherto been known in the Irish wars between the English and Irish: fifteen hundred soldiers with thirteen captains fell. The fort of Blackwater was surrendered in consequence at the desire of the feeble remnant of the English army, who represented by their messengers to Williams, that it was their only hope of safety.

This dreadful disaster was perhaps several ways decisive of the fate of Tyrone, and his brave companions in rebellion. It gave to himself and the chiefs of his party an impulse which fixed them in their rash and presumptuous course. It told the English queen and her council that the season for trifling was over; that if England was to rule, it should first win by force of arms.

This victory supplied the rebel earl with arms, and thus enabled him to increase his force. He was on all sides congratulated by the insurgent spirits of Ulster, Munster, and Connaught, as the deliverer of his country, while universal fear seized on the English of the pale, and the garrisons of the queen. Moryson, speaking of the Irish soldiery at the time, observes, "The Irish kerne were at first rude soldiers, so as two or three of them were employed to discharge one piece, and hitherto they have subsisted especially by treacherous tenders of submission; but now they are grown ready in managing their pieces, and bold to skirmish in bogges and woody passages, yea, this year and the next following, became so disastrous to the English, and successful in action to the Irish, as they shook the English government in this kingdome, till it tottered and wanted little of fatal ruine."*

It was at this period that the Munster rebellion broke out with increased fury under James Fitz-Thomas, commonly nick-named the Sugan Earl. This unfortunate person, as we have already related at length, set up for the earldom and inheritance of Desmond, with strong promises of support from the earl of Tyrone, which were however very inadequately fulfilled. The Ulster chief having fully roused and encouraged the disaffected chiefs of Munster, left them to pursue the sanguinary stream into which they were thus launched, and turned back to Tyrone.

In the meantime, Tyrone maintained the same course of transparent dissembling with government. It was necessary to adapt his professions and asseverations to the alteration of circumstances; but he still continued to make applications for truces and pardons, though with conditions more exacting than before. It can however be scarcely supposed, that he looked for any further advantage than a little delay. This, it must be kept in mind, was, as it appeared to be, the main object. In common with all his countrymen, the earl was at the moment under the fatal delusion caused by the promises of Spain. He is indeed unlikely to have so far overrated the successes he had gained, as to imagine that they could have any effect on the English government, but to elicit a vast increase of force. And such was the speedy

* Moryson.

consequence, though the natural result was delayed by the indiscretion and mismanagement of the earl of Essex, who was now sent over.

The history and character of Essex are among the most popular passages of English history, and cannot need to be dwelt upon here. Brave, generous, ardent, and ambitious, with great talent and little discretion or judgment, he was in this as on other trying occasions, made the dupe of his more subtle enemies and rivals, and of his own passions. His military reputation stood high, but not on any very authoritative experience; but his personal valour was at least unquestionable, his talents specious and imposing. His enemies in the English court were also desirous both to send him out of the way, and to entangle him in a position where honour had been seldom gained, and was least of all likely to be gained by him. It was easier to impose on the queen than on Cecil: Essex had, in his comments on the Irish insurrections, which then occupied the conversation of the English court, shown that superficial sagacity so often to be met with in critics and lookers on, and strenuously insisted upon the gross error of the Irish lieutenants, in allowing themselves to be trifled with, and not striking at once at the root of all the insurrections, by the suppression of Tyrone. This was the sentiment of the queen and generally of the English court and council. It was therefore but natural, that from the ardent and impetuous earl, with all his bravery and cheap-won military character, and with all her own womanly partiality, that the queen should form the fond hope, that he would prosecute this tedious and vexatious war to an end, by pursuing a course so apparently obvious and on which he himself so strongly insisted. Under these auspices, the earl entered on his enterprize.

On the 15th April, 1599, he landed in Dublin with greater powers and more splendid allowances than had hitherto been granted to any lord-lieutenant. Among these, which are detailed at great length by the writers of that time, we may specify the allowance of ten pounds a day for his pay.* On his arrival, he demanded and obtained from the Irish council a statement of the actual position of affairs. By this it is made clear as can be, that every part of the country, was in total or partial insurrection. It was nevertheless equally apparent, that in these various instances of local rebellion, there was not one the magnitude or importance of which was sufficient to warrant the diversion of the whole or any part of the English army, from the great northern rebellion which was the vital centre to the whole. A few days after his arrival, Essex dispatched letters to England giving an account of every thing to the queen and council. In one of these, he states, that Tyrone had in his own council declared his design to be a concentration of all the rebels into one united power, acting under himself as its head: that for this purpose he was to have an army of his own in Ulster of 6000 men, and one of 6000 under Hugh O'Donell in Connaught. He further informed the council, that in Munster large bodies of men had assembled at a public cross, to swear that they would be steadfast in rebellion. He added that the general sense of the rebels was to repel

* Moryson.

all thoughts of pardon, and that in consequence they had assumed an unprecedented insolence of deportment.

Such, we believe to be, in the main, a fair statement of the circumstances under which Essex thought fit, or as some suppose, suffered himself to be persuaded by designing persons to lay aside all his previous opinions of the conduct of the war, and instead of marching into Ulster, to waste time and means upon desultory and inconsequent hostilities. Pursuing the very course which he had so strongly censured, he marched into Munster and took Cahir Castle belonging to Edward Butler; and collected a large plunder of cattle, without having any opposition to encounter, the rebels scattering at his approach and taking refuge in the woods. While on this expedition, however, lord Essex had not been remiss in taking the most effective steps to obtain information, and the letter which he wrote to the queen, is valuable for the general sketch which it presents of the real position of both parties. It contains also much that is characteristic of both the character and circumstances of the unfortunate writer. We therefore give it at length.

“When this shall come to your majesties hands, I know not; but whensoever it hath that honour, give it leave (I humbly beseech your majesty) to tell you, that having now passed through the provinces of Leinster and Munster, and been upon the frontire of Connaught, (where the governour and the chiefe of the province were with me;) I dare begin to give your majesty some advertisement of the state of this kingdome, not as before by heare-say, but as I beheld it with mine owne eyes. The people in general have able bodies by nature, and have gotten by custome ready use of arms, and by their late successes boldnes to fight with your majesties troopes. In their pride they value no man but themselves, in their affections they love nothing but idleness and licentiousnesse, in their rebellion they have no other end but to shake off the yoke of obedience to your majesty, and to root out all remembrance of the English nation in this kingdome. I say this of the people in generall; for I find not onely the greater part thus affected, but it is a generall quarrell of the Irish, and they who do not professe it, are either so few or so false, that there is no aecompt to be made of them. The Irish nobility and lords of countreys, doe not onely in their hearts affect this plausible quarrell, and are divided from us in religion, but have an especiall quarrell to the English government, because it limitteth and tieth them, who ever have been and ever would be as absolute tyrants as any are under the sunne. The townes being inhabited by men of the same religion and birth as the rest, are so carried away with the love of gain, that for it, they will furnish the rebels with all things that may arme them, or inable them against the state or against themselves. The wealth of the kingdome, which consisteth in cattle, oate-meale, and other victuals, is almost all in the rebels’ hands, who in every province till my comming have been masters of the field. The expectation of all these rebels is very present, and very confident that Spaine will either so invade your majesty that you shall have no leisure to prosecute them here, or so succour them that they will get most of the townes into their hands, ere your majesty shall

relieve or reinforce your army ; so that now if your majesty resolve to subdue these rebels by force, they are so many, and so framed to be souldiers, that the warre of force will be great, costly, and long. If your majesty will seeke to breake them by factions among themselves, they are so courteous and mercenary and must be purchased, and their jesuits and practising priests must be hunted out and taken from them, which now doe sodder them so fast and so close together. If your majesty will have a strong party in the Irish nobility, and make use of them, you must hide from them all purpose of establishing English government till the strength of the Irish be so broken, that they shall see no safety but in your majesties protection. If your majesty will be assured of the possession of your townes, and keepe them from supplying the wants of the rebels, you must have garrisons brought into them, able to command them, and make it a capital offence for any merchant in Ireland to trade with the rebels, or buy or sell any armes or munition whatsoever. For your good subjects may have for their money out of your majesties store, that which shall be appointed by order, and may serve for their necessary defence ; whereas if once they be tradable, the rebels will give such extreme and excessive prices, that they will never be kept from them. If your majesty will secure this your realme from the danger of invasion, as soone as those which direct and mannage your majesties intelligences, give notice of the preparations and readinesse of the enemy, you must be as well armed and provided for your defence : which provision consists in having forces upon the coast inroled and trained ; in having magazines of victuall in your majesties west and north-west parts ready to be transported ; and in having ships both of warre and transportation, which may carry and waft them both upon the first allarum of a discent. The enrolling and training of your subjects, is no charge to your majesties owne cofers ; the providing of magazines will never be any losse, for in using them you may save a kingdome, and if you use them not you may have your old store sold (and if it be well handled) to your majesties profit. The arming of your majesties ships, when you heare your enemy armes to the sea, is agreeable to your owne provident and princely courses, and to the policy of all princes and states of the world. But to return to Ireland againe, as I have shewed your majesty the dangers and disadvantages, which your servants and ministers here shall and doe meete withall, in this great work of redeeming this kingdome ; so I will now (as well as I can) represent to your majesty your strength and advantages. First, these rebels are neither able to force any walled towne, castle, or house of strength, nor to keepe any that they get, so that while your majesty keeps your army in strength and vigor, you are undoubtedly mistresse of all townes and holds whatsoever ; by which meanes (if your majesty have good ministers) all the wealth of the land shall be drawne into the hands of your subjects ; your souldiers in the winter shall be easefully lodged, and readily supplied of any wants, and we that command your majesties forces, may make the warre offensive and defensive, may fight and be in safty as occasion is offered. Secondly, your majesties horsemen are so incomparably better than the rebels, and their foot are so unwilling to fight in battle or grope, (howsoever they may be desirous to skirmish

and fight loose,) that your majesty may be alwaies mistresse of the champion countries, which are the best parts of this kingdome. Thirdly, your majesty victualling your army out of England, and with your garrisons burning and spoyling the countrey in all places, shall starve the rebel in one year, because no place else can supply them. Fourthly, since no warr can be made without munition, and this munition rebell cannot have but from Spaine, Scotland, or your own townes here, if your majesty will still continue your ships and pinaces upon the coast, and be pleased to send a printed proclamation, that upon paine of death no merchant, townes-man, or other subject, doe trafficke with the rebell, or buy or sell in any sort munition or armes, I doubt not, but in a short time I shall make them bankerout of their old store, and I hope our seamen will keepe them from receiving any new. Fifthly, your majesty hath a rich store of gallant colonels, captains, and gentlemen of quality, whose example and execution is of more use than all the rest of your troopes. Whereas, the men of best qualitie among the rebels, which are their leaders and their horsemen, dare never put themselves to any hazard, but send their kerne and their hirelings to fight with your majesties troopes; so that although their common soldiers are too hard for our new men, yet are they not able to stand before such gallant men as will charge them. Sixthly, your majesties commanders being advised and exercised, know all advantages, and by the strength of their order, will in all great fights beate the rebels; for they neither march, nor lodge, nor fight in order, but only by the benefit of their footmanship, can come on and go off at their pleasure, which makes them attend a whole day, still skirmishing, and never engaging themselves; so that it hath been ever the fault and weaknesse of your majesties leaders, wheresoever you have received any blow, for the rebels doe but watch and attend upon all grosse oversights. Now, if it please your majesty to compare your advantages and disadvantages together, you shall finde, that though these rebels are more in number than your majesties army, and have (though I doe unwillingly confesse it) better bodies and perfecter use of their armes, than those men which your majesty sends over; yet your majesty, commanding the walled townes, holders, and champion countries, and having a brave nobility and gentry, a better discipline, and stronger order than they, and such meanes to keep from them the maintenance of their life, and to waste the countrey which should nourish them, your majestie may promise yourselfe that this action will (in the end) be successful, though costly, and that your victorie will be certaine, though many of us your honest servants must sacrifice ourselves in the quarrell, and that this kingdome will be reduced, though it will ask (besides cost) a great deale of care, industry, and time. But why doe I talke of victorie, or of successe? Is it not knowne that from England I receive nothing but discomforts and soules wounds? Is it not spoken in the army that your majesties favour is diverted from me, and that already you do boad ill both to me and it? Is it not beleevved by the rebels, that those whom you favour most doe more hate me out of faction, then out of dutie or conscience? Is it not lamented of your majesties faithfullest subjects both there and here, that a Cobham, or a Raleigh (I will forbear others for their places' sake) should have

such credit and favour with your majesty, when they wish the ill successe of your majesties most important action, the decay of your greatest strength, and the destruction of your faithfulllest servants. Yes, yes, I see both my owne destiny, and your majesties decree, and doe willingly embrace the one, and obey the other. Let me honestly and zealously end a wearisome life, let others live in deceitful and inconsistent pleasure; let me beare the brunt and die meritoriously, let others achive and finish the worke, and live to erect trophies. But my prayer shall be, that when my soveraigne looseth mee, her army may not loose courage, or this kingdom want phisicke, or her dearest selfe misse Essex, and then I can never goe in a better time, nor in a fairer way. Till then, I protest before God and his angels, that I am a true votarie, that is sequestered from all things but my duty and my charge: I performe the uttermost of my bodies, mindes, and fortunes abilitie, and more should, but that a constant care and labor agrees not with my inconsistent health, in an unwholesome and uncertain clymate. This is the hand of him that did live your dearest, and your majesties faithfulllest servant,

“ESSEX.”

In this letter there is a fair and just representation of the general condition of the country. It exhibits, in strong colours, the true force and weakness of either side—the growing strength of the Irish, and the incredible want of the commonest forethought and activity in the provisions and conduct of their opponents. But, like all persons of unpractical understanding, the earl theorized, observed, and wasted his thoughts on circumstances and preliminaries, while the main fire of the rebellion was allowed to gather uninterrupted force; and the queen was justly incensed, when, instead of receiving intelligence of some direct and vigorous attack on the main forces of Tyrone or O'Donell, she received a letter of general policy and counsel, of the greater part of which she was herself very sufficiently informed before she sent him over armed with unusual powers and at vast expense to bring the struggle to an issue.

Towards the end of July he returned to Leinster, leading back an army broken and exhausted by weariness and sickness, and, as Moryson says, “incredibly diminished in number,” without having met an enemy, or performed any service worthy of account. During this nugatory expedition, a party of 600 men, rashly detached into the dangerous glens of Wicklow without experienced leaders, met the natural consequence of such a heedless disposition, and were routed by the O'Byrnes, headed by Phelim, the son of Feagh. On this unhappy occasion, lord Essex displayed a rigour not less pernicious than the feebleness of his former conduct. He disarmed and decimated the unfortunate men whom he should have preserved from a disgrace for which he inflicted on them a punishment more justly due to himself; and brought their officers to court-martial, for the failure of an expedition which should have been more prudently planned.

He was ere long apprized of the queen's displeasure at his remissness, on which he promised to march speedily into Ulster; but it is highly probable that at the moment he felt his force to be unequal to

the undertaking. In his reply to the queen on that occasion, he threw the whole blame of his conduct upon the advice of the Irish council. Notwithstanding this, he was compelled to a nearer expedition for the defence of the pale. His own remissness had, in fact, given courage to the lesser chiefs who dwelt around the English borders; and the O'Mores and O'Conors were up in arms in Leix and Ophaly. On his return from an expedition, in which he met with not sufficient opposition to add very materially to his reputation, he found his force so much reduced that it became necessary to apply for a reinforcement of a thousand men before he could proceed further. He, nevertheless, as a preliminary movement, ordered Sir Conyers Clifford into Connaught to compel Tyrone to send a part of his troops that way. Sir Conyers, as we have already had occasion to relate, at length marched on with a small body of 1500 horse and foot until he came to the Curlew mountains, among the passes of which he was surprised, defeated, and slain, by a body of Irish under O'Ruarke.

In the meantime the necessary reinforcements arrived from England. But the winter was approaching, and lord Essex was compelled to write to the queen, that nothing more could be done that season but to draw his now small forces to the north. It was late in September when, with 1300 foot and 300 horse, he took up a position on the borders of Tyrone. The rebel earl, with his army, were in sight ranged on the opposite hills.

Tyrone, who was thoroughly aware of Essex's nature, seems to have at once decided his course of conduct, and sent him a messenger to request an interview. Lord Essex returned for answer, that if the earl of Tyrone desired to speak to him, he should be found on the morrow in arms at the head of his troop. The next day a slight skirmish took place; but one of Tyrone's men cried out, with a loud voice, that the earl of Tyrone would not fight, but meet lord Essex unarmed and alone; and on the following day, as Essex again advanced, he was met by Hagan, Tyrone's messenger, who declared his master's wish to submit to the queen, and his request that lord Essex would meet him at the ford of Ballyeliach. The lord-lieutenant consented, and sent some persons forward to view the ford. They found Tyrone himself in waiting, who assured them that lord Essex and he could hear each other with perfect ease across the river. Lord Essex arrived, and the earl of Tyrone, on seeing him at the river side, spurred down the hill from his party, and, coming alone to the bank, without any hesitation, rode into the stream until the water was up to his knee, and saluting lord Essex, whose romantic spirit was captivated by this dexterous specimen of Irish frankness, they had a long conversation, which we are not enabled to detail, but which the reader of the foregoing pages may with sufficient probability conjecture. On the subject of the grievances he had endured from the Irish government, Tyrone's material for complaint and self-justification was too obvious to be neglected; many harsh measures were to be complained of; much doubtful conduct explained away, or ascribed to self-defence against those whose design it had been to drive him to extremity; much, too, could be easily distorted; and, as in all such pleadings, it was easy to omit all that could not be excused. The quick, but not

profound apprehension of the rash and generous Essex, could easily be won by such a tale told under such circumstances; and it is quite plain from the result that he was completely the dupe of his antagonist's speciousness and his own generosity.

The conference was for a long time carried on, to the great surprise of the English; and, as some writers relate the story, Tyrone had come up from the river, and the two hostile leaders for some time continued the conversation as they rode together on the bank. This, if true, exhibits the indiscretion of the queen's lord-lieutenant more strongly than we should venture to describe it. At length Tyrone beckoned to his party, and his brother, Cormac, came forward, accompanied by McGuire, MacGennis, O'Quin, &c.; while lord Essex called the earl of Southampton, Sir Warham St Leger, Sir Edward Wingfield, &c., and a truce was concluded, which was to be renewed every six weeks, till the "calends of May,"* either party having the power to break it on fourteen days' notice. It was immediately after this most unfortunate and ill-managed, though, in some respects, inevitable transaction, that Essex received from the queen the following severe and highly characteristic epistle:—

“ELIZABETH REGINA.—BY THE QUEENE.

“Right trusty and right well beloved esosen and counsellor, and trusty and well beloved, we greet you well. Having sufficiently declared unto you before this time, how little the manner of your proceedings hath answered either our direction or the world's expectation; and finding now by your letters, by Cuffe, a course more strange, if stranger may be, we are doubtful what to prescribe you at any time, or what to build upon by your owne writings to us in any thing. For we have clearly discerned, of late, that you have ever to this hower possessed us with expectations that you would proceede as we directed you; but your actions shew alwaies the contrary, though carried in such sort as you were sure we had no time to countermand them.

“Before your departure no man's counsell was held sound which perswaded not presently the maine prosecution in Ulster—all was nothing without that, and nothing was too much for that. This drew on the sudden transportation of so many thousands to be carried over with you, as when you arrived we were charged with more than the liste, or which wee resolved to the number of three hundred horse; also the thousand, which were onely to be in pay during the service in Ulster, have been put in charge ever since the first journey. The pretence of which voyage appeareth by your letters, was to doe some present service in the interim, whilst the season grew more commodious for the maine prosecution, for the which purpose you did importune, with great earnestnesse, that all manner of provisions might be hastened to Dublin against your returne.

“Of this resolution to deferre your going into Ulster, you may well thinke that we would have made you stay, if you had given us more time, or if we could have imagined by the contents of your owne writings that you would have spent nine weekes abroad. At your re-

turne, when a third part of July was past, and that you had understood our mislike of your former course, and making your excuse of undertaking it onely in respect of your conformitie to the council's opinion, with great protestations of haste into the north, we received another letter of new reasons to suspend that journey yet a while, and to draw the army into Ophalia; the fruit whereof was no other at your coming home, but more relations of further miseries of your army, and greater difficulties to performe the Ulster warre. Then followed from you and the counsell a new demand of two thousand men, to which if we would assent, you would speedily undertake what we had so often commanded. When that was granted, and your going onward promised by divers letters, we received by this bearer now fresh advertisement, that all you can doe is to goe to the frontier, and that you have provided onely for twentie daies' victuals. In which kind of proceeding wee must deale plainly with you and that counsell, that it were more proper for them to leave troubling themselves with instructing us, by what rules our power and their obedience are limited, and to bethink them if the courses have bin onely derived from their counsells, how to answere this part of theirs, to traine us into a new expence for one end, and to employ it upon another; to which we could never have assented, if we could have suspected it would have been undertaken before we heard it was in action. And, therefore, wee doe wonder how it can be answered, seeing your attempt is not in the capitall traytor's cuntry, that you have increased our list. But it is true, as wee have often said, that we are drawne on to expence by little and little, and by protestations of great resolutions in generalities, till they come to particular execution: of all which courses, whosoever shall examine any of the arguments used for excuse, shall find that your owne proceedings beget the difficulties, and that no just causes doe breed the alteration. If lack of numbers, if sicknesse of the army, be the causes, why was not the action undertaken when the army was in a better state? If winters approach, why were the summer months of July and August lost? If the spring was too severe, and the summer that followed otherwise spent—if the harvest that succeeded was so neglected, as nothing hath beene done, then surely must we conclude that none of the foure quarters of the yeere will be in season for you and that counsell to agree of Tyrone's prosecution, for which all our charge was intended. Further, we require you to consider whether we have not great cause to thinke that the purpose is not to end the warre, when yourself have so often told us, that all the petty undertakings in Leinster, Munster, and Connaught, are but loss of time, consumption of treasure, and waste of our people, until Tyrone himself be first beaten, on whom the rest depend. Doe you not see that he maketh the warre with us in all parts by his ministers, seconding all places where any attempts be offered? Who doth not see that, if this course be continued, the warres are like to spend us and our kingdome beyond all moderation, as well as the report of the succeesse in all parts hath blemished our honour, and encouraged others to no small proportion. We know you cannot so much fayle in judgement as not to understand that all the world seeth how time is dallied, though you think the allowance of that counsell, whose sub-

scriptions are your echoes, should serve and satisfie us. How would you have derided any man else that should have followed your steps? How often have you told us, that others which preceded you had no intent to end the warre? How often have you resolved us, that untill Loughfoyle and Ballishannin were planted, there could be no hope of doing service upon the capitall rebels? We must, therefore, let you know, that as it cannot be ignorance, so it cannot be want of meanes, for you had your asking—you had choice of times—you had power and authority more ample than ever any had, or ever shall have. It may well be judged with how little contentment wee search out this and other errors; for who doth willingly seeke for that which they are so loth to find—but how should that be hidden which is so palpable? And, therefore, to leave that which is past, and that you may prepare to remedy matters of weight hereafter, rather than to fill your papers with many impertinent arguments, being in your generall letters, savouring still, in many points, of humours that concerne the private of you our lord-liefetenant, we doe tell you plainly, that are of that counsell, that we wonder at your indiscretion, to subscribe to letters which concerne our publike service when they are mixed with any man's private, and directed to our counsell table, which is not to handle things of small importance.

“To conclude, if you will say though the army be in list twenty thousand, that you have them not, we answer then to our treasurer, that we are ill served; and that there need not so frequent demands of full pay. If you will say the muster-master is to blame, we much muse then why he is not punished, though say we might to you our generall, if we would *ex fuere proprio judicare*, that all defects by ministers, yea though in never so remote garrisons, have been affirmed to us, to deserve to be imputed to the want of care of the generall. For the small proportion you say you carry with you of three thousand five hundred foot, when lately we augmented you two thousand more, it is to us past comprehension, except it be that you have left still too great numbers in unnecessary garrisons, which doe increase our charge, and diminish your army, which we command you to reform, especially since you, by your continual reports of the state of every province, describe them all to be in worse condition than ever they were before you set foote in that kingdom. So that whosoever shall write the story of this yeere's action, must say that we were at great charges to hazard our kingdom, and you have taken great paines to prepare for many purposes which perish without understanding. And therefore, because we see now by your own words, that the hope is spent of this year's service upon Tyrone and O'Donell, we do command you and our counsell to fall into present deliberation, and thereupon to send us over in writing a true declaration of the state to which you have brought our kingdome, and what be the effects which this journey hath produced, and why these garrisons which you will plant farre within the land in Brenny and Monaghan, as others, whereof we have written, shall have the same difficulties.

“Secondly, we looke to hear from you and them jointly, how you think the remainder of this year shall be employed; in what kind of

warre, and where, and in what numbers; which being done, and sent us hither in writing with all expedition, you shall then understand our pleasure in all things fit for our service; until which time we command you to be very careful to meet with all inconveniences that may arise in that kingdom where the ill-affected will grow insolent upon our ill success, and our good subjects grow desperate when they see the best of our preserving them.

"We have seene a writing, in forme of a cartel, full of challenges that are impertinent, and of comparisons that are needless, such as hath not been before this time presented to a state, except it be done now to terrify all men from censuring your proceedings. Had it not bin enough to have sent us the testimony of the counsell, but that you must call so many of those that are of slender experience, and none of our counsell to such a form of subscription. Surely howsoever you may have warranted them, wee doubt not but to let them know what belongs to us, to you, and to themselves. And thus expecting your answer wee ende, at our manor of Nonsuch, the fourteenth of September, in the one and fortieth yeere of our raigne, 1559."

The effect of this letter was the return of lord Essex to complete his tragic history in England. Of this the particulars are known to every one. He left Loftus, archbishop of Dublin, and Sir George Carew lords justices, and departed in the latter end of September.

The truce had been entered into by Tyrone, as one of those ordinary expedients by which he contrived to gain time, without sacrificing the least consideration of his own convenience, and was only, therefore, to be observed till he thought fit to break it. Nor was this powerful rebel without encouragement from the foreign enemies of England, who communicated aid or incentive, according to their characters and the nature of their designs. From the Pope he received a crown of Phoenix plumes, the worthy reward of the champion of the Roman sec. The king of Spain sent him the less doubtful gift of a sum of money, and a promise of a further supply. He came in consequence to the resolution to renew the war, and easily found a pretext to avoid the stipulation of notice: at the same time, he took the title of O'Niall. In January he made the expedition already detailed into Munster, to spirit up the Sугan earl of Desmond, and returned after having successfully stirred up the southern districts to insurrection.

The queen had formerly designed to send over Charles Blount, lord Mountjoy, as lord-lieutenant to Ireland; but was deterred by the representations of lord Essex, who was desirous to secure for himself a post which promised a quick and cheap-won harvest of military honour: with the usual good faith of courtiers, he represented the small military experience, the bookish character, the narrow income of his friend; and thus succeeded in his object. But in the moment of disgrace, his motives were correctly weighed, and lord Mountjoy was now selected by the queen, and landed, together with Sir George Carew, at Howth, on 14th February.

He was but a short time in the country when he perceived the errors of his predecessors, and formed a plan of operation, which though at first difficult to be carried into effect, had the merit of skilful and judicious adaptation to the nature of the country, and the habits of the

enemy to be opposed. The English troops had latterly been discouraged by the successes of the Irish, as well as by their peculiar mode of warfare, which for the most part consisted in surprise, and ambuscade, and all the various stratagems of savage war, for which their wild rude confusion of morass and mountain, ravine and forest, afforded peculiar advantage: their tactics accommodated to these local circumstances, were as skilful in the bog and wood, as those of the English upon the open field. Against these difficulties lord Mountjoy meditated to commence by cautious operations, of which, for some time, the object should rather be to avoid defeat than to look for victory. Another disadvantage was the desultory and scattered character of the war. The Irish chiefs marching in all directions through the kingdom, moving insurrectionary feeling wherever they came, committing depredations, and gaining advantages, which, though severally slight, were aggregately of importance, both as they were thus enabled to force the chiefs to unite with them, and also to divide the English force into detachments; and by preventing all decisive movements to draw out the war indefinitely. To counteract this, lord Mountjoy planned a circle of garrisons to confine the operations of the principal chiefs, and prevent their junctions and escapes. With this view he placed garrisons in Dundalk, Atherdee, Kells, Newry, and Carlingford, and left Sir Philip Lambert with a thousand men to watch the pale. He was himself, in the meantime, to encounter the rebellion at its head, and lead his army to watch Tyrone in the north.

When lord Mountjoy landed in Ireland, the earl of Tyrone was on his visit to Munster. Of this fact the new lord-deputy was apprized, and active steps were taken to cut off his return. Though he had with him a force of five thousand men, it was yet thought that without the Ulstermen, in whom the whole force of the rebellion consisted, he could not become seriously formidable. Under these circumstances Tyrone's position was one of more danger than he himself suspected: the laxity of precaution, the total want of plan, and the facility to enter into illusory treaties and truces, which had hitherto so fatally protracted the operations of government, had enabled this alert and sagacious partizan to do as he pleased, and almost unobstructedly to organize the scattered elements of insurrection. To have, under these circumstances, anticipated his danger, would have been to anticipate a change in the management of affairs, which as yet lay concealed in the contriver's breast. Lord Mountjoy saw at once the importance of the incident, and sent directions accordingly to the earl of Ormonde, who lost no time in making the best dispositions to shut up the roads by which the return of the rebel earl could be effected. These efforts were nevertheless frustrated by the great difficulty of obtaining intelligence and of moving the Irish barons to efficient effort. Though encompassed by the earls of Ormonde and Thomond, and by the commissions of the forces in Munster—with the mayor of Limerick on one coast, and the mayor of Galway on another, to watch their respective posts—Tyrone made his way good and conducted his followers, without obstruction, through the hostile ring; and when Mountjoy received intelligence that he was encompassed on every side, he was already on the frontier of Ulster.

The Irish chiefs through Ireland who were connected with Tyrone, received the greatest discouragement from this forced march. It manifested the weakness which hitherto had been concealed, and materially abated the confidence generally inspired by the ease with which he had till then trifled with the English administration. His escape on this occasion too much resembled the flight of a discomfited chief. At the end of a forced march, when he had just settled in his quarters for the night, he heard of the advance of the lord-deputy, on which he roused his weary soldiers and again immediately marched away, leaving behind those who could not save themselves by speed from the advanced guard of the enemy. In this incident appears another of the great advantages of the prudence of Mountjoy. He had noticed that one of the main causes of former failures, was the quick intelligence by which the rebel chiefs were enabled to anticipate all the movements of the English forces; and he had already, in one of his letters, noticed that the Irish chiefs were almost all secretly disaffected, so that there was a rapid diffusion of this intelligence through the whole country: and thus it was enough to frustrate the best concerted plan if it was allowed to transpire but a few hours before execution. To the observation of this, and the strict secrecy by which it was counteracted, lord Mountjoy's successes were as much due as to any other cause.

In sending an account of Tyrone's escape, the lord-deputy transmitted also several of his intercepted dispatches, one of which may assist the reader's conception of this extraordinary person and his time.

“O’Neale commendeth him unto you Morish Fitz-Thomas. O’Neale requesteth you in God’s name to take part with him, and fight for your conscience and right; and in so doing O’Neale will spend to see you righted in all your affairs, and will help you: and if you come not at O’Neale betwixt this and to-morrow at 12 of the clock and take his part, O’Neale is not beholding to you; and will do to the uttermost of his power to overthrow you, if you come not at farthest by Saturday at one. From Knock Dumayne in Calrie, the 4th of February, 1599. (P. S.) *O’Neale requesteth you to come speake with him, and doth give you his word that you shall receive no harm, neither in coming from, whether you be friend or not, and bring with you O’Neale Gerat Fitzgerald.*”

Subscribed “O’NEALE.”*

On the 15th of February, Tyrone reached his castle at Dungannon, and called a meeting of the lords of the north to consult how the projected settlement of the English at Loughfoyle might best be prevented.

It was at this time, in the month of April, that the earl of Ormonde was taken prisoner at a conference with MacRory, (as already related,) in such a manner as to lead to some unjust suspicions that he had a private understanding with the rebels.

On the 5th of May lord Mountjoy advanced into the north, both to

* Moryson.

confine the operations of Tyrone, and to protect the settlement of the garrisons of Loughfoyle. When he arrived at Newry, he learned that the rebel earl had turned from Loughfoyle on receiving information of his advance; and that, having razed the old fort at Blackwater and burned Armagh, he had occupied the strong fastness of Loughlucken, where he entrenched himself strongly, and fortified a space of nearly three miles in extent. A chief object of Tyrone was to prevent the junction of the earl of Southampton with the deputy; for which purpose he had taken means to obtain information of the time when he was expected. As this was the way by which he must needs arrive, there was every hope of his being cut off in this most dangerous pass. Mountjoy had heard of the inquiries of the rebels, and had foreseen the danger; to meet it he drew toward the pass, and detached captain Blany with 500 foot and 50 horse with orders to secure a safe position on the road, and send to hasten the movements of Southampton. Blany, leaving his foot at the Faghard, took on his horse and reached the earl, whom he informed of the nature and objects of Tyrone's position, and told him that the deputy would await him on the same day at two o'clock, at the road of Moyry, at the place where the danger lay.

In the midst of this dangerous pass there was a ford, called the Four-mile-water, surrounded on every side with woods. Here Tyrone posted a strong body of men, who filled these woods on either side. Beyond, on a neighbouring hill, lord Mountjoy lay with his troops. To reach them it was essential to clear this passage of danger. Southampton accordingly advanced, and captain Blany, dividing his men into three companies, went into the river, and crossed the ford, when they saw the enemy awaiting them, and placed to great advantage. On this the English charged, and the lord-deputy at the same moment appeared advancing from the opposite side. After a few discharges of musquetry, the Irish gave way, and, passing through the thickets, reached the other side, at the rear of Southampton's party. Captain Blany then posted himself to the right, so as to cover the passage of the carriages; and the lord-deputy, pressing into the woods on the left, occupied the rebels in a hot skirmish, till all were safely over the pass. Repelled on each side, the rebels made next an impetuous attack on lord Southampton's rear, but were soon repulsed; and the English, having thus completely cleared this dangerous pass, were ordered by the deputy to march on. It will be needless to remark to the intelligent reader, that this was one of those perilous occasions in which the English had latterly met with the most fatal repulses, by trusting too much to that superiority of arms, which had, till of late, rendered tactics a matter of less essential moment. The Irish, at all times formidable in this war of bogs and fastnesses, were now become alarmingly so, from the advantages of arms and discipline, which, under a leader like Tyrone, had seriously reduced the odds against them. During this transaction, the earl was himself stationed, with a more considerable force, at a little distance, to wait the moment of advantage, and seize on the indiscretion of the enemy; but it is one of the proofs of the skill and coolness of Mountjoy that no such occasion presented itself. Many were slain on both sides.

Lord Mountjoy now drew off his forces, and returned to Newry. Here he received intelligence which rendered his presence necessary in Leinster, and also the satisfactory information that his garrisons at Loughfoyle were settled; in that quarter, his captains, under Sir Arthur Chichester, governor of Carrickfergus, had taken possession of Newcastle from O'Doherty, whose country they wasted; he was also apprized that they were occupied in fortifying about Derry, and that great numbers of rebels had passed, with their cattle and goods, into Scotland, from whence it was their hope to obtain aid. It became also apparent that the northern rebels were beginning to be shaken in their confidence by these vigorous and systematic regulations, and were either returning, or affecting to return, to their loyalty.

In May the lord-deputy, leaving the north thus shut in, returned to Dublin, to make effectual dispositions for the security of the pale. Of the transactions in this quarter we cannot here say much without unwarrantable digression. While in Leinster, the lord-deputy had to contend with the usual confusions of petty interests—the cabals and misrepresentations of all who did not comprehend the interest of the country, or had their own to press; he wrote to the secretary a fair and full exposition of the situation of affairs, and of the progress he had made. It was indeed important. Having complained that he found it would be an easier undertaking to subdue the rebels than to govern the English subjects, he stated, that having found the army completely disorganized, he had given it form and combination; it was disheartened, and he had raised its drooping and desponding spirit into courage and military ardour; he had preserved it from all disgrace, and restored its reputation, on which so much must depend; and that it was now by these means disposed once more to undertake, and likely to perform, services of an arduous and extensive character. He also mentioned that the hope of foreign succour was the main reliance of the Irish rebels; and entreated that unless the English government had some sure information that no assistance was to be sent over from Spain, that they would strengthen his army with reinforcements, which must be necessary should the Spaniards come over, and which, should they not, would soon end the rebellion. To guard against that danger he requested that some English vessels of war should be stationed off the north-western coast; while a few small sail boats could easily intercept all attempts to bring over ammunition from Scotland.

In the meantime Tyrone was nearly reduced to inactivity by the military circle which watched his movements in the north. Several small attempts, which were probably designed to try the way, were made, and failed. Lord Mountjoy was thus enabled to give his attention to the troubles of the pale; and his efforts were much required. In the districts of Carlow and Kildare, into which he led 560 men, he met with rough resistance, and had a horse shot under him in a skirmish, in which thirty-five of the rebels were killed.

On the 14th of September, the lord-deputy again turned his face to the north. Among the many improvements he had introduced, a principal one was the disregard of weather or season. The climate of Ireland, since then ameliorated by the cutting away of its forests, the draining of marshes, and perhaps by many other causes, was then far

more severe than will now be readily conceived. Against such an evil the English might be secured by expedients, but the habits of the natives were such as to admit of far less resource; neither their imperfect clothing, nor their methods of supply or of encampment were suited to afford any adequate provision to meet the hardships, privations, and exigencies of a winter campaign.

On the 15th, lord Mountjoy again put his troops into motion, he encamped on the hill of Faghard, three miles beyond Dundalk, and lay there till the 9th of October; during which time he lived in a tent which was kept wet by the continual rain, and frequently blown down by the equinoctial tempests. Not far off lay Tyrone in the fastness of the Moyrigh, strongly entrenched as well by art as by the nature of the place. The difficulty of these positions, and the skill of Tyrone's defence, are well illustrated by the pass which Mountjoy describes as "one of the most difficult passages of Ireland, fortified with good art and admirable industry." Tyrone availing himself of a natural chain of impassable heights and marshy hollows, connected them by broad and deep trenches, flanked with strong and high piles built with massive rocks, and stockaded with close and firm pallisades. These well-contrived impediments were protected by forces numerically stronger than those which could be opposed to them; and were rendered additionally effective by the great rains which flooded the streams and quagmires, and contracted the lines of defence to a few dangerous points. For some time there were almost daily skirmishes in which the English had mostly the advantage; till at last lord Mountjoy ordered an attack on their entrenchments, which being for two days successfully followed up, Tyrone evacuated the fastness, and reluctantly left a clear road for the English general, who immediately levelled the trenches, and caused the woods on each side of this dangerous pass to be cut down: and passing through with his army came on to Newry, where he was for some time detained for want of provisions; but, in the beginning of November, was enabled to proceed to Armagh. In the neighbourhood of Armagh lay Tyrone, entrenched amid the surrounding bogs with a skill not to be countervailed by all the prudence and tact of his antagonist. Many skirmishes took place, but nothing of a decisive character seemed likely soon to occur.

It would be entering farther into detail than our space allows to trace with a minute pen the numerous slight encounters, the petty negotiations with minor chiefs, the captures, the cessions, or the pardons and proclamations which fill the interval of many months. If we would compare the conduct of the two eminent individuals who are prominently before us, the skill and talent of each must appear to great advantage. Each was pressed by trying difficulties of no ordinary kind in Irish warfare. Tyrone, cooped in within the mountains and marshes of the north by a system of military positions hitherto unknown in Ireland, constrained and checked on every side, could not still be hurried into any imprudence, or forced into any risk by the vigilant and skilful leader who had succeeded in thus controlling and isolating the turbulent elements of a national insurrection, which had hitherto baffled the power of England. Mountjoy had not only thus constrained the efforts of a dangerous enemy; the means by which he had effected

this purpose had another equally important operation. One of the most prevailing causes of failure had hitherto arisen from the tardy, expensive, and exposed operation of marching an army from place to place, by which it was impossible to act with the secrecy necessary to prevent every movement from being foreseen and guarded against, nor to accommodate the marches of so expensive an instrument to the more rapid and unencumbered marches of an enemy that seemed to start up with an endless growth in every quarter. Instead of this, by the efficient distribution of his forces in those stationary points from which they could with facility be collected, Mountjoy was enabled to traverse the country in person by journeys comparatively rapid and with a force comparatively small; so that an expedition involved little more preparation, publicity, or expense than the journey of an individual. By this he soon contrived to pacify or awe into submission every corner but Tyrone. The rebel earl still held his ground, and fencing off the operations of his antagonist with skill and courage, awaited patiently the expected aid from Spain.

The situation of Tyrone was however becoming monthly more hazardous and distressing. Governing his motions with the most consummate tact, so as to avoid the hazard of an action, he could not yet avoid a frequent repetition of skirmishes in which his men were uniformly worsted. Of these the effect was doubly hurtful to his strength; it gave confidence to the enemy, and caused an extensive falling off of the Irish chiefs, who presently began to sue for pardons and offer submissions in every quarter. A skirmish near Carlingford, in the middle of November, 1600, gradually increasing to a battle, was considered to have first given this dangerous turn to his affairs, and awakened a general conviction that he could not hold out through the winter: and this general impression is amply confirmed by all the information we have been enabled to attain. The lord-deputy was contracting the circle of his operations; he was fast reducing Tyrone's means of subsistence by laying waste his country, while, with a view to this expedient, he had arranged to be supplied from England with sustenance for the garrisons. Lastly, and most to be dreaded, another part of lord Mountjoy's plan was becoming fast apparent—the resolution not to intermit his operations during the winter. It becomes, indeed, a matter of curious and interesting speculation to witness the obstinate perseverance under such apparently hopeless circumstances, of a chief so sagacious as Tyrone; but this apparent state of things was softened by many illusory circumstances of which the entire force could not then be felt: no sagacity is equal to the full interpretation of a conjuncture wholly new. The surrounding districts had begun to show signs of weariness, and numerous chiefs despairing of the prospects of rebellion had submitted; but Tyrone was aware that the submission of an Irish chief was but a subterfuge in danger, and that the slightest gleam of a favourable change would rouse rebellion from province to province with simultaneous vigour and effect. He had seen and felt the capricious relaxation of the queen's anger, after the heaviest denunciations, on the slightest seemings of submission. Such had been the history of Ireland for centuries; and he confidently expected supplies and aid from Spain, which should be enough to turn the scale in his favour,

and, at the least, restore him to a condition to treat on more advantageous terms for pardon.

In the commencement of 1601, when M'Guire, with many other powerful Irish chiefs, had submitted, when many had taken arms for the English, and when the Munster rebellion had been completely put down; reports of the promised succour from Spain became more frequent, and various accounts were transmitted from her majesty's foreign ministers, of definite preparations on the part of Spain, for the equipment and transport of forces destined for Ireland. On this subject, the chiefs also who came in for pardon had all their facts to tell. Hugh Boy informed Sir Henry Dockwra that the king of Spain had promised to invade Ireland in the course of the year, with 6000 men, who were to be landed in some Munster port. Every week confirmed these reports with fresh intelligence from Calais and from Flanders. In Waterford some seamen made their depositions that they were recently pressed into the service of the king of Spain, and sent to Lisbon with bread for 3000 men who were lying there to be shipped for Ireland. They added the report, that an agent from Tyrone was then at the Spanish court, who represented that his master could subsist no longer without speedy aid.

Matters were still advancing by a tedious progress to a termination, which must have appeared to depend entirely on the truth of these last mentioned reports. Lord Mountjoy's operations had the purpose and intent hitherto rather of shutting in the rebel earl, of compelling him to exhaust his resources, and of drawing away all hope of assistance from the Irish chiefs, than any direct design of bringing him to action. The result of the most complete defeat could not have had the desired effect, until the resources of Tyrone should be thus broken down, so as to allow no hope of being enabled again to collect an army. It is for this reason that although this peculiar warfare was productive of numerous incidents, they are seldom such as to warrant detail. Scarcely a movement could anywhere be made, but the first wood approached poured out a sudden volley from its invisible marksmen, or the rude figures were seen rapidly appearing and disappearing among the leafy concealments. Among these incidents, we may select some, rather for specimens than as carrying on our narration. For this purpose we extract a page of Moryson's *Itinerary* on the 13th and 16th of July, 1601. Moryson was brother to Sir Richard Moryson, then serving under Mountjoy, and afterwards vice-president of Munster: he was himself a fellow of the University of Cambridge, from which he had leave to travel for three years; at the end of which term he resigned his fellowship to come to Ireland, where he was made secretary to lord Mountjoy, and thus became both the eye-witness and historian of this war.

"The 16th day the lord-deputy drew out a regiment of Irish, commanded by Sir Christopher St Laurence, and passing the Blackwater, marched to Benburb, the old house of Shane O'Neale, lying on the left hand of our camp, at the entrance of Great Wood. Their out men made a stand, in a faire greene meadow, having our camp and the plaines behind them, and the wood on both sides and before them. The rebels drew in great multitudes to these woods. Here

we in the campe, being ourselves in safety, had the pleasure to have the full view of an hot and long skirmish, our loose wings sometimes beating the rebels on all sides into the woods, and sometimes being driven by them back to our colours in the midst of the meadow, where as soone as our horse charged, the rebels presently ran backe, this skirmish continuing with like varietie some three howers; for the lord-deputie, as he saw the numbers of the rebels encrease, so drew other regiments out of the campe to second the fight. So that at last the rebell had drawne all his men together, and we had none but the by-guards left to save-guard the campe, all the rest being drawne out. Doector Latwar, the lord-deputies chaplaine, not content to see the fight with us in safetie, (but as he had formerly done) affecting some singularitie of forwardnesse, more than his place required, had passed into the meadow where our colours stood, and there was mortally wounded with a bullet in the head, upon which he died next day. Of the English not one more was slaine, onely captain Thomas Williams, his legge was broken, and two other hurt, but of the Irish on our side, twenty sixe were slaine, and seventy-five were hurt. And those Irish being such as had been rebels, and were like upon the least discontent to turne rebels, and such as were kept in pay rather to keepe them from taking part with the rebels than any service they could doe us, the death of those unpeaceable swordsmen, though falling on our side, yet was rather gaine than losse to the commonwealth. Among the rebels, Tyrone's secretary, and one chiefe man of the O'Hagans, and (as we credibly heard) farre more than two hundred kerne were slaine. And lest the disparitie of losses often mentioned by me, should savour of a partiall pen, the reader must know, that besides the fortune of the warre turned on our side together with the courage of the rebels abated, and our men heartened by successes, we had plentie of powder, and sparing not to shoote at randome, might well kill many more of them, than they ill-furnished of powder, and commanded to spare it, could kill of ours."*

At the time of the last incident, the lord-deputy was engaged in rebuilding the important fortress of Blackwater, which appears to have so long been a main object of contest, as it was the key to Dunganannon, the hitherto inaccessible stronghold and dwelling of Tyrone. To this strong position therefore the earliest attention of both parties was at the time bent—Mountjoy to approach, and Tyrone to defend it. Meanwhile, the English were mainly engaged in cutting down the corn in every quarter round the county, and in preparing their garrisons for the winter's war. They performed these important operations in tranquillity; so much had fallen the courage of the Irish, who now began to be sensible that the skirmishes in which they had so freely indulged, were productive of no advantage save to their enemy. This desultory warfare was not however felt to lead to results as decisive as the lord-deputy looked for with considerable anxiety, at a time when his already insufficient means of prolonging the war, and the slowness and scantiness of his supplies made progress of more than ordinary importance. There was little to be effected against an enemy which melted

* Moryson.

away like mists before the attack, yet still ever hovered round to watch for the moment of advantage, and render every movement harassing if not insecure. The principal objects were to obtain possession of their fastnesses and lurking-places, and to scatter and dissolve them by depriving them of the means of subsistence; for this, it was the immediate aim of lord Mountjoy to cut down their corn, which he took all possible means to effect. Nor was there any great obstacle to be feared, except immediately about Dungannon, to which the English could not approach. But lord Mountjoy, had by considerable diligence discovered a new pass to Dungannon, to facilitate which he cut down a large wood, which opened the way over a plain at the distance of about four miles. By this means he reached a river, on which by building a bridge and fort, he expected to obtain complete possession of Tyrone's country; or, as he represents in his letter to the council, "that this would cut the archtraytor's throat;" and in another letter to Cecil, "that if we can but build a fort, and make a passage over the river, we shall make Dungannon a centre, whither we may from all parts draw together all of her Majesty's forces."

The progress of this desultory state of affairs now became embarrassed by additional difficulties. The report of the intended invasion from Spain, while yet uncertain as to its force and destination, became an object of alarm; to meet this fear, Mountjoy was urged to draw off a large portion of his troops towards the south, where their landing was apprehended. Against such a course he strongly protested, observing that the landing-place of the Spaniards, could be by no means certain, and that he might find himself as far from the point of danger wherever he should march to, as where he was then stationed. His troops he observed were not 1500 effective men, with which he might easily retain the positions of which he was then possessed, and prosecute the advantage they gave him. He thought that if he should succeed in completely breaking down Tyrone's strength, which he expected to effect during the winter, that the king of Spain should not have it in his power to cause any very dangerous disturbance in Ireland.*

But while the lord-deputy, was thus industriously engaged in arrangements to prosecute to an end the war against Tyrone, the rumours of the Spanish invasion began to grow still more frequent, and to assume more the character of certainty; and as all indications seemed pointing to the south, it became a question of no small moment and perplexity to provide against the new emergency, without relinquishing the advantages which had been gained in Ulster. Should the Spaniards land in any of the harbours along the south-western coast, the motions of Tyrone would obtain increased importance; and it could not but appear in a high degree dangerous to relax the military chain, by which he was confined to the north. The real strength of the English army was hardly equal to these multiplied emergencies: the demand of numerous garrisons and the waste of war, had been too much supplied by Irish soldiers. The expenses allowed for the supply of the army and forts, had been exceeded, and all arrangements were carried into effect against every conceivable disadvantage.

* Mountjoy's letter to Sir Robert Cecil.

To make the best of these untoward circumstances the lord-deputy resolved to strengthen his garrisons, and provide effectually for the safety of Ulster; and then to lead the rest of his army into Connaught, and to hold a council on the way at Trim. With this view he applied to the English council to forward the necessary succours and provisions to Galway and Limerick; and to send a good supply of arms and ammunition to the garrisons of Ulster, that they might be preserved for the protection of the north, and be found in a fit condition for his summer campaign in that quarter. In the same communication, the lord-deputy informs the council, that many of his Irish captains had shown signs of wavering in consequence of the reports of the Spaniards; and that they had received from Tyrone, the most urgent messages, assuring them that if they should further delay to join him, it would be too late, and he would refuse them after a very little. Notwithstanding which, some of them assured the lord-deputy of their fidelity, though their condition in his army was, in his own words, "no better than horseboys."*

On the 29th, Lord Mountjoy arrived at Trim, and a council was held, of which it was the chief object to provide for the defence of the pale, to molest which the rebel earl had sent captain Tyrrel, a partisan leader of great celebrity at the time. To meet this danger it was resolved to strengthen the Leinster troops with such forces as could be spared from the Ulster army: and the lord-deputy determined to conduct them in person, until the landing of the Spaniards should be ascertained. This event was not now long a matter of doubt.

On the third of September, letters from Sir Robert Cecil informed the lord-deputy that the Spanish fleet had appeared off Scilly, to the number of forty-five vessels, of which seventeen were men-of-war, and the remaining vessels of large burthen, containing 6000 soldiers. In the same letter, the lord-deputy was desired to demand whatsoever forces and supplies should appear to be needful, and direct the places to which they should be sent.

The full confirmation of the arrival of the Spaniards speedily followed. The lord-deputy was in Kilkenny, whither he had gone to consult with Sir George Carew and the earl of Ormonde, when he received the account that their fleet had entered the harbour of Kinsale, by letters from Sir George Wilmot and the mayor of Cork. On this information, the lord-deputy resolved to meet them with all the force he could muster from every quarter; justly considering, that on their fate must depend the entire result of the war. He accordingly sent to draw off the companies from Armagh, Navan, and the pale, into Munster; and, accompanied by the lord-president Carew, he travelled thither with all speed. He soon ascertained that the Spaniards which had taken possession of Kinsale, were 5000 men under the command of Don Juan D'Aguila; and that they had brought with them a large supply of arms, as the provision for a general rising of the people, which they had been led to expect; they had also 1500 saddles for their cavalry; and expressed an intention not to keep within their

* Lord Mountjoy's letter. Moryson.

fortifications, but to meet the English in the field. Among other steps, they sent out a friar, with bulls and indulgences from the pope, to stir up the people in every quarter. They also caused the report to be spread that their number amounted to 10,000, with 2000 more, which had been separated from the fleet, and were since landed at Baltimore.

On his arrival, the Spanish commander sent back all his ships but twelve—a step which strongly marks the confidence of his expectations. He despatched messengers to Tyrone and O'Donell, to urge their speedy approach, and demanded a supply of horses, and of cattle for provision, assuring them that he had other stores sufficient for eighteen months, and treasure in abundance. He also sent out his emissaries into every quarter to secure the assistance of mercenary bands and partisan leaders, soldiers of fortune whose entire dependence was the sword—a class then numerous in Ireland. The confidence of the English commander was no less, but he was still dependent on the speed and efficiency of the supplies and reinforcements for which he had applied. These had not yet reached him from Dublin, but it was plain that further delay was dangerous; and on the 16th October, without his artillery, ammunition, or provision, he marched from Cork, and on the 17th instant arrived at Kinsale, and encamped under the hill of Knockrobin, within half a mile of the town. Here they lay for some days, unable to execute any military operation, from the want of implements and artillery.

During this time several skirmishes took place, in all of which the Spaniards were worsted and driven within their walls. In the letter in which these circumstances are reported by the lord-deputy, it strongly appears how much anxious suspense must have attended such a situation. The seemingly premature advance of an army thus unprovided, was hurried on by the apprehension of the effect which their inaction might produce on the Irish of Munster. The rising of the uncertain multitude of the surrounding districts, who watched all that passed with no uninterested eye, the arrival of Tyrone, and what they still more feared, of fresh supplies from Spain, might any or all of them happen while the English lay at this heavy disadvantage. To these embarrassing considerations may be added, that in point of fact, the Spaniards within the town were stronger in numbers and appointments of every kind, with every advantage also that could be derived from their possession of a strong town and of the castle of Rincorran on the other side of the harbour. Were they to make one vigorous effort, and to succeed in breaking through the lines of the little army that lay before them, without any means of resistance but the personal bravery of its ranks, the odds must from that moment become incalculably great in their favour; the possession of a few towns would have raised all Ireland in their support; and it is not easy to see by what means short of an army of thirty thousand men and a re-conquest of the island, the consequences could be retrieved. The English army, besides its unarmed state, was otherwise in the lowest condition, having been sadly thinned by sickness, and the waste of continual skirmishes. The absolute necessity of maintaining so many fortified places, left but a comparatively small force at the dis-

posals of lord Mountjoy. One fact appears from the list of the English army at this time, by which it appears that of sixteen thousand foot and eleven hundred and ninety-eight horse, the lord-deputy could only lead six thousand nine hundred foot, and six hundred and eleven horse against the enemy.*

The disposal of the whole army of Ireland, the seven and twentieth of October, 1601:—

Left at Loughfoyle.

Sir Henry Dockwra, 50; Sir John Bolles, 50;—horse, 100. Sir Henry Dockwra, 200; Sir Matthew Morgan, 150; captain Badly, 150; Sir John Bolles, 150; captain Crington, 100; captain Vaughan, 100; captain Bingley, 150; captain Coath, 100; captain Basset, 100; captain Dutton, 100; captain Floyd, 100; captain Oram, 100; captain Alford, 100; captain Pinner, 100; captain Winsor, 100; captain Sydley, 100; captain Atkinson, 100; captain Digges, 100; captain Brooke, 100; captain Stafford, 100; captain Orrell, 100; captain Leigh, 100; captain Sidney, 100; captain Gower, 150; captain Willes, 150; captain W. N. 100;—foote 3000.

Horse left at Carrickfergus.

Sir Arthur Chichester, governour, 200; Sir Foulke Conway, 150; captain Egerton, 100; captain Norton, 100; captain Billings, 150; captain Philips, 150.—Foote 850.

Foote left in Secale.

Sir Richard Moryson, the governour's company under his lieutenant, himself attending the lord-deputy at Kinsale, 150.

Horse left in northern garrisons, 100.

Foote in north garrisons.

At Newrie, Sir Thomas Stafford, 200; at Dundalke, captain Freckleton, 100; at Carlingford, captain Hansard, 200; at Mount Norrey's, captain Atherton, 100; at Armagh, Sir Henrie Davers, under his lieutenant, himself being at Kinsale, 150; at Blackwater, captain Williams, 150.—Foote 800.

Horse left in the pale, and places adjoining.

In Kilkenny, the earl of Ormonde, 50; in Kildare, the earl of Kildare, 50; in Westmeath, the lord Dunsany, 50; in Lowth, Sir Garret Moore, 25.—Horse 175.

Foote in the pale, (that is to say)

At Kilkenny, Carlogh, Nass, Leax, and Ophalia, Dublin, Kildare, O'Carrol's countrie, Kelles and Westmeath.—Foote 3150.

* The curious reader will be gratified by a more distinct view of the composition and distribution of this army, as contained in one of those old lists of which Moryson gives many. They are the more valuable, as exhibiting in a single view the principal places then garrisoned by the English. For this reason, we give one at length.

Horse left in Connaught.

The earle of Clanricarde, 50; capitaine Wayman, 12.—Horse 62.
Foote left in Connaught, 1150.

Total of Horse, 587. Total of Foote, 9100.

*The Lyst of the army with his lordship at Kinsale.**The Old Mounster Lyst.*

Sir George Carew, lord-president, 50; Sir Anthony Cooke, 50;
capitaine Fleming, 25; capitaine Taffe, 50.—Horse 175.

Foote of the Old Lyst.

The lord-president, 150; the earle of Thomond, 150; lord Andley, 150; Sir Charles Wilmot, 150; master treasurer, 100; capitaine Roger Harvey, 150; capitaine Thomas Spencer, 150; capitaine George Flower, 100; capitaine William Sacy, 100; capitaine Garret Dillon, 100; capitaine Nuse, 100; Sir Richard Percy, 150; Sir Francis Berkeley, 100; capitaine Power, 100; a company for the earle of Desmond's use, 100.

New companies sent into Mounster lately, which arrived and were put into pay the fourth of September past. The lord-president added to his company, 50; the earle of Thomond added to his company, 50; Sir George Thorneton, 100; capitaine Skipwith, 100; capitaine Morris, 100; capitaine Kemish, 100; capitaine North, 100; capitaine Owstye, 100; capitaine Fisher, 100; capitaine Yorke, 100; capitaine Hart, 100; capitaine Liste, 100; capitaine Ravenscroft, 100; capitaine Richard Hansard, 100; capitaine George Greame, 100; capitaine Yelverton, 100; capitaine Panton, 100; capitaine Cullem, 100; capitaine Habby, 100; capitaine Gowen Harny, 100; capitaine Coote, 100.

Horse brought from the north and the pale to Kinsale.

The lord-deputie's troope, 100; Sir Henrie Davers, 100; master-marshall, 50; Sir C. St Lawrence, 25; Sir H. Harrington, 25; Sir Edward Harbert, 12; Sir William Warren, 25; Sir Richard Greame, 50; Sir Oliver St John's, 25; Sir Francis Rush, 12; capitaine G. Greame, 12.—Horse, 436.

Foote that Sir John Berkeley brought from the borders of Connaught to Kinsale, 950.

Foote brought out of the pale by master-marshall, and from the northern garrisons by Sir Henry Davers to Kinsale.

The lord-deputie's guard, 200; master-marshall, 150; Sir Benjamin Berry, 150; Sir William Fortescue, 150; Sir James Fitz-piers, 150; Sir Thomas Loftus, 100; Sir Henrie Follyot, 150; capitaine Blaney, 150; capitaine Bodley, 150; capitaine Rotheram, 150; capitaine Roper, 150; capitaine Roe, 150; capitaine Trevor, 100; capitaine Ralph Constable, 100.—Foote 2000.

At Kinsale, Horse 611. Foote 6900.

Total of the whole army in Ireland:—Horse 1198. Foote 16000.

Providentially they escaped these perils; the Spaniards were perhaps not fully aware of their advantages in this interval, and were also dis-

couraged by the ill success which attended their sallies. On the 27th, the English received their own artillery and a supply of ammunition, and were thus enabled to assume the offensive. The lord-deputy began by fortifying his camp, which had hitherto been exposed to the nightly attacks of the enemy. The next consideration was the great disadvantages to be apprehended from the castle of Rincorran, on the side of the harbour opposite to the town, which Don Juan had also seized and garrisoned with upwards of 150 Spaniards and as many Irish. While they continued to hold it, it was evident enough that no supplies or reinforcements from England could be received in the harbour; and it was therefore judged expedient to commence an attack upon it without delay. For this purpose a small battery of two culverins was mounted against it.

The Spaniards fully aware of the real importance of the castle, now made the most continued and energetic efforts for its relief both by sea and land. On the water, their boats were beaten back by captain Button's ship. By land several lively skirmishes began. The Spaniards brought out a small cannon, and began to fire upon the English camp: a shot entering the paymaster's tent, which lay next to that of lord Mountjoy, smashed a barrel of coin, and damaged much other property; all the balls being directed at the lord-deputy's quarter, and most of them striking close to his tent.

On the 31st, two culverins and a cannon played against the castle wall incessantly. While the attention of the English was thus engaged, the Spaniards put out a few boats from the town for a feint, and sent a party of five hundred men along the harbour, on the pretext of covering the boats, but in reality to surprise a party of the English who were stationed on the shore between the town and castle. They were first noticed by several straggling parties and groupes of English who were loitering or standing at their posts about the camp. All these scattered soldiers collected quickly of their own accord towards the enemy, and were quickly joined by an hundred men sent out by Sir Oliver St John, under captain Roe and another officer: Sir Oliver himself followed with thirty men. A spirited but short skirmish was the consequence; the Spaniards stood but for a few seconds to the charge, and retreated precipitately on their trenches, where they had placed a strong party as a reserve; here the combat was fiercely renewed, and numbers fell in the trenches. Sir Oliver received many pikes on his target, and one thrust in the thigh; but this gallant officer, one of the most distinguished in the British army for personal valour, on this occasion attracted the notice of both parties by his single exploits, bearing back and striking down his numerous opponents who broke and turned before him. Lord Audley was shot in the thigh: other officers, and about fourteen men, were wounded and slain, and about seventy of the enemy, of whom many were taken with much arms; among which were "divers good rapiers,"—a weapon of great value, for which Spain was then celebrated, being no other than the small sword, which about that time became an important part of the gentleman's costume.

About six o'clock in the evening, the effects of the little three-gunned battery began to be felt in the castle; and a treaty commenced,

and was kept up during the night and next day, for a surrender. The Spaniards desired to be allowed to enter Kinsale with their arms and baggage, and were peremptorily refused; and several further proposals were in like manner rejected. Late on the next day, the Spanish commander, Alfiero, proposed first that the garrison should be allowed to enter Kinsale unarmed; and when this was refused, that he alone might be allowed to enter. All conditions being refused short of surrender at discretion, Alfiero resolved to hold out to extremity; this, however, his people would not submit to, and a surrender was made on the sole condition that Alfiero should be permitted to surrender his sword to the lord-deputy himself. The Spaniards to the number of eighty-six were then disarmed in the castle, and sent off as prisoners to Cork; about thirty had been slain in the siege: the Irish had contrived to escape in the darkness of the previous night.

Lord Mountjoy was by no means in condition for an attack upon Kinsale, but thought it expedient still as much as possible to keep up some appearance of preparatory movements. He received at this time letters from the queen, with accounts of coming supplies and reinforcements to the amount of five thousand men. One of the queen's letters on this occasion is amusingly characteristic.

“Since the brainless humour of unadvised assault hath seized on the hearts of our causeless foes, We doubt not but their gaine will be their bane, and glory their shame, that ever they had thought thereof. And that your humour agrees so rightly with ours, We think it most fortunately happened in your rule, to show the better whose you are and what you be, as your own handwrit hath told us of late, and do beseech the Almighty power of the Highest so to guide your hands, so that nothing light in vain; but to prosper your heed, that nothing be left behind that might avail your praise: and that yourself, in venturing too far, make not to the foe a prey of you. Tell our army from us that they make full account that every hundred of them will beat a thousand; and every thousand, theirs doubled. I am the bolder to pronounce it in His name that hath ever prospered my righteous cause, in which I bless them all. And putting you in the first place, I end, scribbling in haste,*

“Your loving sovaine,
“ELIZ. REGINA.”

On the 5th of November, four ships came from Dublin with supplies; and at the same time accounts were received of the approach of the confederate Irish under Tyrone and O'Donell. It was therefore determined in council to fortify the camp strongly toward the north; and on the day following the completion of that work, (the 7th,) the lord-president left the camp with two regiments, to endeavour to intercept the enemy on the borders of the province.

On the eighth, thirteen ships were seen, which were soon after ascertained to carry a reinforcement of one thousand foot and some

* Moryson.

horse under the earl of Thomond. But the Spaniards had discovered the absence of lord Mountjoy and his party, and thought to avail themselves of it by a strong *sortie*. For this, they marched out in force, and lined their trenches with strong bodies: they then sent forward a well-armed party toward the camp. The English detached a sufficient party against this, but at the same time sent out another armed with fire-arms to a bushy hill extending towards Rincorran castle, to take the trenches by a flanking fire, while they rushing out from their entrenchment, repelled the enemy before their camp; the hill detachment at the same time drove their reserve from the trenches before the town, so that when the retreating party came up and thought to make a stand, they found themselves without the expected support, and were charged with such fury by the English, that they fell into entire confusion and left numbers dead in the trenches. Don Juan was much irritated by this repulse, and praised the bravery of the English, while he reproached his own men with cowardice, and committed their leader to prison. He then issued a proclamation, that from that time no man should, on pain of death, leave his ground in any service until taken away by his officer; and that even if his musket were broken, he should fight to death with his sword.

On the 12th, the English army received the cheering and satisfactory information of the landing of the supplies and succours from England. Their transports had put in at Waterford, Youghal, Castlehaven and Cork; which latter harbour Sir R. Liveson, admiral, and vice-admiral Preston entered with ten ships of war, bearing 2000 foot, with artillery and ammunition. To these the lord-deputy sent to desire that they would sail into Kinsale harbour, as the artillery could not otherwise be easily or speedily brought into the camp. Though these supplies were far below the exigency, they yet relieved the English from a position of very great danger, in which they lay almost helpless, and quite incapable of offensive operations. The firm and resolute energy of Mountjoy appears very prominently in the active series of operations which he now commenced and conducted with the most consummate prudence, and unwearied perseverance and courage, under circumstances in every way the most disheartening. Immediately before the arrival of the English fleet, his army had been for some time reduced to every extremity of suffering, which a body of men can be conceived to bear without disorganization. During this interval, a letter of the deputy's to Cecil, enables us to catch a distant gleam of his personal character and conduct, which must gratify the reader. "Having been up most of the night, it groweth now about four o'clock in the morning, at which time I lightly chuse to visit our guards myself; and am now going about that business, in a morning as cold as a stone and as dark as pitch. And I pray, sir, think whether this be a life that I take much delight in, who heretofore in England, when I have had a suit to the queen, could not lie in a tent in the summer, nor watch at night till she had supped?"* It is observed of this nobleman by Moryson, who was about his person, that

* Lord Mountjoy's letter to Cecil. Moryson.

he never knew a person go so warmly clad in every season of the year. The description of Moryson gives a lively picture of the man of his time, but it is too long for our present purpose. While commanding in Ireland, besides his silk stockings, "he wore under boots, another pair, of woollen or worsted, with a pair of high linen boot hose; yea, three waistcoats in cold weather, and a thick ruffe, besides a lusset scarf about his neck thrice folded under it; so as I never observed any of his age and strength keep his body so warm." Speaking of his diet, among other circumstances he mentions, "he took tobacco abundantly, and of the best, which I think preserved him from sickness—especially in Ireland, where the foggy air of the bogs and waterish fowl, plenty of fish, and generally all meats of which the common sort always are salted and green roasted, do most prejudice the health." At his care of his person, and "his daintie fare before the wars," it was the custom of the rebel earl to laugh and observe that he would be beaten, while preparing his breakfast. But on this the secretary, justly jealous of his master's honour, remarks, "that by woful experience he found this jesting to be the laughter of Solomon's fool."*

The extreme suffering of the English at this time can imperfectly be conceived from the mere circumstance that they were living in tents, and huts less warm than tents, in the month of November, without much added allowance for the far colder state of the climate, where the country was a wild waste of damp and marshy forests and watery morasses. In one of his letters the lord-deputy mentions that the sentinels were frequently carried in dead from their posts; the officers themselves "do many of them look like spirits with toil and watching." Under such circumstances, the feeling of impatience must have been great for the occurrence of some decisive event.

The arrival of the fleet cheered the English with at least a prospect of active service; yet from the very unfavourable state of the weather, many delays were experienced. The artillery was disembarked with difficulty, and the troops so disordered in health by the long and tempestuous passage, that upwards of a thousand men were sent to Cork to "refresh" and rest themselves. On his return from a visit to the ship, lord Mountjoy was saluted by a discharge of cannon balls from the town, of which "one came so near that it did beat the earth in his face."†

It was now resolved to ply the town with a heavy fire, not so much with the design of an assault as to annoy the Spaniards, and, by breaking in the roofs, make them share in the hardships which the English had to sustain from the wet and frost. One very great disadvantage for this purpose was, the impossibility of finding a spot uncommanded by the guns of the town. The fleet was directed to batter a tower called "castle Nyparke," on an island on the side; but on account of the stormy weather, were compelled to desist. Captain Bodly was next sent with 400 men to try whether it might be carried with the pickaxe—this also failed; the Spaniards rolled down huge stones so fast and successfully, as to break the engine which protected their assailants, who were thus driven off with the loss of two men. It was, however, resolved by the

* Moryson.

† Ibid.

lord-deputy and his council to persevere, as this was indeed the only service at the time to be attempted. The reader will recollect that two thousand men had been sent to wait for Tyrone upon the verge of Munster; and it would be unsafe to commence a regular siege with the force remaining, as the fatigue of the trenches would quickly exhaust the men. To invest the town, therefore, and proceed to cut off every post without, held by the enemy, was the utmost they could yet hope to effect without great risk. It should be added, that one-third of the army was composed of Irish, who were not then so effectual in open assaults as they have since become; and it was also apprehended, that on the slightest seeming of disadvantage they would join the Spaniards. Under these circumstances the firing against castle Nyparke was renewed on the 20th, with additional guns, and an impression was soon made on the walls. There was not yet a practicable breach when a flag of parley was hung out, and the Spaniards offered to surrender if their lives should be spared. The offer was promptly accepted, and they were brought prisoners to the camp. Another advantage was at the same time obtained, by the discovery of a spot half-way between Kinsale and the camp, which commanded a most important portion of the town, where the Spaniards kept their stores, and Don Juan resided. On this judiciously-chosen situation a small platform was raised and a fire opened with a single culverin on a part of the town visible from thence. It did considerable mischief, and among other lucky shots, one went through Don Juan's house.

The Spaniards, in the mean time, were not without their full share of suffering and apprehension. It was made apparent that their provision was beginning to run low; the Irish women and children were sent out of the town and came in great numbers to the camp, from which they were sent on into the country. The inference was confirmed by intelligence from the town whence an Irishman escaping came to the lord-deputy and told him, that Don Juan said privately, that the English must take the town, should it not be quickly relieved from the north. The Spaniards were reduced to rusk and water; they had but four pieces of artillery—a circumstance which may account for the small annoyance the English had all this time received from them. They had left Spain 5000 in number, and landed 3500 in Kinsale. Of these the waste of the war had been 500, so that at the time of our narration, they were 3000. To these main circumstances many other particulars were added, as to the positions of strength and weakness, the places where ammunition and treasure were kept. Among other things it was mentioned, that six gentlemen had entered the town on Sunday, and were ready to go out again to raise the country. A messenger had been despatched nine days before to Tyrone to hasten his approach. It was also beginning to be greatly feared, that if this event should be much longer deferred, the Spaniards must be compelled to capitulate.

The battery on the platform was soon strengthened with four guns, making thus six in all; and having been informed that Don Juan especially feared a cannonade from the island, the lord-deputy had three culverins planted there. One discharge from the platform killed four men in the market place, and carried off the leg of an officer. Reports

were received of great damage suffered in the town from the fire of both these batteries on the following day. On that day an incident occurred in sight of the Spaniards, which must have added in no small degree to the notions they had already been enabled to form of the English valour. A private soldier of Sir John Berkeley's company attempted to "steal a Spanish sentinel," a feat which he had often already performed: on this occasion, however, four other Spaniards whom he had not seen, came to the rescue of their comrade, and a sharp contest ensued, in which the Englishman defended himself against the five. He wounded the serjeant, and came off after some exchange of blows, with a cut in his hand, received in parrying one of the numerous pike thrusts which they made at him.

From this period the lord-deputy commenced a series of regular approaches, of which the detail, though otherwise full of interest, would occupy an undue space here. A breach was made in the town walls, which gave occasion to several fierce contests falling little short of the character of general engagements, in all of which the Spaniards were worsted with great slaughter. The town was summoned on the 28th November; but Don Juan replied that he kept it "first for Christ, and next for the king of Spain, and so would defend it *contra tanti*." At this time six Spanish vessels arrived at Castlehaven, with 2000 men on board. The lord-deputy in consequence, drew his forces close to the town, and distributed them so as most effectually to guard every inlet. He sent a herald to Don Juan, offering him permission to bury his dead; and this brought some further communications. Among other things, the Spanish general proposed that they should decide the matter by single combat between the deputy and himself. To this amusing *fanfaronade*, lord Mountjoy replied, that they had neither of them any authority from the courts to put the war to such an arbitration; and that the council of Trent forbade the "Romanists to fight in *campo steccato*."* The arrival of the Spanish vessels gave a temporary renovation to the waning hopes of Don Juan: the result fell far short of his expectation. The English squadron sailing out from Kinsale harbour, came on the 6th of December to Castlehaven, where opening its fire on the Spaniards, it sunk one of their largest vessels, drove their admiral a wreck on shore, and took many prisoners—the Spanish soldiers from two vessels succeeded in making their escape, and went to join the Irish under O'Donell. From the prisoners the lord-deputy learned that active steps were in course for the purpose of sending over large supplies during the spring; and that 4000 Italians were raised for the Irish service. They added, that in Spain the impression was that Ireland was already in the hands of the Spaniards; and that on their approach they had mistaken the English fleet in the harbour for that of the army under Don Juan.

Early in December the state of the war assumed an aspect of mere awakening interest. Daily accounts were brought to the camp of the near approach of Tyrone: nor were they long without more sensible intimations of the presence of a powerful foe. This able and wary chief had seized on the surrounding fastnesses and bogs, and entrenched

* Moryson.

himself so as to be secure from any effort of his enemies. But the English army was thus itself hemmed in, and not only in danger of being attacked on every side; but what was really more serious, cut off from those supplies from the surrounding country, which had till now enabled them to preserve their stores. To effect the double object of investing the town and keeping off the Irish, was now become an embarrassing necessity. The lord-deputy increased the extent, the breadth, and depth of his trenches—and made the most able dispositions to cut off all communication between the Irish camp and the town. By his dispatches to the English council and secretary, we learn that the combined armies of Tyrone and O'Donell lay at the distance of six miles from the camp; and that they possessed all that had been saved from the Spanish fleet at Castlehaven, both in men and supplies. He demanded large reinforcement, and complained that the previous one had been in a measure made ineffectual by the tardiness of their arrival. Instead of arriving to increase his force, they came only to supply the losses consequent upon its weakness; so that thus his means of active operation never rose to an efficient level. The sufferings and losses from cold and privation were also daily increasing.

Meanwhile nothing was omitted that could distress Kinsale; an effective fire, though interrupted by rain and storm, dismounted the guns with which the Spaniards attempted to interrupt the works; and on the 15th, many of the castles were destroyed. On the 18th, the following letter was intercepted:—

To the Prince O'Neale and Lord O'Donell.

“I thought your excellencies would have come at Don Ricardo his going, since he had orders from you to say, that upon the Spaniards coming to you (from Castlehaven,) you would doe me that favour. And so I beseech you now you will doe it, and come as speedily and well appointed as may bee. For I assure you, that the enemies are tired, and are very few, and they cannot guard the third part of their trenches which shall not avail them; for resisting their first furie, all is ended. The manner of your coming your excellencies know better to take there, than I to give it here; for I will give them well to doe this way, being alwaies watching to give the blow all that I can, and with some resolution, that your excellencies fighting as they do alwaise, I hope in God the victorie shall be ours without doubt, for the cause is his. And I more desire that victory for the interest of your excellencies than my owne. And so there is nothing to be done, but to bring your squadrons; come well appointed and close withall, and being mingled with the enemies, their forts will doe as much harme to them as to us. I commend myself to Don Ricardo. The Lorde keep your excellencies. From Kinsale the eighth and twentieth (the new style, being the eighteenth after the old stile) of December, 1601.

“Though you be not well fitted, I beseech your excellencies to dislodge, and come toward the enemy for expedition imports. It is needfull that we all be on horsebacke at once, and the greater haste the better.*

“Signed by DON JEAN DEL AGUILA.”

* Moryson.

The desire of the lord-deputy was, to bring on a decisive battle if possible. The English were dying by dozens, and the effects of delay were more to be feared than the enemy, and his suffering troops were much more disposed to fight than to endure cold, exposure, and starvation. To draw on this desirable event new breaches were effected, and a considerable part of the town wall struck down. The Irish on this approached within a mile of the camp; but when two regiments were sent out to meet them, they retired within their lines—"a fastness of wood and water where they encamped."

On the nights of the 20th, 21st, and 22d, the weather was stormy; and on the 22d particularly, the work of war went on by almost unremitting flashes of lightning, which streamed from the low dense vault of clouds overhead, playing on the spears, and showing every object between the camp and the town with an intensity beyond that of day. In this confusion of the elements, the Spaniards made several bold but vain assaults upon the English trenches; and notwithstanding the numerous obstacles opposed, both by the depth and continuity of these, and the incessant vigilance of the English who now lay under arms all night, still they contrived to communicate by frequent messengers with the camp of Tyrone and O'Donell. On this very night, it is mentioned upon the authority of Don Juan, that he dispatched three messengers to Tyrone and received answers. It was decided on the next night to attack the English camp on both sides; and there is every reason to believe, that if this design had been effected, it would have gone hard with the English. But, strange to say, by some mischance, seemingly inconsistent with the near position of the Irish (about six miles), they were led astray during the night, and did not come within sight of the enemy until morning light. The lord-deputy was fully prepared. Sir G. Carew had received on the previous evening a message from MacMahon, one of the leaders in the rebel camp, to beg for a bottle of usquebaugh, and desiring him to expect this assault. Early on the morning of the 24th, lord Mountjoy called a counsel, and it was their opinion that some accident had prevented the expected attack; but while they were engaged in debate, a person called Sir George Carew to the door, and told him that Tyrone's army was very close to the camp. This report was quickly confirmed, and the lord-deputy made prompt arrangements to attack the Irish army.

At this important moment, the whole effective force of the English army was 5840 English soldiers in eleven regiments, with 767 Irish. The army of Tyrone and O'Donell, cannot be estimated on any satisfactory authority; but the Spanish commander, Alonzo de Campo, assured the lords Mountjoy and Sir G. Carew, that the Irish amounted to 6000 foot and 500 horse—a number far below any estimate otherwise to be formed from other data. In the Irish host captain Tyrrel led the vanguard, in which were the 2000 Spaniards who had landed in Castlehaven; the earl of Tyrone commanded the main body, then commonly called the battle, and O'Donell the rear.

This moment was one of the most critical that has ever occurred in the history of Ireland. The whole chance of the English army, and consequently of the preservation of the pale, depended upon their suc-

cess in bringing the enemy to an engagement. They were themselves completely shut in, and out of condition to preserve their very existence against the destructive effects of cold, sickness, and want; so that a few weeks must have reduced them without any effort on the part of the enemy. Fortunately for them, one alone of the hostile leaders had formed any just notion of their respective strength and weakness: the earl of Tyrone, whose sagacious mind had been well instructed by severe experience, had exerted all his influence to moderate the impatience of his allies, and to retain the advantages of his position by avoiding all temptations to engage the enemy. If left to his own discretion, he would have kept securely within his lines, and confined his operations to the prevention of intercourse between the English and the surrounding country—trusting to the progress of those causes which could scarcely fail to place them in his power. But Don Juan was impatient of a siege which had become extremely distressing, and his urgency was backed by the confidence of the Spaniards under Tyrrel, and the impetuosity of O'Donell.

If the reader will conceive himself to stand at some distance with his face toward the town and harbour of Kinsale,* with the river Bandon on his right, he will then have the whole encampment of the English in view; the position of the lord-deputy and the president Carew being before him, in the centre of the semi-circumference, of which the castle of Rincorran occupies the extreme left, and the lesser camp under lord Thomond the right extremity, so as to form a semi-circle round the town. On the 24th of December, the combined army under Tyrone occupied a position inclining to the right, or in a line drawn from the central camp towards Dunderrow on the north-west.

To prevent the fatal consequence of a *sortie* from Kinsale, the lord-president Carew was directed to take the command of the camp, and to proceed as usual with the siege. By this able commander the guards were doubled at every point, from which the Spaniards could come out, and so effective were these precautions that the battle was over before Don Juan had any distinct intimation of its commencement.

Lord Mountjoy led out two regiments amounting to 1100 men to meet the enemy. The marshall Wingfield, with 600 horse and Sir Henry Power's regiment, had already been in the field all night. On their approach the Irish retired across a ford; but as they showed evident signs of disorder, the lord-marshal sent for leave to attack, to the lord-deputy, who took his stand on a near eminence; on which Mountjoy—having first inquired as to the nature of the ground on the other side, and learned that it was a fair wide field, ordered the attack. At or about the same time, the earl of Clanricarde, whose regiment was occupied in the camp, came up also to urge the attack. The difficulty to be overcome was considerable. A bog and a deep ford lay between them and the rising-ground on which the Irish stood, and as it was plain they could only pass in detail, a very little skill would have prevented their passage. The marshal first passed over with the brave earl of Clanricarde, and advanced with 100 horse, to cover the passage

* We have chiefly taken our description of this memorable battle, from a very confused and unsatisfactory map in the *Hibernia Pacata*.

of Sir Henry Power, who led two regiments across the ford. A hundred harquebusiers, led by lieutenant Cowel, began the fight by a fire, which was returned by a strong skirmishing party sent out to meet them along the bogside. The English skirmishers were driven in upon the ranks, but being strengthened they returned and repulsed those of the Irish. The marshal with his party next charged an Irish division of about 1800 men, on which they failed to make any impression. On this the lord-deputy sent down Sir Henry Davers with the rest of the horse, and Sir William Godolphin with two other regiments of foot. Marshal Wingfield once more charged them, and the Irish were broken and began to fly in all directions. The explosion of a bag of powder in the midst of their rout added to its terror and confusion, and produced on both parties a momentary suspense. The circumstance most discouraging to the Irish was the flight of their horse, which being chiefly composed of the chiefs of septs or their kindred, were looked on with reliance.* In consequence a great slaughter took place. But the two other bodies of Irish and Spanish seeing this, came on to their assistance. To meet this danger, lord Mountjoy sent Sir Francis Roe with his regiment, and also the regiment of St John, to charge the Irish vanguard in flank, which retired in disorder from the charge. The Spaniards which formed part of this body, however, rallied, and separating themselves from the Irish, made a stand; they were charged a second time and broken by the lord-deputy's troop, led by Godolphin. In this second charge they were nearly all cut to pieces, and the remnant made prisoners with Don Alonzo del Campo, their commander. From this no further stand was attempted, but the Irish army began to fly on every side, and their flight was facilitated by the resolute resistance of the Spaniards. A chase commenced and was continued for two miles, in which great numbers were slain without any effort at resistance. On the field of battle lay 1200 Irish, besides the greater part of the Spaniards. Tyrone, who afterwards said that he was beaten by an army less than one-sixth of his own, added that besides the number slain he had 800 wounded.†

According to Moryson's account, lord Mountjoy, "in the midst of the dead bodies, caused thanks to be given to God for this victory." And never, indeed, was there an occasion on which the impression of providential deliverance was better warranted; whether the magnitude of the consequences he looked at, or the almost singular circumstance of such a formidable preparation being thus set at nought; and upwards of 3000 slain or wounded, with the loss of one cornet and seven common soldiers.

A note given by one of Tyrone's followers, of his loss at this overthrow.

"Tirlogh O'Hag, sonneto Art O'Hagan, commanded of five hundred, slaine himselfe with all his company, except twenty, where eleven were hurt, and of them seven died the eighteenth day after their returne.

"Kedagh MacDonnell, capitaine of three hundred, slaine with all his men, except threescore; whereof there were hurt five and twenty.

* Moryson.

† Moryson. *Hibernia Pacata*.

"Donell Groome MacDonnell, captain of a hundred, slain himself and his whole company.

"Rory MacDonnell, captain of a hundred, slain himself and his company.

"Five of the Clancans, captains of five hundred, themselves slain and their companies, except threescore and eightene, whereof threescore were hurt.

"Sorly Boyes son had followers in three hundred, under the leading of captain Mulmore O'Heagarty, all slain with the said Mulmore saving one and thirty, whereof twenty were hurt.

"Colle Duff MacDonnell, captain of one hundred, lost with all his company.

"Three of the Neales, captains of three hundred sent by Cormack MacBarron, all lost saving eightene, whereof there were nine hurt.

"Captains slain 14; soldiers slain 1995; soldiers hurt 76."

The earl of Clanricarde was knighted on the field for his distinguished services that day, having slain twenty Irish, hand to hand, and had his clothes torn in pieces with their pikes.

The English were marching back to their camp a little before noon, and on reaching it a general volley was fired to celebrate their success. This the garrison in Kinsale mistook for the approach of the Irish, whom they imagined to have driven in the English and to be now engaged in an assault upon their camp. On this supposition they made a sally but were as usual quickly driven in. They were at the same time shocked and disheartened by the sight of the Spanish colours in possession of the enemy's horse, who were waving them on a hill in sight. The position of Don Juan now afforded little hope; but he continued to hold out, and on the night after the battle the conquerors had to maintain an action of two hours' continuance against a fierce sally. A similar attempt was made on the following night.

On the 29th of December, accounts came that Tyrone had crossed the Blackwater with the loss of many carriages and 140 men, who were drowned in their hurry, having attempted to pass before the waters were fallen. Tyrone was said to be wounded and compelled to travel in a litter. O'Donell embarked for Spain, with Pedro Zubuiar, one of the commanders of the Spanish ships.

Don Juan now saw that it was necessary to save his little garrison by capitulation; having, in fact, committed every oversight, that the circumstances made possible, he still considered that his military character was to be preserved. He had by the unaccountable blunder of landing in the south, to strengthen a rebellion of which the whole efficient strength lay in the north, first thrown himself and his army into a position in which their isolation and danger were a matter of course, and thus compelled his ally to give up the advantages he possessed, and meet all the dangers and distresses of a winter march through the forests, morasses, tempests, and enemies, over 300 miles of country. He then, when this desperate point was gained, with an entire disregard of the constitution and quality of his allies, their habits of warfare, and all the obvious advantages and disadvan-

tages on either side, precipitated his friends into the hazard of an engagement: he failed to recollect that a few weeks must needs bring succours both to himself and Tyrone, and reduce the English as much: for they were really sinking fast, although it is suspected that the policy of Mountjoy made him believe matters worse than they really were. Then, when the fatal step was thus hurried on by his inconsiderate pride and impatience, he suffered himself to be reduced to inaction, by a small part of the army which he affected to despise, and lay still while his ally was cut to pieces by a handful of his besiegers.

Notwithstanding this catalogue of blunders his indignation was roused, he spoke as one betrayed by those he came to save; and sent a message to lord Mountjoy, proposing that a negotiation should be opened between them for the surrender of the town. In this communication he did not fail to insist that his own honour, and that of the Spanish arms were safe; that having come to give assistance to the arms of the Condes, O'Neale, and O'Donell, these two Condes, were it appeared no longer "*in rerum natura*," but had run away, leaving him, the Spanish commander, to fight the battle alone. Lord Mountjoy knew too well the difficulties he should have to encounter in maintaining the siege even for a few days more with his scanty resources and shattered army. Indeed, the last sally of the Spaniards had cost him far more men than the victory of the morning. He therefore most willingly consented, and sent Sir W. Godolphin into Kinsale. It is unnecessary here to detail the circumstances of the negotiation. One point only occasioned a momentary disagreement. Lord Mountjoy stipulated for the surrender of the Spanish stores, ordnance, and treasure: Don Juan took fire at the proposal, which he considered as an insult, and declared that if such an article were insisted upon further, he would break off all further treaty, and bury himself and his men in the ruins of the town before he would yield. Lord Mountjoy knew that he would keep his word; for however incapable as a commander, he was resolute and punctilious. It was therefore agreed, that the Spaniards should surrender Kinsale, and all the other forts and towns belonging to her Majesty, which were in their possession, and stand pledged not to take arms for her enemies, or commit any hostile act until they had been first disembarked in a Spanish port. On the part of the English government, it was agreed that they should be allowed to depart for Spain, with all their property and friends, and while the preparations were making, they were to be sustained by the English government. These were the principal articles of the treaty, which was with some slight interruptions, hereafter to be noticed, carried into effect.

Don Juan, in the mean time, accompanied the lords-deputy and president into Cork, where they lived on those terms of friendly intercourse which mark the cessation of hostility between civilized nations and honourable enemies. During this time, however, a despatch from Spain was intercepted, containing numerous letters from the king of Spain, and his minister the duke of Lerma, to Don Juan; they are preserved in the *Pacata Hibernia*, and plainly manifest the extensive preparations then in progress, to send over formidable rein-

forcements—a result which providentially was set aside by the victory of Kinsale, which for the first time made clear to the Spanish court the real military character of their brave but barbarian allies. Shortly after his return to Spain, Don Juan was disgraced by his court, and died of vexation and disappointment. He seems to have possessed the proud and punctilious honour for which Spanish gentlemen have always been distinguished. His defence of Kinsale proves him a good soldier, and not destitute of military knowledge and talent; while his entire conduct was such as to exhibit still more unquestionably, that he wanted the sagacity, prudence, and the comprehensive calculating and observing tact, so necessary when difficulties on a large scale are to be encountered. A short correspondence with Sir G. Carew, after his arrival in Spain, seems to warrant an inference that he was a proficient in the art of fortification, and on still more probable grounds that his disposition was generous and noble.

To return to the earl: there is no further occurrence of his life, which demands any minuteness of detail. His fate for some time trembled on the wavering resentment and dotage of the queen, whose long and brilliant reign was just in its last feeble expiring flashes. He had made a futile and ineffective effort to prolong a rebellion, of which the country was wearied. He had been taught that success alone, now less probable than ever, could purchase the alliance of his uncertain and time-serving countrymen. He nevertheless had continued to maintain a specious attitude of hostility, though in reality it was no more than a succession of flights and escapes through the whole of the following summer, until the month of November. When—learning that the obstinate resentment of the queen had given way to the desire of preventing increased expenses, by terminating all further prosecution of this rebellion—he sent his proposals of submission: but as it was apparent from intercepted letters, that while he was endeavouring to gain terms for himself, he still continued his endeavours to excite other chiefs to continued rebellion, his overtures, for a time, were doubtfully received. The expectation of some great effort from Spain, for a while continued to deceive both parties. These illusions slowly cleared away, and on the 3d of March, 1603, Tyrone made the most entire submission which it was possible for discretionary power to dictate,* and received a full pardon. He then received a promise of the restoration of his lands, with certain reserves in favour of Henry Oge O’Neale, and Tirlagh MacHenry, to whom promises of land had been made; also of 600 acres for the new forts Mountjoy and Carlemont. Certain rents or compositions to the crown, were at the same time reserved.

On the 6th of April he arrived in Dublin, in company with the lord-deputy, and the next day an account arrived of the queen’s death, on which it is said the earl of Tyrone burst into a violent fit of tears.

Tyrone formally repeated his submission to king James, and according to stipulation, wrote for his son to Spain, where he had been sent to be brought up at the Spanish court. In the mean time he had permission to return to the north for the settlement of his affairs, and

* The terms are preserved in Moryson, l. 3, cap. 2.

lord Mountjoy sent over a full detail of all the particulars of his submission, and the powers on which it had been received, and demanded the king's confirmation of his pardon.

Shortly after lord Mountjoy, having been made lord-lieutenant, with permission to leave Sir G. Carew as his deputy, returned to England with the earl of Tyrone. Tyrone was received graciously at court, but his presence in the streets roused the animosity of the English mob, and he was everywhere encountered with reviling and popular violence, so that he was obliged to travel with a guard until he was again embarked for Ireland.

Lord Mountjoy was created earl of Devonshire, but did not live long to enjoy the honour, as he died in the spring of 1606, without leaving any heirs, so that the title again became extinct. Many persons of much ability had preceded him in the government of this country; yet, with the best intentions, none before him appear to have been competent to the mastery of the great and manifold disorders which had for six centuries continued to embroil its people, until long-continued war had reduced them to a state not superior to barbarism, and produced a moral and political disorganization not to be so perfectly exemplified in the history of modern states. By a consummate union of caution, perseverance, firmness, and native military tact, he met and arrested a dangerous rebellion, at a moment when its chances of success were at the highest, and when it was in the hands of the ablest and best-supported leaders that had yet entered the field of Irish insurrection. Of both these affirmations the best proof will be found in the whole of the operations in the north before the siege of Kinsale.

The country was now reduced to a state of comparative tranquillity, and the earl of Tyrone might have run out the remainder of his course, and transmitted his honours and estates without interruption. But, although rebellion was stilled, a spirit of disaffection survived; and it cannot, with any probability, be said that the more turbulent chiefs of the north had ever entirely laid aside the hope of times more favourable to the assertion of their independence. In place of the ordinary motives of human pride, ambition, and interest, the more safe and popular excitement of religion began to be assumed, as the disguise of designs which grew and were cherished in secret. By the efficacy of this stimulant, fierce impulses were from time to time transmitted through the country; and though matters were by no means ripe for any considerable impulse arising from religious fanaticism, yet a degree of popular feeling was sufficiently excited, to encourage the restless earl of Tyrone in the hope of a coming occasion once more to try the chance of open rebellion with better prospects. Such a sentiment could not be long entertained, without numerous acts and words, which, if brought to the test of inquiry, would endanger his head. Such an occasion soon occurred, and produced consequences which historians have thought fit to call mysterious.

The archbishop of Armagh had a contest with the earl for lands alleged to be usurped from his see. A suit was commenced, and Tyrone was summoned to appear before the privy council. He had, however, heard that O'Cahan, a confidential servant of his own, had enlisted himself on the primate's part; and concluded that the summons was a

pretext to lay hold on him. His fears were communicated to others, and, according to a report stated by Cox, they seem to have not been groundless. On the 7th May, 1607, a letter, directed to Sir William Fisher, clerk of the council, was dropped in the council chamber, accusing the earl of Tyrone and Rory O'Donell, who had been created earl of Tyrconnel in 1603, with lord M'Guire and others, of a conspiracy to surprize the castle of Dublin. However this question may be decided, it is certain at least that both Tyrone and the earl of Tyrconnel took the alarm, and fled to Spain, leaving all that they had intrigued or contended for to the merey of the English government.

From this there is no certain notice of Tyrone in history.

Daniel O'Sullivan Beare.

FLOURISHED A. D. 1601.

AMONG the numerous chiefs of the secondary order, who, while they exercised a jurisdiction nearly absolute within their own several domains, were yet themselves dependents and tributary to superior lords, the chiefs of Bantry claim a prominent place. Formidably entrenched by nature among the wild and rude mountain barriers which then, in some measure, isolated Kerry from the encroachments of the surrounding chiefs, they sat within their formidable eyries over the Spanish sea, and obtained from commerce and foreign communication an importance not perhaps to be derived from the happier inland resources of their chiefs, the illustrious lords of Carbery.

The chiefs of Beare and Bantry now indeed claim the interesting distinction which belongs to the most romantic localities in this island, the scenes of their ancient crimes and honours. Where the broad waves of the Atlantic rush fiercest among the deep and rock-bound bays of the wild promontories of Kerry, there stand the ruins of the O'Sullivan's dwellings. Turbulent and warlike, in common with their ancient peers, the chiefs and princes of the island, barbarous with the age, they were, by the accident of position, more fierce, lawless, and independent, than their territorial pretensions would otherwise seem to imply. In the harbours of their sterile and isolated domain, the pirate and the smuggler found the surest anchorage, and the readiest mart or storehouse for his lawless cargo; nor did the spirit of the time attach dishonour to an alliance which the advance of civilization has converted into crime. Still more important was the influence and distinction which the O'Sullivan's must have acquired from the advantage of possessing the main entrance of that communication with Spain, which was actively maintained during the 15th and 16th centuries. During these ages of turbulence, when enterprise and adventure were among the ordinary events of life, many are the wild romances and deep tragedies which were realized among those wild and savage sites—in which the tyrant's fortress and the plunderer's cave were nothing different; and here, as Otway tells us in his book of pictures, we can hardly call them sketches, "every man is an O'Sullivan." Bearhaven and Bantry, and all the still wild districts around, are peopled by the same ancient sept, and

retain the traces of their ancient lords; and many ruins still preserve the remembrances of their history.

The composition by which the castles in the possession of the Spaniards were surrendered to the English general, could not fail to be highly offensive to the Irish chiefs by whom they had been placed in their hands; but, most of all, to O'Sullivan Beare, whose chief castle of Dunboy being among the ceded places, he was thereby, in a manner, himself delivered up to the mercy of the English governor. He, consequently, resolved to regain it, as he might, before this surrender should occur. Accordingly, in the dead of the night, he caused a hole to be made in the wall, through which eighty of his own people stole into the castle. Outside he had stationed a strong party, among whom are mentioned Archer the Jesuit, the lord of Lixnaw, Donell McCarthy, captain Tyrrel, &c., with 1000 men. All the while, O'Sullivan himself, who lodged within the castle, was quietly sleeping in his bed. Early in the morning the Spanish commander discovered how he was circumstanced; but, by the intervention of Archer, who led him to O'Sullivan, he was prevented from making the resistance he could yet have easily made. They had some difficulty in restraining the Spanish soldiery, who slew three men before they could be pacified; but order was soon restored, and O'Sullivan took the command of Dunboy castle. Having disarmed the Spaniards, and sent off the common men to Baltimore to be shipped for Spain, he took possession of their ordnance and stores, and sent a letter to the king of Spain excusing his violent seizure of the castle, professing his intention to retain it for the use of the king, and adding, "not only my castle and haven, called Bearhaven, but also my wife, my children, my country, lordships, and all my possessions for ever, to be disposed of at your pleasure." He then, in very strong terms, complains of the injustice of Don Juan's conduct, in having surrendered by treaty his castle of Dunboy, which he describes "the only key of mine inheritance, whereupon the living of many thousand persons doth rest that live some twenty leagues upon the sea-coast." Among other things, in this epistle we learn, that with the letter O'Sullivan sent his son, a child of five years old, as a pledge for the performance of his promises. This letter, with others from the same chief, were intercepted between Kinsale and Cork.* In another letter of the same packet and date to the "earl of Carracena," there occurs a brief version of the above transaction, in which he says, that although the Spaniards killed three of his best gentlemen, that he would not suffer them to be molested, but, "without harm, forced them out of my said castle, saving their captain, with five or six, unto whom I have allowed certain roomes in my house to look to the king's munition and artillerie;" he then urges speedy relief, or else a small ship to be sent to carry away himself and his family into Spain. In another letter, deprecating the ruin of his own family, he describes them, "whose ancestors maintained the credit and calling of great gentlemen these two thousand and six hundred years, sithence their first coming out of Spaine."

To maintain this deed and those pretensions, O'Sullivan made active

* Pac. Hiber.

and energetic preparations; but his main dependance was upon the hired bands of Tyrrel and Burke.

On hearing of this obstacle to the fulfilment of his treaty with the lord-deputy, Don Juan immediately volunteered to reduce Dunboy, but the offer was civilly declined; and instructions were given to the earl of Thomond to assemble an army and draw towards the place. He was instructed to burn the country of Carbery, Beare, and Bantry; to protect the chiefs who had submitted; to take a view of the castle; to relieve captain Flower, who was in these districts with a small party, and to make other usual preparations for the attack of Dunboy.

The earl of Thomond marched to the abbey of Bantry, where he gained intelligence that Daniel O'Sullivan was engaged in strengthening his works at Dunboy, and that Tyrrel had so judiciously placed himself among the mountains, that he could not with his present force attempt to pass farther. On this the earl of Thomond left his troops with captain Flower, the lord Barry, and other eminent officers, in the Isle of Whiddy, and went to Cork, to give an account to Sir G. Carew of the position of the enemy. Carew decided on instantly assembling all the force within his reach and marching into Kerry.

The expedition was attended with great peril, both from the nature of the country, and the strength of a fortress which was thought to be impregnable; and Sir George Carew's friends and counsellors strongly dissuaded him from an attempt unlikely to succeed, and of which the failure would be injurious to the English cause, and hazardous to himself. Such fears had no place in the heart of the brave Carew, whose courage was not inferior to his prudence, or his military genius to either. To the strong dissuasion of those friends who described to him the tremendous obstacles and perils of the march, he replied, "That neither bays nor rocks should forbid the draught of the cannon: the one he would make passable by faggots and timber—the other he would break and smooth with pioneers' tools." On the 20th April, 1602, he drew out his army from Cork, amounting to 1500 men, and began his march, and in seven days came to Carew castle, anciently built by his ancestors, at a place now well known to the visitor of Glengariffe under the name of Dunemare. He was joined by captain Flower, who had been stationed in the vicinity by the earl of Thomond. Here the army continued for some time with an occasional skirmish; they also contrived to collect considerable spoil in cows, sheep, and horses. Fifty cows were brought into the camp by Owen O'Sullivan, son to Sir Owen O'Sullivan, who continued faithful to the queen's government.

Sir G. Carew, hearing that the Spanish artillerymen were yet in Dunboy, wrote them a letter in Spanish desiring them to come out; it was delivered by means of Owen O'Sullivan, but had not the desired effect. During this time Sir Charles Wilmot, who had been made governor of Kerry, had performed many important services, seizing on several castles in the country, and obtaining the victory in three or four small battles. He was now sent for to join the president.

On the 14th of May a consultation was held to consider the best means of bringing the army to Bearhaven; and, as the difficulties of the way were fully described to the lord-president by Owen O'Sullivan

and other Kerry gentlemen, it was decided to transport the army across the arm of the sea which lay between, to Bear Island, on the other side of which, on the opposite shore, stood the castle of Dunboy. But, from the roughness of the weather, it was not till the last day of May the army could be moved from Carew castle. The siek were then plaeced with a strong guard in the Island of Whiddy; and on the first and second of June the army crossed Bantry bay.

On the 4th, the castle of Dunmanus was surprized by Owen O'Sullivan; and on the next day intelligence reached the camp that a Spanish vessel had put into the bay of Camnara, near Ardee. The rebel party seem at this period to have conceived the notion that the English might be discouraged by the dangers and difficulties of their undertaking. Richard MacGeoghegan, constable of the fort, was sent to obtain a parley with the earl of Thomond, to whom he pretended great affection, and warned him of the dangers to which he was about to be exposed by the useless attack of so strong a place. He advised him not to risk his valuable life by landing on the main land, "For I know," he said, "that you must land at yonder sandy bay, where before your coming the place will be so trenched and gabioned as you must runne upon assured death."

Such, in fact, was the contrivance and expectation of the rebels. A low sandy beach presented the only obvious point at which an enemy's attempt might be expected, and it was strongly defended in the manner described by MacGeoghegan. But the circumspection of Carew overreached the tactics of his antagonists. He first contrived, with a small party, to get possession of a little island close to the sandy bay; on this he plaeced a couple of falconets and landed two regiments, so as to lead the enemy to believe that from that position he intended to attack their works and effect a landing on the beach. But, in the mean time, moving about in a small pinnace, Carew discovered a very convenient landing-place on the main land, which was concealed from the Irish party by a small eminence, and, though within a few hundred yards, separated from them by a deep rocky cleft which reached in for half a mile. Having made this observation a few hours before, he was enabled to conduct the operation in a most unsuspecting manner. While his men on the lesser island were making all preparations for an attack, and the whole attention of O'Sullivan's party on the shore was engrossed by watchful and anxious expectation, Carew stood on the further side of the island to direct his own captains, who were sailing up for the purpose of effecting a landing. To these he pointed out the unsuspected and unguarded spot, and the vessels again stood out from the bay, and, taking short, reached it without notice, and landed their troops to the amount of two regiments under Sir C. Wilmot and Sir Richard Perey. When Carew saw that they were disembarked, he immediately ordered his own regiment and the earl of Thomond's into their boats, and they were all quickly under sail and out toward the same spot. This could not of course escape the notice of the enemy, who watched with all their eyes; and the nature of the movement was at once conjectured. Away they all rushed at their utmost speed; but they had a long circuit to perform, and before they could be half round the cleft, the lord-president with his whole party were landed and drawn

up to meet them on good firm ground. A skirmish not worth detail was the result, and the Irish party were put to flight.

About two hours after this incident, the Irish received the cheering intelligence of the Spanish vessel, already mentioned, having landed in Ardee; and as the lord-president was afterwards informed by some of those who were then among the Irish, the account confirmed their courage, at a moment when they were beginning to waver. At Ardee, the ammunition and treasure were delivered to O'Sullivan Beare himself, who forwarded a supply of ammunition to Dunboy. The treasure amounted to £12,000, and was sent in shares to different Irish chiefs, £1500 being the share of O'Sullivan Beare; some letters from Ardee also were sent to different persons. One of these from the Jesuit Archer to Dominick Colling, a friar in Dunboy, is worthy of notice.

Letter from James Archer, Jesuit, to Dominick Collins, Jesuit at Dunboy.

"Your letters of Thursday last came to our hands, but our disagreeing in some matters, makes to bee slacke in performing your desire, yet you must take better order for the premises; in the meane while, however becomes of our delayes or insufficiencies, bee yee of heroical minds, (for of such consequence is the keeping of that castle, that every one there shall surpasse in deserts any of us here; and for noble valiant souldiers shall passe immortall throughout all ages to come;) for the better encouraging, let these words be read in their hearing: out of Spaine we are in a vehement expectation, and for powder, lead, and money, furnished. Now to come to more particular matters; understand, that there are but two wayes to attempt you, that is scaling with ladders, or battery: for scaling, I doubt not but your owne wits neede no direction; and for battery, you may make up the breach by night. The higher you rayse your workes, every way the better, but let it bee thick and substantiall: raise of a greater height that worke captaine Tirrell made, betwixt the house and the cornell, make plaine the broken house on the south side: for fire work direction doe this, prime the holes and stop in the balls, with powder mixt through the materiall well, and some powder that shall take fire; the rest you know, as you have heard me declare there. By all meanes possible send me one ball, and the rest of the saltpeter. This is in haste till better leasure. Campe this Thursday.

"Your loving Cousen,
"JAMES ARCHER."*

"To Father Dominicke Collins, these in haste."

The following letter is also valuable for the distinct view it will give the reader of the operations which the writer describes:—

A letter from John Anias, to Dominick Collins, Jesuit, at Dunboy.

"Be carefull of your fortifying continually; with a most speciall care rayse in height the west side of your port; fill your chambers on the south and north side with hides and earth; what battery is made

* Pacata Hib.

suddenly repayre it like valiant souldiers; make plaine in the south side the remnant of the broken houses; make wayes out of the hall to scowes and cast stones upon the port, and if the enemy would attempt the like, dig deepe that place wee first begun, and a trench above to defend the same, as I have sayd unto you. Although wee expect speedie reliefe out of Spaine, yet bee you wise to preserve the store of victualls discretely. Devise yourselves all the invention possible to hold out this siege, which is the greatest honour in this kingdome. With the next I shall prepare shoes for you; send me the cord as long line, add the rest of the saltpeter, withall the yron borriers, seven peeces in all. Salute in my name Richard Magoghegane, praying God to have of his speciall grace that care of your successe. From the campe, the of June, 1602.

“Your loving Cousen,

“JOHN ANIAS.”*

“*To Father Dominick, Beerehaven, these.*”

This John Anias was very soon after taken prisoner by John Berry, the constable of Castlemagne, and condemned to die by the sentence of court-martial. While under sentence of death, he wrote the following characteristic letter to the baron of Lisnaw:—

A letter from John Anias to the Baron of Lisnaw, a little before his execution.

“In trust is treason; so Wingfield betrayed me. My death satisfies former suspicions, and gives occasion hereafter to remember mee; and as ever I aspire to immortalize my name upon the earth, so I would request you by vertue of that ardent affection I had toward you in my life, you would honour my death, in making mention of my name in the register of your country. Let not my servant Cormack want, as a faithfull servant unto me; let my funerall and service of the Catholique church bee observed for the soule. Heere I send you the passe and letter of that faithlesse Wingfield, having charged the bearer upon his dutie to God, to deliver this into your hands. O’Sullivan was strange to mee, but inures himselfe to want mee. Commend mee to captaine Tirrell, O’Connor, your sister Gerode Oge. This the night before my execution, the eighth day of November, 1602, and upon this sudden I cannot write largely,

“†Your loving bedfellow,

“Sometimes,

“ISMARITO.”

The next day after the landing, Carew having led out the army to a narrow isthmus within a mile of the castle, stole out of the camp shortly after to view the ground in its immediate vicinity. Proceeding on horseback with Sir C. Wilmot, until they approached within small shot of the castle, they were soon discovered and saluted with a few discharges from the soldiers upon the walls; but with the exception of Sir Charles’ horse which was wounded in the foot, they suffered no injury. Within “twelve score” of the castle, an unsuspected posi-

* Pacata Hib.

† Ibid.

tion, most curiously adapted for their purpose, was discovered by the prompt perception and military eye of Carew. A slight rise in the ground concealed the spot from the castle, but was not high enough to interrupt the range of a small platform among the rocks, which seemed to have been cut out by the hand of nature for a battery. Neither the owner of the castle, nor one of his countrymen in the English camp, were aware of the treacherous recess which had so long awaited the guns of an enemy to render it fatal. When the lord-president returned to his officers and explained his design to plant a battery among the rocks on the other side of the castle, Owen O'Sullivan and other Irish gentlemen insisted that it would be impossible to find space among the rocks for cannon to be placed so as to command the castle. Carew assured them that he would plant his battery without the loss of a man, and in seven days make himself master of the place. In the castle, no apprehension was entertained of their danger; they attempted to annoy the army by a cannonade, but their balls fell near or in the camp without force to do any mischief.

The castle of Dunboy was a square pile of building enclosed with a strong wall sixteen feet in height, and faced with turf, faggots, and pieces of timber to the thickness of twenty-four feet. A low platform was sunk on the point from which any attack was considered likely to be made; and the entire skill of its defenders was exhausted in foreseeing and providing against every possible danger. Their knowledge was nevertheless but rude, and all these precautions were neutralized by the oversights they committed, the disadvantages of the structure they had to defend, and the rapid judgment of Carew.

Several days elapsed before the president could bring his plan into effect. The landing of the cannon was found to be an operation of great difficulty. The only landing-place which had the necessary advantages of being near the projected position, and accessible without the risk of interruption, was upon examination found to present insurmountable obstacles to the conveyance of the guns, as the way was broken by marshy and rocky passages. There was another still more convenient spot, but to reach it, a narrow creek close to the castle walls was to be entered; and this at last was resolved on. The mouth of this creek was within forty yards of the castle, and Carew therefore sent in the greater part of his stores and lesser ordnance in boats, which stole in undiscovered in the dead hours of a dark night; but their boats were unequal to the weight of the cannon and culverins, and no one "durst adventure in the hoy to carry them by night."* To meet this difficulty, captain Slingsby volunteered to enter in the hoy by daylight, with thirty musqueteers. Disposing these men so that with the least possible exposure they could when required keep up a fire upon the castle gunners, captain Slingsby took advantage of a very favourable breeze, and the castle only succeeded in making two discharges upon him before he swept full sail into the creek, when he was instantly out of range of its guns.

While these operations were in progress, other important points

* *Parata Hib.*

were also carried; the Irish had fortified the little island of the Dorsies, with three pieces of Spanish artillery, and forty chosen men. Carew, considering that it might easily be taken while the attention of the castle was kept in play by his approaches, then fairly in progress, sent Owen O'Sullivan, and captain Bostock, in a pinnace and four boats, with a hundred and sixty men to attack the island. They succeeded in taking the fort after a smart opposition; there Owen O'Sullivan had the fortune to recover his wife, who had been a prisoner for the last eight months. The spoil was large, five hundred milch cows being taken on the island; the fort they razed to the ground.

On the same night a bullet from the castle wall entered the circle of officers who stood in conference with Carew in the midst of their camp, and smashed several bones of captain Slingsby's hand. On the following night about midnight, captain Tyrrel gave them an alarm, having approached so near as to pour a volley into the camp which riddled the tents well, but hurt nobody; a very slight resistance was sufficient to compel this active partizan to retire. Many other slight accidents occurred daily, while the gabions, trenches, and platforms, were in course of execution, until the 16th, when they were finished. One of these days, Sir G. Carew was with the earl of Thomond and Sir C. Wilmot, taking a ride along the shore, when Carew espied one of the artillery-men on the castle wall traversing a gun; "this fellow," said the president, "will have a shot at us," as he quickly reined in his horse and watched the event. He had scarcely spoken the last word, when the gun was fired, and the ball struck the earth between him and his companions, who had spurred on, and just cleared the spot with their horses' heels, when the earth was thrown up about them. Carew, glad to see them safe, told them laughing, that if they were as good "cannoneers as they were commanders, they would have stood firm as he did," and explained that "the gunners ever shoot before a moving mark."

At five o'clock in the morning of the 17th, the whole of Carew's preparations were made, and his battery began to play. He wasted none of his fire on the strong barbican, but ordered the guns to be levelled at the castle which stood unprotected at a dangerous height above; and about nine, a south-western tower, the fire from which had been very troublesome, came with its falcon, thundering to the ground, burying under it many of the garrison, and filling up the injudiciously narrow space of six or seven feet between the castle and the outer wall. The English guns were next turned upon the west front of the castle, which soon in like manner encumbered the court with ruin. The garrison on this sent out an offer of surrender on condition; but as they did not discontinue their fire, their proposal was not received.

An assault was then commanded, and its details having been fully arranged, the barbican was quickly sealed by the companies appointed, who were bravely seconded by the remainder of Carew's and the earl of Thomond's regiment, and a long, desperate, and confused fight of several hours began, of which no description can give any adequate idea. Whenever the hostile parties met hand to hand, the advantage

lay with the besiegers who were superior both in number and in quality; but there was no flinching on the part of the garrison, who knowing that they were to receive no quarter, fought with the fury of desperation; and every floor or landing-place, or corner of advantage, was the scene of a bloody encounter, or a fierce and fatal siege. Doors were barricaded and forced, falcons and culverins, loaded with ball and bullet, seized on and discharged by either party; and every court, passage, or rampart, filled with the din, smoke, havoc and uproar of this fierce and protracted struggle for victory or life. The south and south-west turrets for a little time continued to cannonade each other, until the Irish gunner on the former was killed by a shot. The gun being disabled, and the English on the opposite turret pouring in an incessant and well-directed fire, the Irish were compelled to dislodge; they retreated to the narrow space between the east front and the curtain of the barbican which lay within a few feet of it, so that they were for a while enabled to make a gallant defence against those repeated charges of the English. Here the conflict became long and furious, for the place was too narrow for the use of fire-arms; and it became a fierce trial of physical strength and endurance between the two parties. In this, the English for a while were exposed to a very severe disadvantage: for besides the desperate party who stood at bay before them in the narrow space between two enclosing walls, they had to sustain a fierce attack from the tower overhead, whose numerous loop-holes and staircase windows looked down upon the strife, from these shot and large stones came pouring so as to kill and wound many. At last, when the endurance of the assailants must have begun to give way, a fortunate accident gave them a key to this apparently impracticable position. A sergeant of captain Slingsby's, by clearing away some rubbish in the tower from which the English had been firing immediately previous to the attack then going on, discovered a window from which, by means of the heap of ruins that filled the narrow court, he saw at once that they could command the passage defended by the Irish. This important ruin was quickly seized and occupied by the assailants, who thus charged down from the breach, and soon scattered those who had made so long a defence in the narrow passage thus laid open. Of these, all fell save eight, who escaping up the breach sprang out into the sea, where their hapless fate awaited them from the enemy's boats, which were stationed there to let none escape.

The fight was not yet ended. A party of Irish held a strong vault beneath the same tower, and when this was cannonaded from the broken wall which slanted down upon it so near that it was battered from the mouth of Falcon and Saker, the garrison (then reduced to seventy-seven men,) escaped to the cellars underneath, to which the only entrance was a narrow perpendicular stair. This put an end to the conflict—attack and defence were equally out of the question, and it became a trial of a more tranquil but far more dreadful kind—how long the famine and cold of the dreary dungeons beneath could be endured by the unfortunate wretches, who having done all that bravery could do, at the end of a bloody day were now reduced to a choice of deaths from which humanity must always shrink. They had, on discovering the hopelessness of their condition, offered to surrender

on terms; but this was sternly rejected, and Dominick Collins alone came out and gave himself up. The night passed thus; and early in the morning twenty-three more Irish, with two Spanish gunners and an Italian, came out. It was not long till a message was sent from beneath to inform the lord-president that they had nine barrels of powder beneath, with which they would instantly blow up the castle, unless he would promise to spare their lives; Carew refused. He therefore ordered a battery to be prepared to fire downward on the vaults of the castle, and the bullets soon made their way into the crowded cellar; on this, forty-eight men compelled their captain, Taylor, to surrender. On receiving this intimation, several English officers descended to receive them: when they reached the cellars, captain Power by good fortune caught a sight of MacGeoghegan the constable, who lay desperately mangled with mortal wounds, slowly raising himself from the floor; and having snatched a lighted candle, he was dragging himself over to an open barrel of powder. As his purpose could not be for a moment doubted, the captain sprung forward and seized him in his arms, and he was slain by one of the men who also had observed the whole. There was no further resistance, and Taylor with his men were led prisoners to the camp. In this affair the English lost two officers, and many were wounded; of the privates, sixty-two were wounded, of whom many died within a few days: it was the most desperate defence ever made by the insurgents. As it was considered that the castle could not without great delay be put again into a defensible condition, the nine barrels of powder which had been discovered in the cellars, were employed to blow it up. This castle was the most important support of O'Sullivan's power; commanding Bantry bay, which was a source of considerable profit to him, both as the best fishery in Ireland, and as a well-frequented port for the fishermen of all those nations from whom the chief received a small addition to his revenue in the shape of duties.

It was presently ascertained that the capture of Dunboy was a decisive blow; as it had the effect of interrupting and terminating the formidable preparations which, at the instance of O'Donell, the court of Spain had ordered for a fresh invasion. In this island there was now remaining but little reliance on any means of resistance, but the long-desired and tenaciously-held expectations from Spain; and only in proportion as this feeling became weakened by repeated disappointment, the mind of the country showed any settled indications of a disposition to subside. These hopes, though now broken by severe disappointment, long indeed continued to delude many of the less reflecting and more restless spirits, too barbarous to be taught by the evidence of the most disastrous events, and too sanguine for experience to cool down.

Some were indeed impelled by the desperation of their circumstances. Among these was O'Sullivan Beare; he had carried resistance to a length which now left him nothing to give up. The stern and uncompromising spirit of Carew was too well known to admit of any hope that he would relent in favour of one whom it was his policy to consider simply as a rebel. The fierce old chief was taught to feel, that however desperate might be the hope of resistance, that his life

or liberty at least, was involved in the dishonour of submission. His castles had been taken—the stronghold of Dunboy was no more—Carriganass, his own dwelling on the banks of the river Ouvane, was in the hands of the enemy. A happy change might he thought arrive, when O'Donell should return with a powerful fleet and army, to draw away and to defeat the cruel and powerful foe against which the castles and arms of the island seemed as nothing. To these desperate resolutions, the mountain ramparts of Kerry presented a welcome retreat of impregnable strength. In this vast and formidable wilderness of rugged defiles and dangerous precipices, the heart of resistance might be kept alive for better days; the arms and discipline of the stranger would little avail in the dangers and intricacies of the morass and hollow ravine; the fatal enginery against which the ancient towers of Dunboy had been found weak, would make no impression on the unscaleable and firm-built ramparts of the Slieveogher chain. There the brave and skilful partizan Tyrrel, still kept together his band of hardy mercenaries, every one a chosen man, and by dexterously maintaining a central movement among this broad chain of natural fortifications, contrived in security to overlook the war in Munster, and to be present whenever mischief could be done to the enemy. To join this light-heeled warfare, O'Sullivan now retreated; but the heights and hiding-places of Slieveogher, were of little avail against the active pertinacity of Wilmot. This last struggle, without losing any thing of the fierceness and inveteracy which it derived from the respective situation of the parties, acquired new horrors from the manner in which it was carried on: the animosity of contention was heightened by the romantic and fiery interest of a wild, difficult, and perilous pursuit—concealment combined with resistance to give defence the anxious character of escape and surprize—suspense, anxious search, and the deepening interest of active pursuit, gave to war the animation of the chace. But here, in their native fastnesses, the activity and skill of Tyrrel and his bonnogs were overmatched by the knowledge of the English leader and the unflagging bravery of his men: they were compelled to retreat from post to post along these mountains, at every step becoming more weak and destitute of resources, until they were driven from their last stand. We forbear entering upon the incidents of this mountain war, of which the particulars are too indistinctly related in the *Pacata Hibernia*, and other contemporary records, for the purpose of distinct historical detail. The rebels had formed a distinct plan, in which O'Sullivan, Tyrrel, McCarthy, and O'Conor Kerry, had their allotted parts. They were first deserted by Tyrrel, who had in the course of the operations following the capture of Dunboy, suffered one or two very severe reverses, and was deprived of the greater part of his provisions and accumulated plunder; so that notwithstanding his agreements with O'Sullivan, he suddenly changed his course, and leaving behind his sick, with baggage and every thing that could retard a hasty march, he drew off sixty miles in the country of O'Carrol.

Under these circumstances it was, that Wilmot with the lord Barry and Sir George Thornton, encamped in Glengariffe, on a small space of firm ground, on all sides surrounded with bogs and forests. The

spot was so narrow that their small party was partly encamped on the boggy ground, neither was there another spot so large of tenable ground, within five miles, on any side. Nevertheless, within two miles, O'Sullivan and William Burke, who like Tyrrel was a captain of bonnogs, were encamped. Here some furious night attacks were repelled with little loss, and on the 31st December, Wilmot ordered their fastnesses to be beaten up by six hundred men, on which a "bitter fight" took place, and continued for six hours.* In this the English were repelled; but being reinforced by a small reserve, the balance of the fight was restored, and it raged on with great bloodshed until night. Many were slain on both sides, but as usual the heavy loss of life fell on the Irish. The great advantages under which they fought, in reality only served to delude them into the error of an imaginary equality, and by keeping up resistance, vastly aggravated their loss. By this fight they lost 2000 cows, 6000 sheep, and 1000 garrans, which latter we presume to have consisted wholly or chiefly of those small ponies which are to be found in Kerry, Wales, and other mountain regions.

This event was nearly decisive, it caused many of the chiefs and captains of the rebel party to sue for grace. O'Sullivan's last captain, William Burke, who had on that day commanded the Irish army, made great exertions to stop this defection, but in vain; even O'Sullivan appeared disheartened, and Burke himself began to think of following on the steps of Tyrrel. Against this O'Sullivan strongly protested, appealing to their agreement and the benefits he had conferred. The mountain bandit (for this best describes him), was fired by the remonstrance, he swore the game was over in Kerry, that he had lost more valuable men than the treasures of Spain could repay, and with violent curses accused himself of folly for having remained so long in Munster. He made no further delay, but fled with 200 men into O'Carroll's country. O'Sullivan, thus abandoned, was not subdued in spirit; but seeming to gather "resolution from despair," he now determined to make his way as he might to Ulster, where the fate of Tyrone as yet suspended in fearful uncertainty, after a reverse which turned his hostile movements into a desperate and wavering defence. With O'Conor Kerry, and a small party of those desperadoes, known by the name of bonnogs, and best conceived as a sort of military "spalpeens," they commenced a dangerous retreat along the borders of Muskerry. As they went on their way they were attacked by Feague Owen McCarthy, and lost most of their carts and many men. A little further on John Barry, brother to viscount Barry, made a charge upon them at the ford of Belaghan, with a small party of eight horse and forty foot, and with the loss of one man, dealt slaughter and confusion among their enfeebled ranks. Again they were met on the banks of the Shannon, while they were effecting a most difficult passage, by the sheriff of Tipperary, who having received an intimation of their approach, was prepared with his *posse comitatus* to resist their passage. Their position was then one of trying emergency—one which might have brought to mind the famous lament of

* *Pacata Hibernia.*

the Britons, when their Saxon invaders were driving them to the sea. O'Sullivan and O'Conor with their bold and desperate companions felt neither the terror nor the want of resource of these primitive savages; while the din of an irregular pursuit came over the hills upon their ears, and the scattered groups of the pursuers appeared at no great distance rushing out from woods or crossing the green hills, they hastily killed and flayed a number of their horses, and constructing rude little boats of their skins they managed to escape over the flood with much of their baggage. This was not effected without some loss, as their embarkation was not entirely complete when the sheriff's men came up and slew several. From this, however, they were enabled to cross a considerable tract of Connaught without interruption, till they reached the coast of Galway, where they were again attacked in the O'Kelly's country, by Sir Thomas Burke, brother to the earl of Clanricarde, and captain Malby. The attack was conducted with most unaccountable rashness. O'Conor and O'Sullivan, practised in the prompt use of all available positions, occupied a well-protected pass, rendered impracticable to assailants by its rocky barrier, and covered from their fire by the branching copse which crested the low chain of cliffs behind which they lay. Burke and Malby only consulting their impetuous valour, and scorning a fugitive enemy which had been beaten across the country from post to post, charged fiercely into the ravine, and were received by a deadly, deliberate, and unerring fire, which was followed by a sudden charge, that left many of the brave assailants on the ground. Among these was captain Malby. His fall decided the affair. Burke and his people were discouraged and fled; on which O'Sullivan and O'Conor were enabled to pursue their way to the desired land of refuge in O'Rourke's country. Their victory, an effort of desperation favoured by accident, had no other result.

In the mean time, O'Sullivan's warders in Kerry, were so pressed by Wilmot, and disheartened by the desertion of their lord, that they gave up whatever forts and castles yet remained uncaptured. In the country of O'Rourke, a district more rude and unexplored than any other in Ireland, the last sparks of rebellion maintained their ineffectual life, O'Sullivan and O'Rourke being the only persons of any name or authority who still held out, and this as the noble writer of the *Pacata Hibernia* observes, more from fear than daring—"obstinate only out of their diffidence to be safe in any forgiveness."*

From this we have no very satisfactory account of O'Sullivan Beare. But as his name disappears from history, we may assume his death to have soon after occurred.

Florence M'Carthy.

FLOURISHED A. D. 1601.

FLORENCE M'CARTHY's name is of too frequent recurrence in the civil wars of this period to be passed without some notice further than

* *Pacata Hibernia*.

he may have appeared to have received at our hands, in the two preceding memoirs; but in truth we have little if any thing to add to these casual notices. M'Carthy's title to notice is more due to station and circumstance, than to any personal distinction. We shall as briefly as possible offer a summary of all that we find any account of in his history.

When the earl of Tyrone visited Munster to organize the rebellion in that quarter, it was at the pressing instance of this Florence M'Carthy, who had his own interests in view. The M'Carthys of Desmond had at the time, raised Donald, an illegitimate son of the earl of Clancaire, to the title of M'Carthy More. Tyrone displaced him, and without opposition set up his friend Florence in his room. The speciousness of this hollow intriguer, had in like manner already won him the favour of the English government; and he made use of the importance thus obtained to court the favour of the Irish chief. His first demonstration was not, it is true, altogether consistent with the trimming and shuffling caution for which his subsequent career is so remarkable; but he was for a little while imposed upon by appearances, which were beyond his sagacity to penetrate. The slackness and remissness of the English court in providing against the growing storm and the increasing power of the Irish insurgents, while thus inadequately opposed, gave a universal impulse to Irish disaffection. Nor can the charge be confined to Florence M'Carthy, which seems at the time to have amounted to a national characteristic, of taking part with the strongest. At the period of Carew's first arrival in Munster, all seemed to favour the cause of the insurrection; and M'Carthy, like many others, rushed forward under a press of sail before the prosperous wind.

It was in the latter end of April, that he contrived an ambuscade, at a ford between Cork and Kinsale, to intercept a party of English which had been detached into Carbery, under captains Flower and Bostock. Fortunately the ambush was detected in time, as the English party were advancing without the least apprehension of an enemy, scarcely in order, and having but a few matches burning, it happened that captain Bostock who rode before espied the glancing sunbeam from some of the steel morions of the soldiers, who were lurking in the low glen towards which he was riding; he instantly turned back, but without any appearance of haste or alarm, and gave the word to the soldiers to be ready: the time was not quite sufficient for preparation, when the rebels perceiving themselves to be discovered, sprung up with a shout from the neighbouring stones and brushwood, and came on with great impetuosity. The English were for a few minutes overwhelmed, both by the violence of the charge and the numbers of the enemy. But the real strength of the steady English was then, as now, the firmness of nerve, that resists the impulse of a first disorder, and renders them capable of that most difficult of efforts—a rally from the shock that overpowers resistance. In despite of the surprize, the broken rank, and the overbearing torrent of enemies, they stood sternly to their arms, and made fight until the impetus of their foes began to waste itself away. The skill of their leaders was thus brought into action, and the enemy were fairly caught in their own device. Commanding

lieutenant Lane to lie down in an old ditch behind them, with a strong company of musketeers, captain Flower directed a retreat. The enemy led by Carbery O'Connor, confidently pressed in their rear, until he came on the line of the flank fire from Lane's party, when a volley from the ditch arrested their advance, and slew their leader with many other officers as well as soldiers. Sudden amazement suspended their steps, and while they hesitated the battle was lost. A charge from the English horse, at this critical moment, scattered them like chaff, and in a moment the party they had been pursuing was in the midst of them, slaughtering right and left without resistance: 98 fell on the spot, and multitudes went off with mortal wounds.

M'Carthy, not long after, entered into a treaty with Carew. There was at the time a favourable disposition towards him among the English lords; but the president of Munster was still more actuated by the state of the country in his desire to draw M'Carthy from the rebels. It was to be apprehended that the English force, which was far below the demand of the occasion, must otherwise require to be further weakened by the division and extension of its operations which a war with this chief would render necessary; nor was the infirmity of purpose or the uncertainty of conduct, which soon appeared to neutralize his hostility, yet fully understood. A conference was therefore appointed, to which M'Carthy came, was reproved in the severe manner of Carew, pardoned, and swore allegiance and future obedience and duty on his knees. In his account of this scene, the writer of the *Pacata Hibernia* mentions, "These speeches being finished, the president bade him to stand up, when as both he and the earl of Thomond, Sir Nicholas Welsh, and John Fitz-Edmund, did every one of them very feelingly preach obedience to him." After this pretty schooling, M'Carthy made an eloquent answer, in which he probably showed himself a better orator at least than his advisers, using such general terms as to pledge him to nothing, while he delivered himself with so much appearance of warmth and good feeling, that even Carew could not help thinking him a very loyal man. After a repetition of the same comic drama on the following day, he was desired to send his eldest son as a pledge. At this critical demand his speciousness was a little shaken aside. He pleaded the difficulties in which such a pledge must involve him, as he would thus be deprived of the power of keeping appearances with Desmond and his own people; "adding, moreover, that it was needless in them to exact any such thing at his hands, who was in his soule so wholly addicted and devoted to her majestie's service."* These absurd subterfuges were necessarily ineffectual. Other conditions were next proposed by M'Carthy and rejected; and the conference ended in a promise to preserve a strict neutrality, and that he would from time to time send intelligence of the rebels' proceedings to the president, and "doe him the best underhand service he possibly could." It is needless to observe that such a promise, whether sincere or insincere, equally betrays the unprincipled character of this unworthy descendant of an illustrious race. With this promise Carew was satisfied, for he only desired to keep him

* Pac. Hib.

quiet for a time, until the war with Desmond should be brought to an end.

Afterwards, when the army of the sugan earl was dispersed and himself a fugitive in Kerry, M'Carthy followed the example of others; and having through the war contrived to amuse both parties and keep himself out of danger's way, he came to the president's camp, "in the midst of his troope, (like the great Turke among his janissaries,) drew towards the house like Saul, higher by the head and shoulders than any of his followers." He was courteously received by the lord-president, and gave pledges, which he desired to have received for the O'Sullivans, the O'Donoghues, the O'Crowlies, and O'Mahon Carbery. This was of course rejected; Carew wished to cut the links between him and these dependent chiefs, and intended to compel them to put in hostages for themselves.

At this period it was that a violent and deadly feud took place among the M'Carthys of Muskerry and Carbery, in which some leading persons were slain. The lord of Muskerry, grieved at the slaughter of the O'Learies his followers, applied to the council for leave to make war on Carbery; but the application was not acceded to.

We have already had occasion to exemplify and illustrate the conduct and character of Florence M'Carthy in our memoir of the sugan earl. The correspondence which was intercepted exposes the weakness and duplicity of his character by the testimony of his own hand. It is therefore unnecessary to glean further the scanty materials before us. We have already mentioned his fate; he was in the end sent a captive into England, thus meeting the reward of a course of conduct which rendered him an object of distrust.

We have only to add a remark which has often pressed itself upon us in the course of this work. The conduct of every distinguished person who figures in the political proceedings of the period of which we have been writing, indicates so very loose and defective a system of political morality, that when we have been by any chance led to take an unfavourable view of any person of illustrious name and descent, we have ever done so with some consciousness of a disagreeable nature, and an indication to recoil, like fear in Collins' ode, "even from the sound itself hath made." We have felt the injustice of making any *one* an unhappy example of the sins of all. The best and wisest men who came forward on that tragic stage, seem to have been ignorant of the higher principles of truth, honour, and justice, which the meanest and basest who seek mob-favour in our own day, think it essential to swear by. And again, when we look on the practice of our own refined age, and see many who are honourable gentlemen, and most estimable in every relation of private life, so false, hollow, and perjured in their public capacities, we are inclined to the charitable conclusion, that there is something in the game itself which none but the very noblest hearts and heads can resist; and that there is some *arcanum* in state affairs, which causes a temporary transformation, so that the same person may be a man of honour in the hall and field, while he is a knave *malgré soi* on the hustings and in the senate. We have therefore assuredly no right to affect a stern elevation of public principle, when we look back on the ways of persons whom we

call unenlightened, because they did not play their game as knowingly as the gamesters of our own day, who have the wisdom to know that they are wrong, and the hardihood to act in defiance of the principles to which they pretend. Florence M'Carthy deceived with all the dignity of virtue, because he thought it all fair; and Sir G. Carew did not know much better. The president thought it not amiss to bargain with those who sought his favour, to murder one another; it may be said perhaps that he knew his men; but the person who employed them for such purposes, must have forgotten the spirit of the proud chivalry of England in the very day of Sidney.

With this weak apology we must take our leave of M'Carthy: he lived in an evil day, and defended himself by the only weapon of which prudence warranted the use by an Irish chief. And if it can be truly asserted that the only alternative was submission, we are inclined to suspect that the mind of his own time may rather have applauded his persevering spirit, than condemned the hollow manœuvring by which he persevered. Unhappily history, with all its boasted impartiality, can hardly try its great delinquents by their peers. We cannot guess from their public statements and letters what would Fitz-William say—what would Perrot say—what would Carew say; but must look to their policy and their acts, and with one who knew something of men, denounce the great “unwhipped of justice.”

Cormack M'Carthy, Lord of Muskerry.

FLOURISHED A.D. 1601.

DURING the events which we have largely detailed in our memoirs of Hugh, earl of Tyrone, and of the sagan earl, there appear occasional glimpses of persons whose names are amongst the stars of Irish history, but whose part in the events of their generation was but sufficient to give them a doubtful title to our notice. Among these was Cormack M'Dermond M'Carthy, lord of Muskerry, a branch of the same illustrious parent stem from which was also descended the subject of our last previous memoir.

We shall here briefly relate such passages of his life as have sufficient interest to demand such notice.

Before the lord-deputy Mountjoy marched to the siege of Kinsale, orders had been issued by Sir G. Carew, to the cities and towns of Munster, to send their contingents of force to join the queen's army; and the Irish chiefs who were at the time understood to be loyally affected, were generally apprized that they were expected in like manner to prove their profession by their actions. Among the chief of those who came forward on the occasion, was the lord of Muskerry. He was immediately employed by lord Mountjoy to make an attack on the Spanish trenches, in order to let them see that the English were supported in the war by the principal Irish lords. The Irish made a stout assault, but were repelled; but the lord-deputy was prepared for this, and the attack was followed up by one from his own troop of horse, which drove the Spaniards from the position which they had begun to entrench.

Not long after, a near relative of his, Feague M'Cormack M'Carthy, with whom he had been for some time at variance on a question of property, had been induced to desert from the lord-president's troop; but finding the rebel cause unprosperous, he sought a reconciliation by giving information of the private correspondence between the lord of Muskerry and the Spaniards. He excused his desertion on the ground that it was not "malicious," "but in the hope to recover against my cosen M'Dermody, some means to maintain my decayed estate, and still likely to be suppressed by his greatness, who will by no means give me a portion of land to live upon." His excuse was considered insufficient by Carew, to whom his letter was addressed, and he was given to understand that his reconciliation was only to be looked for by some signal service. On which, having sought and obtained a safe conduct, he came to the president and gave him information that the lord of Muskerry was carrying on a private negotiation with the Spaniards; that he received letters from the king of Spain, and from some foreign bishop; that he had held a secret conference with the rebel Owen MacEggan, who had given him 800 ducats, for which he had agreed to yield Blarney castle, his chief castle, within two miles of Cork, into the hands of the Spanish. The information tallied but too well with several other informations and grounds of suspicion.

The lord-president immediately gave order to the judge of session, for the apprehension and commitment to prison of M'Carthy, and at the same time sent Sir Charles Wilmot and captain Harvie to obtain possession of Blarney castle. This castle is described as being at the time one of the strongest in that part of Ireland, as it consisted of four piles of building contained within one strong wall of eighteen feet in thickness, and built upon a rock, which made it alike proof against the mine and battery. The president therefore directed that they should proceed by stratagem, and try to gain admission on the pretext of buck-hunting in the neighbourhood. But the warders were on their guard, and the stratagem failed.

The prisoner was soon after brought up for trial; and as he pleaded his innocence, it was proposed to him to maintain his plea, by giving up his castles to be held by the queen, on the condition that they should be safely returned when his innocence should be confirmed by the failure of the proof against him. M'Carthy consented, and his castles of Blarney and Kileera were on these conditions, placed in the lord-president's hands. An army was at the same time sent against Macroome, as it lay in the very wildest and most dangerous part of Muskerry, and was not likely to be surrendered on the order of M'Carthy.

While these transactions were in their course, the lord-president received secret intimation that contrivances were going on for the escape of his prisoner. He likewise was informed, that O'Healy, a servant of M'Carthy, was prepared to embark for England, to steal away young M'Carthy from the University of Oxford, and take him into Spain. O'Healy was allowed to embark, and then suddenly seized, but contrived to throw his letters into the sea, so that nothing against his master was thus elicited. The president in the mean time was warned by the bishop of Cork, and by Sarsfield, the queen's attorney for

Munster, who had severally received information of the meditated escape; and on each occasion, Hammon, the gaoler of M'Carthy, was impressively lectured on the importance of his charge.

All precautions turned out to be in vain. Two days did not elapse, when M'Carthy's servant, Owen O'Synn, contrived to loosen and break the sash of a window that looked out into the street. The night was very dark, and few were abroad, but those of M'Carthy's own people who had been apprized that the attempt was then to be made, and were watching for him outside. When all was ready, and the hour was judged to be dark and lonely enough for their security, M'Carthy stripped off his clothes, which might easily be recognised, and crept out of the window into the street. In this moment, an accident had nearly disconcerted his attempt: a young woman was passing up the street, and seeing a person in his shirt escaping from the prison window, she instantly raised a cry of alarm. The keepers within leaped up at once, and rushed straight to the prisoner's room, and finding it deserted and the window open, they bolted forth and began a search along the street and surrounding country; but the measures of the fugitive had been too well contrived, and they returned without their errand.

On hearing this disagreeable intelligence, Sir G. Carew sent off his directions in every quarter to have him interecepted. O'Sullivan Beare and Tyrrel, hearing of the incident, drew at once towards Muskerry in the hope of joining, and receiving the powerful aid of its fugitive lord. At the same time Macroome castle was taken by Sir Charles Wilnot, or rather fell into his hands by accident, just as he was on the point of raising the siege by the president's order; for the people within, set fire to the castle by want of caution in singeing a pig with a quantity of straw, and the fire having spread before it was noticed, they were compelled to quit the walls, and in their attempt to make a sally and escape into the woods, they were cut to pieces.

Every disposition was now made for a new war by Carew. But fortunately this extremity was rendered unnecessary; for M'Carthy was not long before he came to a just conviction of the hopelessness of any effort at resistance. He saw the helplessness of Tyrrel and O'Sullivan, and also discovered that his country was actually in the possession of the English—that his wife and children were also prisoners in their hands. It was therefore plain enough that his last hope was in submission. He therefore adopted the wise course of soliciting the mediation of the most influential persons, and offered, if admitted to plead for himself, that he would do every thing in his power to make amends for his past offences. His application was granted, and on the 21st October, 1602, he came before the president and council, and humbly besought the queen's mercy, acknowledging his offences, and only pleading the loyalty of his affections toward her majesty. He was then pardoned in consideration of the severe losses he had sustained, both by the burning of his castle and the destruction of the harvest of Muskerry that autumn by the queen's army and the rebels, of which the loss was computed to be £5000 at the least. It was also taken into consideration, that he had not

joined the rebels, and the evils thus saved were admitted in his favour, as his force and means of resistance were at that time more formidable than those of any other Irish subject in that province; and his extensive country, had he rebelled, must have occupied the main exertions of the English army to reduce it. On these and other such considerations, he was admitted to mercy, and took the oaths devised by lord Mountjoy for the Munster lords. At the same time, he, with four of the best Munster barons, joined in security for his future good conduct under the penalty of £3000.

After this his conduct was such as to gain the confidence and approbation of the queen's administration. He continued to take an active and efficient part in the service; he led his own men under Wilmot, in Glengariffe, and was detached into Carbery with captain Taffe, when he lost thirty of his best men.

As the rebellion subsided, and the country settled into a temporary repose, M'Carthy exchanged the troubled life which entitled his name to appear in the records of his day, for the peaceful possession of his castles and lands.

Postscript.

WE have now with no small diligence passed down along the turbid and blood-stained stream of five centuries of a confused and long-drawn revolution, selecting liberally from the most distinguished names which from their recurrence in the page of history can be said to have any fair claim to the distinction of a memoir. To include all for whom some claim might be urged, would demand a larger work and a far more liberal allowance of time; and it may be doubted whether it would avail for any object sufficient to countervail the added labour and expense. Of the principal persons omitted in the period now closed, the greater part have in reality no title to further notice than the mention which history has preserved; having derived whatever small importance they possessed from the accident of position, rank, or incident; and neither occupying a leading station, nor acting a distinguishing part. But it is also necessary to apprise the reader, that some highly distinguished names have been omitted because they are to have a foremost place in the commencement of the following period, which is separated from that we have now terminated, merely for the sake of convenience.

Of some persons whom we shall not have occasion to mention again, a few prominent particulars may be worthy of mention. Some whose rank gave them prominence, and some whose names are foully embalmed by signal atrocity, are passed occasionally with doubtful decision. Sometimes in the page of Irish history a few sentences convey some deed of horror, which had it been perpetrated in modern times, would fill the hundred tongues of rumour with loud outcry; or which if a little more fully recorded, or if Irish history were better known, would be expanded over the page of romances as heart-moving and terrible as the legends of Montrose, or the fiendish deed of the tragedy of Kenilworth. But these brief relations preserve nothing

but the horror; they require at least a dash of the free and inventive conception with which the author of "*Sketches in Ireland*," has conjured up a few old scenes of Ireland, in all their fierce and glowing life. From the very attempt at this, the nature of our dull task of compilation prohibits; and if in a work of sober and instructive verity, it were allowable to fill up the broken outline from conjecture, we must confess that the nature of our material would alone repress the attempt. Invention with all its airy audacity, stands appalled before the page of the laborious Cox, Ware, Hammer, Marlborough, where the shrivelled and meagre mummies of ancient saints and chiefs which they have preserved in the dust and fretted parchment of antiquity, appear attenuated into the dates of their existence, and reject all alliance with flesh and blood, or with the deeds, thoughts, and human nature of this upper world and modern time. Nevertheless, we may truly assure the reader, that we have so far had an eye to his pleasure, that we have availed ourselves of every hint to facilitate his conception, that truth and the nature of our undertaking would admit; as seldom as possible omitting the relation of any incident of sufficient interest to relieve his attention, or enliven a dull but necessary detail.

Among the distinguished names of this period, there is perhaps none so justly celebrated as Raleigh: his unfortunate and erratic career may in some measure be said to have commenced in Ireland. While he obtained military honour and large estates in the close of this period, his name constantly recurs among the captains of the president of Munster, having borne a marked part in the desperate siege of Dunboy castle. His enterprising temper alone changed the current of his life, and prevented his having laid the foundation of an illustrious Irish name.

Having obtained ample grants in the counties of Cork and Waterford, out of the vast estates forfeited by the earl of Desmond, he built a house for himself in the town of Youghal. Of this we are enabled to give the following interesting extract:—"The house in which Sir Walter is said to have resided, when at Youghal, is still standing, and in good preservation. It adjoins the churchyard, and is at present in the occupation of Sir Christopher Musgrave. It is a mansion of long and low proportions, not remarkable either for beauty or peculiarity of architecture, several of the apartments are of rather spacious dimensions, and finished with oaken panels and large chimney pieces well carved. In a garden attached to this residence, it is believed Raleigh planted the first potatoes grown in Ireland. According to a current tradition, the man intrusted with the care of the garden in the absence of Sir Walter, supposed that the apple or seed, was the esculent part of the novel production; and finding the taste unpleasant, bestowed no farther thought on the plantation until upon digging the ground for some other crop, the root was found to yield a wholesome and palatable species of food, of more importance to the future condition of Ireland than all the political schemes, wars, and encroaching settlements of queen Elizabeth, her councillors, and armies."*

To the particulars in this extract, *Lewis's Topographical Dictionary*

enables us to add a few interesting particulars. The place of Sir Walter is now called Myrtle-grove, and is or was recently the property of the Hayman family. The panelling of the drawing-room is remarkable for its rich carving. "In removing the panelling of one of the rooms some years since, an aperture in the wall was discovered, in which were found several old books, one bound in oak and printed at Mantua, 1479, consisting of two parts, one in black-letter, a history of the Bible, with coloured initials: the other an ecclesiastical history by John Schallus, professor of physic at Hiernfield, dedicated to prince Gonzales."

Sir Walter Raleigh's Irish career began under the earl of Ormonde and was pursued in the wars of Munster, where he gained more in fortune than reputation. After this, returning for a while to England, he rose in the queen's favour, and served with distinction in many enterprises. In 1584, he is traced in England serving as M. P. for Devon, and leading a life of most intense study, cultivating and patronizing every science and liberal art. The following interval is not very distinctly traced, but we are inclined to fix upon it as the period of his residence in Ireland, we should conclude from the above-mentioned particulars, with the design of settling; and this seems confirmed by the additional fact that, in 1588, he was mayor of Youghal. But it appears that the management of his large Irish property required an exclusive attention which ill suited with his romantic and restless nature, and that the rents were far below the apparent value of the property. He returned to England with a mind filled with specious and glittering prospects, and soon after obtained an appointment from Elizabeth to the government of Jersey. He had failed in his endeavours to excite the mind of the prudent queen, by the sanguine representations of foreign discoveries of visionary realms, which lay before his imagination with the brightness and solidity of the gorgeous vapours of a glorious sunset, and his fancy tinged even reality with a dream-like aspect, which rendered them questionable to sober minds. In his account of one of his voyages he says, "Those who are desirous to discover and to see many nations, may be satisfied within this river which bringeth forth so many arms and branches, leading to several countries and provinces about two thousand miles east and west, and eight hundred north and south, and of these the most rich either in gold or other merchandizes. The common soldier shall here fight for gold, and pay himself instead of pence with plates half a foot broad, whereas, he breaketh his bones in other wars for provant and penury." During the latter years of queen Elizabeth, the name of Raleigh is illustrious among the splendid constellation of glorious names, which raise the literary glory of her reign so high. Shakspeare, Johnson, Beaumont, and Fletcher, with their contemporaries, were among his familiar acquaintance.

It was some time after the siege of Dunboy, that Sir Richard Boyle was sent into England with an account of that transaction, by Sir George Carew, who advised him to purchase Raleigh's Irish estates. A meeting for the purpose took place in England, between Boyle and Raleigh, and Cecil introduced them at Carew's request, and acted as moderator in the transaction, which ended in a bargain by which Raleigh conveyed his Irish estate to Boyle for the sum of £1500, the

land being about 12,000 acres in extent. It is a curious circumstance, that some years after Sir Walter obtained his liberty, after twelve years' confinement in the Tower, at the expense of the same sum with which he purchased the intercession of the profligate Villiers. This long interval of confinement was rendered more honourable by Raleigh's genius than his years of liberty by military exploits of which the character was little chivalric or humane, and foreign enterprizes too much like buccaneering expeditions to be satisfactory to a mind like his. It was immediately after the transaction above related, that he became involved in a charge of treason, made by lord Cobham, and too well-known for detail. Of his innocence we entertain no doubts. His long confinement was mitigated by the free exercise of an unconfined imagination; the gloomy cell was peopled by his boundless fancy, and the Hesperian Isles of discovery lay between his contemplation and the grim walls which cooped him in. With much difficulty, and the exertion of considerable influence, he revived a plan which he had long entertained for the colonization of New Guiana; in an unlucky hour, surrounded by the evil influence of Spain, and the unfavourable dispositions of the king and his principal ministers, and under a sentence of death which made his life answerable for the result of a doubtful adventure, Raleigh was appointed to command an expedition for the purpose of founding a settlement in Guiana. The result of this is familiar in every English history; it failed in such a manner as to wreck the fortunes and implicate the character of the unfortunate leader. He had embarked his entire property in it; his son who sailed as one of his captains, was slain in an attack upon St Thomas; his friend and second in command shot himself in despair, and Raleigh returned to a bloody death from the axe of the executioner: he was ordered to execution on his sentence twelve years before.

Among the eminent names of this period, of whom our regular plan cannot properly be said to admit of a distinct memoir, there is none whose claim to notice stands higher than Charles Blount, lord Mountjoy, by whose distinguished services the Ulster rebellion was brought to its conclusion. Our life of Hugh, earl of Tyrone, may indeed be considered as containing the most important passages of the life of this eminent soldier, and we shall here endeavour to supply the most important particulars which we were in that article compelled to omit. Charles Blount, the second son of lord Mountjoy, was born about 1563. He was educated at Oxford, and designed for the bar. In the university, the fairest hopes were encouraged by his rapid progress in literature, as well as by the habits of intensely diligent study which became the habit of his life, and strongly marked his character. Early in his youth he professed the honourable resolution, to raise again the sinking honours of his family. His grandfather had dilapidated a good fortune in the profuse and luxurious court of Henry; his father evidently a weak man, instead of improving his impoverished estate by industry and economy, had recourse to the chimeras of alchemy, which then as for previous ages continued to impose on mankind, and to beggar thousands with the promise of visionary wealth. His elder brother's extravagance still further reduced the fortune of the family. Charles began early to manifest the indications of a wise, honourable,

and aspiring temper. Moryson mentions, on his own authority, that "in his childhood, when his parents would have his picture, he chose to be drawn with a trowel in his hand, and this motto—*Ad reedificandam antiquam domum.*" Moryson also mentions that, on leaving Oxford university very young, he was still "not well grounded," but that he repaired the deficiency in London by obtaining the most skilful instructors in the languages, history, mathematics, cosmography, and natural philosophy. In these pursuits he took chief delight, spending much of his time in canvassing subjects of doubt and difficulty, and practising his memory on the most subtle objections with their solutions. But his chief delight was in theology, ever the most attractive in early youth to minds of wide and grasping range: he loved much to study both the fathers and the schoolmen. For this latter taste he accounted by mentioning that, "being in his youth much addicted to popery, so much as through prejudicate opinion no writer of our time could have diverted him from it, yet, by observing the fathers' consent, and the schoolmen's idle and absurd distinctions, he began first to distaste many of their opinions, and then by reading our authors, to be confirmed in the reform doctrine."

His introduction to court was curious. Having come to London he repaired to Whitehall to see the court. The queen chanced to be at dinner, when Blount's figure, then strikingly graceful, caught her eye, not the slowest to discern the attractions of manly beauty. She immediately inquired his name, and, on being informed who he was, called him to her, gave him her hand to kiss, and desired him to come often to court, with the assurance that she would keep his fortune in view.

The queen kept her word. After a few years' waiting, during which he was employed from time to time, he was appointed to the government of Portsmouth. In 1594 his brother's death took place, and he succeeded to the title of Mountjoy, with the remains of a wasted property, amounting to 1000 marks a-year. This, though small, was sufficient to supply the expenses of a moderate young nobleman who had no family to maintain. Two or three years after, he served under lord Essex in an expedition to the Azores. We have already mentioned in a former page, that the friendship of Essex was rendered unprofitable by the intense jealousy with which he looked on the queen's favour, which he wished entirely to engross. To this jealousy it was owing that, when the queen was afterwards desirous to send Mountjoy to Ireland, Essex, not content with obtaining the appointment for himself, endeavoured to represent Mountjoy as a bookish dreamer, unfit for that arduous and responsible charge. Nevertheless, it is mentioned by Moryson, that the high qualities of his character had so struck "two old counsellors of Ireland," that they long before pointed him out as the person most likely to suppress the rebellion of Tyrone. The history of his Irish campaign, by which the prognostication of the two old gentlemen was amply verified, we have fully given. King James, who succeeded immediately on the close of this rebellion, created him earl of Devonshire. His life is said to have been embittered by unfortunate love. In his early days he had engaged the affections of a daughter of the earl of Essex; but

he was not felt by the lady's father to be a match equal to their expectations. According to the tyrannical usage of the time, she was reluctantly married to lord Rich. The consequence was unhappy, and leaves a blot, the only one, on the memory of Mountjoy; the cruel award of the tyrannical father was repaired by a crime. The divorce of lady Rich followed. After which she was married to Mountjoy, who lived but a few months after.

Moryson, from whom we have already drawn some interesting particulars of this eminent commander, enables us to add a few more of no small interest respecting his person and character:—"He was of stature tall, and of very comly proportion; his skin faire, with little haire on his body, which haire was of colour blackish, (or inclining to blacke,) and thin on his head, where he wore it short, except a locke under his left eare, which he nourished the time of this warre, and, being woven up, laid it in his necke under his ruffe. The crown of his head was in his latter days something bald, as the fore part naturelly curled; he onely used the barber for his head; for the haire on his chin (growing slowly) and that on his cheeks and throat, he used almost daily to cut it with his sizers, keeping it so low with his owne hand that it could scarce bee discerned, as likewise himselfe kept the haire of his upper lippe something short, onely suffering that under his nether lippe to grow at length and full; yet, some two or three yeeres before his death, he nourished a sharpe and short pikedan on his chin. His forehead was broad and high; his eyes greate, blacke, and lovely; his nose something low and short, a little blunt in the end; his chin round; his cheeks full, round, and ruddy; his countenance chearefull, and amiable as ever I beheld of any man; onely some two yeeres before his death, upon discontentment, his face grew thinne, his ruddy colour failed, growing something swarthy, and his countenance was sad and dejected; his arms were longe, and of proportionable bignes; his hands longe and white; his fingers great at the endes; and his leggs somewhat little, which he gartered ever ebone the knee, wearing the garter of St George's order under his left knee, except when he was booted, and so wore not that garter, but a blue ribbon instead thereof above his knee, and hanging over his boote."

To this curious description of the man, we are enabled to add one not less so of his manners and habits:—"Further," writes his biographer, "in his nature he was a close concealer of his secrets, for which cause lest they should be revealed, and because he loved not to be importuned with suites; a free speaker, or a popular man, could not long continue his favourite. He was sparing in speech, but when he was drawn to it most judicious therein, if not eloquent. He never used swearing, but rather hated it, which I have often seen him control at his table with a frowning brow and an angry cast of his black eye. He was slow to anger, but, once provoked, spake home. His great temper was most scene in his wise carriage between the court factions of his time. He was a gentle enemy, easily pardoning, and calmly pursuing revenge; and a friend, if not cold, yet not to be used much out of the high way, and something too much reserved towards his dearest minions." To this admirably drawn character no comment is wanting. Judicious, refined in taste, of acute and quick understand-

ing, unswayed by violent passions, of a kindly and mild temper, but, like many such, self-centred in his affection for others, Mountjoy was well fitted for a scene of action, which was rendered perplexed and intricate, not more by the moving chaos of forces which were to be checked and subdued, than by the various cross-currents of passion, prejudice, and opposite interests, which were to be neutralized or controlled.

We shall not prolong this postscript farther than to make mention of one, who, though in no way connected either with politics or literature, has left a name rendered memorable by extreme longevity. Elinor, countess of Desmond, was daughter of the Fitz-Geralds of Drumana in the county of Waterford, and widow of James, thirteenth earl of Desmond, in the reign of Edward IV. She lived till some time in the reign of James I. The ruin of the house of Desmond reduced her to poverty, as no provision was made to save her jointure from the spoil. On this occasion she made her appearance in the court of Elizabeth, who, we presume, redressed the grievance. She was at the time 140, and seemed to retain considerable vigour and animation. She seems to have held her jointure on the Desmond estate till then. Her life, indeed, seems to have been held by some renewable tenure, as she is mentioned by Bacon to have twice renewed her teeth, each renewal having perhaps been accompanied by a renovation of vitality. It is indeed remarkable, in most persons who live to ages beyond the ordinary duration of human life, that there does not, for the most part, appear any proportional mark of the wreck of time. Whether this be owing to a greater fund of the vital principle, (whatever this may be,) or to a slower progress of the changes of life, or to renovation, such as the above fact would seem to imply, such is the fact. Of this the writer of these pages has known some examples, several persons, of eighty and upwards, not seemingly advanced further in decay than others of sixty-five and seventy; and in the same way, at earlier ages, the principle is to be traced, so that some appear to be advancing faster than others to the common event of life, and all moving, as it were, with different rates of progress in periods of different duration. Mention is made of the countess of Desmond by various writers, none of whom furnish materials for the biographer. Walpole makes mention of a picture, which is also noticed by Pennant as a remarkable picture, in the earl of Kinnoul's collection at Dupplin Castle.

II. ECCLESIASTICAL SERIES.

Maelmury.

DIED A. D. 1021.

MAELMURY, or Marian, son of Eocha, succeeded Murechan in the archbishopric of Armagh, in 1001. He was a man both of learning and ability, and much esteemed by his contemporaries. While he governed this see, the famous Brian Boru, or Boruina, was killed at the battle of Clontarf, and his body with that of his son, Murehard, were conveyed, by his own special directions, first to Swords and afterwards to Armagh, accompanied by Maelmury and the clergy of the diocese, and interred with great solemnity in the cathedral of that city. The archbishop continued in this see for nineteen years, and died from grief, the 3d of June, 1021, at the total destruction of Armagh by fire.

Celsus.

DIED A. D. 1129.

CELSUS, otherwise called Celestine, and in Irish, Cellach, was elected archbishop of Armagh, by the unanimous voice of the clergy and people, and was consecrated in 1106. He was a man of great learning, being called in the *Antiquities of Oxford*, “an universal scholar.” The *Ulster Annals* record a synod having been held in 1111, “where were present Cellach, Comorban of St Patrick, and Maelmury O’Dunan, arch-presbyter of Ireland, (perhaps the same whom the *Connaught Annals* call Miler O’Dunan, archbishop of Cashel,) together with 50 bishops, 300 presbyters, and 3000 ecclesiastics, to regulate the lives and manners of the clergy and laity.” Moriartae O’Brian, king of Ireland, with the nobility of Legh-moa, or the south part of Ireland, were also present on this occasion. On the death of Samuel O’Haingly, in 1121, Celsus was elected both by the Irish and Normans, to fill the vacant see, but it would appear that he held it only a few months. He died in 1129, at the age of fifty, and was buried at Lismore, according to his own desire. When he found his death approaching, he expressed an earnest wish that Malachy, bishop of Connor, should succeed him, and sent his staff to him as his successor. Malachy was appointed to the archbishopric about five years afterwards.

Malachy.

DIED A. D. 1148.

MALACHY, called by the Irish, Maelmedoic O'Morgair, was abbot of Bangor, and afterwards bishop of Connor. He was appointed by Celsus (archbishop of Armagh), on his death-bed, as his successor but did not obtain the see for some years; for "one Maurice, son of Donald, a person of noble birth, for five years held that see in possession, not as a bishop, but as a tyrant, for the ambition of some in power had at that time introduced a diabolical custom, of pretending to ecclesiastical sees by hereditary succession, not suffering any bishops but the descendants of their own families."* Nor was this kind of execrable succession of short continuance: for fifteen generations† the system was persevered in, and great abuses were its natural consequence. Malachy did not retain the archbishopric for more than about three years, when he resigned it to Gelasy, about 1137, and retired to Down, where he founded a monastery. He went to Rome for the purpose of obtaining two palls from Innocent the second, one for Armagh, and the other for Dublin, but was dismissed with the answer, "That a matter of so great concern, ought to be done with solemnity, and by the general approbation of the council of Ireland."‡ He afterwards undertook another journey to Rome, but was taken ill on the road, and died at the monastery of Clarevall, on the 2d of November, 1148, in the 54th year of his age.

Gelasy.

DIED A. D. 1174.

GELASY, who succeeded Malachy, as we have already stated, in the archbishopric of Armagh, ruled that diocese for about thirty-seven years, with a short interruption from the usurpation of Nigel, one of the same family, who for so many generations intruded themselves into that see. He, along with the archbishops of Dublin, Cashel, and Tuam, received a pall each, from John Paparo, who came over as legate from the pope, Eugene III. in 1152. Gelasy is remarkable for having called a synod of 26 bishops in 1162, where it was decreed, that from that time none should be admitted as a public reader of divinity, but such as belonged to the university of Armagh.§ He died March 27th, 1174.

Donagh O'Brian.

DIED A. D. 1207.

DONAGH O'BRIAN, a descendant from the royal family of that name, was appointed to the see of Limerick, to which his ancestors had granted extensive portions of land. He considerably enlarged

* Bernard.

† Colgan.

‡ Ware.

§ Ibid.

the cathedral, and supplied it with secular canons, to whom he gave prebendaries, and ordained laws for their government.* He was learned, liberal, prudent, and zealously loyal, and indefatigable in his efforts to uphold the doubtful honour and interests of king John, who was justly attached to him, and alluded to his many services in his charter. He died in 1207.

Albinus O'Mulloy.

DIED A. D. 1222.

UPON the death of Joseph O'Hethe, Albinus, abbot of Baltinglass, was appointed to the see of Fernes, which he held for thirty-six years. It had first been offered by prince John to Gerald Barry, commonly called Cambrensis, who refused it, and who afterwards had a sharp dispute with Albino, at a synod he held in Dublin, about mid-Lent, in 1185.† William Marescal, earl of Pembroke, who possessed a large portion of land in Ireland, in right of his grandmother Eva, princess of Leinster, seized on two manors belonging to this bishopric, which gave rise to a long contest, which was at length decided in favour of the earl. Albinus lived to a very advanced age, and died 1222.

Malachy.

DIED A. D. 1201.

MALACHY, the third bishop of that name in Down, was in 1177 taken prisoner by de Courcy, in the same battle in which he overcame Roderick O'Conor, prince of Ulster, but at the intercession of cardinal Vivian, he was set at liberty. He made several ecclesiastical regulations and changes, under the dictation of de Courcy, one of which was his dedicating to St Patrick that cathedral which had before been consecrated to the Holy Trinity; and Pembridge attributes de Courcy's subsequent misfortunes to this sacrilegious act. Malachy died about the year 1201.

Gregory, First Archbishop of Dublin.

CONSECRATED BISHOP A. D. 1121.—DIED A. D. 1161.

THIS ecclesiastic, with those immediately preceding, may be considered as a link between the former period and that with which we are at present occupied: as in point of time he may be considered as belonging to the one while his station implies a change by which he is connected with the succeeding order.

Gregory succeeded Samuel O'Haingly in the see of Dublin, and

* Ware.

† MS. Life of Girald in Cotton's Library.

was consecrated at Lambeth, October 2d, 1121, by Ralph, archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by the bishops of London, Salisbury, Lincoln, Norwich, and Bangor. Augustin Magraidan, calls him "a wise man, and one well-skilled in languages," and he was highly esteemed both by the clergy and people of Dublin. He presided over this see about thirty-one years, when he was invested with the pall by John Paparo, and Christian O'Conarchy (O'Conor), bishop of Lismore, both legates from the pope, at a synod convened at Kells, A.D. 1152. About this period many of the bishops of Ireland, and particularly Maurice M'Donald, of Armagh, evinced great jealousy against the clergy and people of Dublin, for their preference of and adherence to the jurisdiction of Canterbury, (established for about a century,) in opposition to the practice of all the other sees, which were subjected to the control of their own hierarchy. Limerick and Waterford had adopted the same practice, had been placed by the decree of the synod of Rathbreasil, under the archbishop of Cashel. Ireland was about this time divided into ecclesiastical provinces, and four archbishops were appointed to preside over them; while the number of bishoprics were reduced, and a certain proportion of them subjected to the control of each archbishop. Gelasius was appointed to the diocese of Armagh, Gregory to that of Dublin, Donatus to Cashel, and Edanus to Tuam. The bishoprics placed under the government of the archbishop of Dublin were, Glendalough, Ferns, Leighlin, Ossory, and Kildare. A number of minor ecclesiastical arrangements were also made, and the collection of tithes established by the cardinal. Princes, bishops, abbots, and chiefs, were collected at this synod, and besides the prelates, there were, according to the *Annals of the Four Masters*, three thousand other ecclesiastics present. Gregory continued to govern this see until 1161, when he died on the 8th of October, after an incumbency of forty years.

EDAN O'HOISIN.

DIED A.D. 1161.

EDAN O'HOISIN was appointed archbishop of Tuam in 1152, and the following suffragans were placed under him: Mayo, Killala, Roscommon, Clonfert, Achonry, Cluan, and Killmaeduaich. Mayo and Enaghduin were afterwards added to the cathedral of Tuam. Edan is often mentioned by the historians of his time, and was remarkable for his piety, learning, and liberality. In 1158, he held a synod at Roscommon, at which he made many "good decrees." Roscommon was subsequently translated to Elphin, and Clean, or Clonmacnoise, to Armagh. He died in 1161, and was buried in his cathedral under a stone inscribed with an Irish epitaph, in which he is called *Comorban*, or successor of Yarlath. It was in this year that stone buildings were first introduced into Ireland, and Roderick O'Conor, king of Connaught, built a castle of stone at Tuam, which from its great novelty was called by the Irish the *wonderful castle*.*

* Ware.

Catholic O'Dubhai.

DIED A. D. 1201.

CATHOLIC, or CADLA O'DUBHAI, succeeded to the archbishopric of Tuam on the death of Edan. He was a man of learning and discretion, and it was through his mediation that Roderick O'Connor was received into favour by Henry II. The particulars of the agreement between them are given in Roger Hoveden's history of this period. When Henry was in Waterford, the archbishop and bishops came to him from all quarters, and took the oath of allegiance to him and his heirs. After his return to Dublin, he commanded them to hold a synod at Cashel, at which were present Christianus, bishop of Lismore, the pope's legate, Donagh, archbishop of Cashel, Lawrence, archbishop of Dublin, and Catholicus, archbishop of Tuam, besides many others, when they drew up a set of canons, of which the following is a copy:—

“First. It is decreed, that all good, faithful, and Christian people throughout Ireland, should forbear and shun to marry with their near kinsfolk and cousins, and marry with such as lawfully they should do.

“Secondly. That children shall be catechised without the church door, and baptized in the font, appointed in the churches for the same.

“Thirdly. That every Christian body do faithfully and truly pay yearly the tithes of his cattle, corn, and other his increase and profits, to the church or parish where he is a parishioner.

“Fourthly. That all the church lands and possessions throughout all Ireland, shall be free from all secular exactions and impositions; and especially, that no lords, earls, or noblemen, nor their children, nor family, shall extort or take any coyn and livery, cosheries, nor cuddies, nor any other like custom, from thenceforth, in or upon any of the church lands and territories. And likewise, that they nor no other person do henceforth exact out of the said church lands, old, wicked, and detestable customs of coyn and livery, which they were wont to extort upon such towns and villages of the churches, as were near and next bordering upon them.

“Fifthly. That when the earick or composition is made among the lay people for any murther, that no person of the clergy (though he be kin to any of the parties) shall contribute any thing thereunto; but as they be guiltless from the murther, so shall they be free from payment of money, for any such earick or release for the same.

“Sixthly. That all and every good Christian being sick and weak, shall before the priest and his neighbours, make his last will and testament, and his debts and servants' wages being paid, all his moveables to be divided (if he have any children) into three parts; whereof one part to be to the children, another to his wife, and the third part to be for the performance of his will. And if so be he have no children, then the goods to be divided into two parts, whereof the one moiety to his wife, and the other to the performance of his will and testament. And if he have no wife, but only children, then the goods to be likewise divided into two parts, whereof the one to himself and the other to his children.

"*Seventhly.* That every Christian, being dead, and dying in the Catholick faith, shall be reverently brought to the church, and to be buried as appertaineth.

"*Finally.* That all the divine service in the church of Ireland, shall be kept, used, and observed, in the like order and manner, as it is in the church of England; for it is meet and right, that as by God's providence and appointment, Ireland is now become subject, and under the king of England, so the same should take from thence the order, rule and manner how to reform themselves, and to live in better order; for whatsoever good thing is befallen to the church and realm of Ireland, either concerning religion, or peaceable government, they owe the same to the king of England, and are to be thankful unto him for the same; for before his coming into the land of Ireland, many and all sorts of wickedness in times past, flowed and reigned among them, all which now by his authority and goodness are abolished."*

Catholicus lived to a very advanced age, and died at Cong, in 1201, having governed the see for forty years. The city of Tuam was accidentally burned shortly after his consecration.

Lawrence O'Toole.

DIED A. D. 1180.

WE have already related the principal events of the life of this illustrious man, and therefore feel it to be unnecessary to repeat them again in detail. A summary outline, will enable us sufficiently to expand whatever we may deem illustrative of his character.

He was the youngest son of Murrough O'Toole, chief of Imaile, in the county now called Wicklow, the territory of the celebrated sept of the Tooles and Byrnes, which are with some reason represented as of British origin.† In Lawrence the two coeval and kindred streams were united, as his mother was an O'Byrne.‡

At the early age of ten, it was his fortune to be delivered by his father according to the customs of that barbarous time, as a hostage to the king of Leinster, the notorious Dermot MacMurragh. Of Dermot's savage disposition the reader is aware. Young Lawrence O'Toole was doomed to know it by experience: ever involved in hostility with the surrounding chiefs, and always actuated by the bitterest rancour in his enmities, the brutal prince of Leinster, in some moment of inflamed animosity, resolved to make the innocent boy, who was even then distinguished by early genius, the victim of his father's offence; and with this execrable design caused him to be conveyed to a deserted and barren spot, and left to meet and suffer the horrors of want and exposure, under the care of such wretches as were fit to be the instruments of king Dermot's enmity. In such a condition, the sufferings of the tender child can easily be conceived. But the eye of a guardian providence was awake; his father quickly received intelligence of the deplorable situation of his child: Murrough

* Cambrensis.

† See the life of Feagh MacHugh O'Byrne.

‡ Dalton.

had the feeling to resent, and the spirit to retaliate the cruel indignity. He seized on twelve of Dermot's most noted followers, and shutting them in prison, he sent word to the tyrant that he would cut off their heads, unless they should be immediately redeemed by his son's release. The menace was effectual: however little regard Dermot might entertain for the lives of his men, yet as he chiefly relied on the favour of the populace, he could not without serious detriment to his nearest interest, hazard his low popularity by abandoning his faithful partizans to the revenge of an enemy. At the same time, as Lawrence was the pledge of a treaty, he would not give him up to his father. The matter was therefore compromised by placing him in the hands of the bishop of Glendalough.

The incident was not unfavourable to the disposition and future fortunes of the youth. The bishop received the child of his noble neighbour with benevolent hospitality, and while he remained in his hands, had him carefully instructed in the principles of the Christian religion by his chaplain; and after twelve days, he was sent back to his father. Soon after he was taken by his father on a visit to the bishop, very probably to return thanks for the kindness he had received, and revisit a spot which must needs have powerfully affected his young imagination. On this occasion it is mentioned, that his father proposed to cast lots which of his sons should adopt the ecclesiastical calling, on which young Lawrence said with a smile, "Father, there is no necessity for casting lots; if you allow me, I will embrace it with pleasure."* The offer gave much satisfaction both to the bishop and the father of Lawrence, who took him by the right hand and dedicated him to God and St Kevin.

The pious youth was then entirely committed to the careful tuition of the bishop and his worthy chaplain; and not often in the uncertain allotments of human character, has it occurred that the profession and the heart were so well harmonized. The temper of the youth was constitutionally pious and contemplative; he was gifted with a sensible, yet bold firm and lofty spirit, and with no small share of that ideality which gives external scenery a powerful influence over the breast: and the scene in which he was now to receive daily lessons in piety and goodness was happily adapted to such a frame of mind. Here with the mingled piety and superstition of his age, he walked the solemn mountain-vale as we explore some ancient cathedral, among the time-worn inscriptions and decaying effigies of old-world piety and virtue: its picturesque gloom was tinged with the coloured radiance of old tradition, which the broad daylight of recent ages had not yet dispelled, or the profane humour of modern showmen turned into caricature. A gleam of tender and sacred recollection invested the footsteps of the good saint who fled hither from the allurements of the world. In such a scene it was, and amid the atmosphere of such impressions and influences, that the youthful Lawrence O'Toole continued to grow in knowledge and piety as he advanced in years, until the fame of his learning and the lustre of his virtues, added grace and

* Lanigan's Eccles. Hist., Vol. iv.

sanctity to a place already so venerated for the memory of its good and holy men.

When he was twenty-five years of age, he was elected abbot of the monastery of Glendalough. Of this monastery, Dr Lanigan says, that it was distinct from the bishopric, with which it has not unfrequently been confounded. It was very rich, and had usually been placed under the government of abbots chosen for the rank and power of their families; a precaution rendered necessary for the protection of the surrounding district, by the predatory and encroaching temper of the age.

In this high and influential station, the value of his character was soon extensively manifested, his instructions were effectively diffused by that moral energy of character which appears to be his distinguishing feature in history; and his precepts were beautifully illustrated by the practice of all the Christian virtues. With a wise anxiety for the social amelioration of his country, he exerted himself with industrious zeal to civilize the manners and correct the barbarous habits of the people; and with an equally intense solicitude he watched with a paternal care over their wants and interests; and, as the people are most likely to retain the memory of those attentions which they can best comprehend, Lawrence O'Toole has ever been especially praised for his charity to the poor and needy. A famine, which lasted for four years during this period of his life, gave ample exercise to this virtue, and doubtless impressed it deeply on the hearts of thousands, to whom during so dreadful a visitation he was the dispenser of mercy.*

On the death of the bishop of Glendalough, the dignity was presingly offered to the youthful abbot; but conscious of the immaturity of his years, and sensible of the importance of the charge, he declined the office, and continued in the faithful discharge of his duties until the death of the bishop of Dublin, in 1161, whom he then succeeded. It is at this period that his life in some measure falls into the general history of the country; and being already fully detailed so far as detail can have importance, may be more briefly noticed.

Shortly after his elevation to the see of Dublin, the bishop assumed the habit of an order of French monks famed for the severity of their discipline and the sanctity of their lives; and ever after wore under his episcopal habiliments, the hair shirt prescribed by the severe discipline of that ascetic order. He also observed its rule of keeping strict silence for certain prescribed hours, and always attended with his canons at the midnight offices in Christ Church; after which, "he often remained alone in the church, praying and singing psalms until daylight, when he used to take a round in the churchyard or cemetery, chaunting the prayers for the faithful departed." To this his historians add striking examples of austere abstinence, which, however they may be estimated by the theology of more enlightened times, cannot be erroneously referred to the sincere and devoted faith of this good Christian, who acted according to the best lights which it pleased the Father of all lights to bestow upon his age. Less doubtful was

* Lanigan, 175.

his eminent practice of those pure and holy charities which the scripture teaches us to regard as the "fruits of the spirit;" his regard to the morals, religion, and sustenance of the poor, was only bounded by his means. Every day he took care to see fed in his presence from thirty to sixty needy persons. In the severe famines which were the consequence of the desolating wars of his time, and which on one occasion lasted for three years, he daily fed five hundred persons.

Many indeed are the accounts of beneficence and of high but rigid sanctity, which, scattered loosely among the doubtful mass of the idlest traditions, are yet in O'Toole's case authenticated by their characteristic consistency, and which combine to throw a venerable lustre round his memory. It is stated by historians, that in his day the absolution which the church assumed the power to give, had been for a time prostituted with lavish indifference to the state of the heart or the nature of the crime; archbishop O'Toole exerted himself to repress an abuse so dangerous, by refusing to give the pardon of the church in certain extreme cases unfit to be mentioned in this work.

While in the see of Dublin, the general character of his life and actions has been placed in a conspicuous light by the historical magnitude and importance of events in which his name occupies a respectable place. These events have been told already in the political series of this period. The reader has already seen, that while he was the life and spirit of his country in its efforts to resist invasion, he was no less an object of respect to the English. Above the low level of the wisdom and patriotism of that degenerate day of Irish history, the exalted sense and spirit of the archbishop rose pre-eminent. About the real character of his patriotism there can be little doubt: there is but too much justice in the casuistry which finds a large proportion of base alloy in the purest seeming course of public conduct:—

"Whate'er of noblest and of best
Man's soul can reach, is clogged and prest
By low considerations, that adhere
Inseparably."*

This doctrine may be easily pushed too far. In our day it might be referred to party or to sect, but it was then otherwise. To understand this rightly, it must be observed that archbishop O'Toole, in common with the other Irish bishops of his day, had one prominent object in view—to bring the Irish church into the jurisdiction of the Roman see. For this, the clearest and shortest way was the subjection of the country to England, of which the church acknowledged the supremacy of Rome. It was for this reason that in the course of these wars, the Irish bishops, with a large party among their clergy, are to be traced in constant negotiations favourable to the interests of the settlement. O'Toole, who worked more than all of them for their common purpose, alone spurned the unworthy means; and rejecting the fiendish illusion of doing evil that good might come, he boldly put himself forward in behalf of his own country, and by his spirited exertions organized at least the show of resistance. It was, however, in vain, in the absence of all national spirit and of all sense

of common cause, that this patriotic archbishop endeavoured to infuse life and unity into that senseless chaos of provincial feuds, interests, and tyrannies; as among the evil "*πολυμορβανη*," the aristocracy of squabbling thrones, principalities, and powers, one breast only was found to catch a gleam of the patriot's spirit—the ill-fated Roderic; and Lawrence O'Toole, when the hopes of the warrior's arm were found unavailing, still found a duty not unworthy in the office of a mediator between the conqueror and the fallen foe. It should not indeed be left unmentioned in proof of his eminent and conspicuous virtues, that Giraldus, who looked on every thing native with a prejudiced eye, calls him "a just and good man;" nor is it less to his honour, that Henry who was known to dislike him for his bold and uncompromising patriotism, could not help respecting his person. He was indeed so much employed as the medium of the most difficult and delicate negotiations with the hostile powers during the struggle, and with the English court afterwards, that, considering the looseness of public faith, and the capricious and arbitrary deviations which mark the conduct of the tyrants of that age, one cannot help pausing to wonder and to conceive more distinctly the state of circumstances, and the assemblage of impressive virtues which seemed as with a charmed influence to carry the worthy archbishop unharmed, uninvolved, and without fear, through hostile camps and courts. On one occasion, when Dublin was exposed to the horrors and revolting atrocities of a stormed city, some of our readers will recollect the conduct of the archbishop, equally characteristic of the saint, the hero, and the patriot. While all was devastation, fury and terror, flight and helpless panic, while the streets rung with the hurried step of trembling citizens, and the gutters ran red with life-blood, "in the midst of all the confusion and massacre," says Mr Moore, "the good St Lawrence was seen exposing himself to every danger, and even as his biographer describes him, dragging from the enemies hands the palpitating bodies of the slain, to have them decently interred. He also succeeded at great risk, in prevailing upon the new authorities to retain most of the clergy in their situations, and recovered from the plunderers the books and ornaments which had belonged to the different churches."

Henry, it has been mentioned, disliked him; but his dislike was of that pardonable description which kings or parties may be permitted to feel (for such is the law of human feeling,) against those whose virtues are unfavourable to their partial aims. St Lawrence, whatever duties he acknowledged to king Henry, did not consider himself exempt from the prior and paramount duty which he owed to the King of kings and Lord of lords, whose servant he was. The immunities of the Irish church, for which he always held out firmly, and for which he had the honour to plead at the council of Lateran, which he attended with other Irish bishops, gave offence to Henry, whose construction of those privileges placed them at variance with his prerogative. But the upright Lawrence, incapable of subserviency, knew that all temporal duties must be limited by the superior and more important duties to God, so far as they are clearly and authentically known, and acted as all, whether rightly or erroneously, should act, ac-

cording to the dictates of conscience; a law which however latitudinarian it will seem to those who rightly contemplate the vast and multiform tendencies of human error, will, after all deductions, keep its ground as the most universal and compendious normal, on which all duty stands, and all virtue consists. It is indeed the principle which gives so much profound importance to the question of Pilate, awful when it cannot be answered with the utmost clearness—"What is truth?"

When he was attending king Henry at Canterbury, he had a most providential escape from being assassinated by a lunatic. We can do no better than tell the story as we find it in *Hanmer's Chronicle*. "He came to the king at Canterbury, where the monks received him with solemn procession, and hee gave himself one whole night to prayers before St Thomas his shrine, for good success in his affairs with the king. A fool espied him in his pontifical weed, wholly devoted to St Thomas Becket, and said, 'I can do no better deed than make him equal with St Thomas,' with that he took a club, ranne through the throng, and gave him such a blow upon the pate, that the blood ran down his ears. The man was so sore wounded, that it was thought he would yield up the ghost. The cry was up, the fool ranne away, the bishop taking breath, called for water, and in a short time was healed."

After a life of indefatigable zeal and goodness, in 1180, revered by his countrymen, respected by their enemies, trusted by the church, and though feared yet honoured by the king, this good and truly pious prelate resigned his breath and died of a fever at the monastery of Eu, in Normandy. When reminded of the propriety of making a will, he answered, "God knows I have not this moment so much as a penny under the sun." He was interred in the centre of the church of Eu, in Normandy. He was canonized by pope Honorius in 1226, when his remains were placed in a silver shrine over the altar.

Among the various notices which remain of the life of Lawrence O'Toole, there is a common agreement which cannot be misinterpreted as to the main incidents which fix his character as most illustriously exempt from the vices and common infirmities which are the main colouring of history, and as nobly endowed with knowledge and public spirit beyond his countrymen in that unenlightened age. In awarding with the most cordial sincerity the still higher praise of sanctity, we must not be so far misunderstood as to be supposed to acquiesce in the errors of his darkened age; these he held honestly in common with the best and wisest of his time, when the chair of philosophy was hung with the cobwebs of the schoolmen, and a despotic superstition whose foundations rested in the depths of earth, while its towers and battlements concealed amid the clouds of heaven, overshadowed the mind of the world. But if St Lawrence worshipped at the shrine of Canterbury, he was what can with the same certainty be said of few, in an hour of triple darkness, according to his lights—the faithful servant of God; he was a pious Christian, a worthy and upright citizen, a patriot *sans peur, et sans reproche*: acting through the whole of his long life in the higher and earlier sense of this motto, debased in its applications by the degeneracy of modern times.

Of O'Toole's personal appearance, Mr Dalton's research enables us

to give some account, which may best be offered in his own language. "St Lawrence is represented as having been tall, and graceful in stature, of a comely presence, and in his outward habit grave though rich."*

Among the characteristic recollections which often help to give their beautiful and softened tone to the colouring of the sterner lines of the characters of great men, the heroes of virtue, none diffuse a glow so chastely pure as those which indicate the freshness and wholeness with which the uncontaminated heart retains to the last the fond and almost sacred impressions of earliest years—indications which while they affect us with the soft force of tender feeling, contrasted with stern and lofty strength, also never fail to convey a profound and sensible impression of the deep corruption that mingles in the current of social existence. To find peace unembittered, purity unsullied, spirit unchilled, it is necessary to go back to the scenes where remain for ever fixed, the bright, pure, fresh associations of those early years before life began to unfold those fatal poison seeds in man's nature, which undeveloped—

"Men were children still,
In all but life's delusive wisdom, wise."

In the leisure intervals of his busy life the archbishop was wont to retire to Glendalough, where among the scenes of his youth, he might recal many peaceful and blessed recollections of hours of heaven-seeking meditation, and hear the old monastery's familiar bell (if bell it had) echoing from St Kevin's hollow cliff, with the same feeling which the German poet puts into the lips of a far different character.

"Oh once in boyhood's time, the love of heaven
Came down upon me with mysterious kiss,
Hallowing the stillness of the Sabbath-day!
Then did the voices of these bells melodious
Mingle with hopes and feelings mystical;
And prayer was then indeed a burning joy!
Feelings resistless, incommunicable,
Drove me a wand'rer through fields and woods;
Then tears rush'd hot and fast—then was the birth
Of a new life and a new world for me."†

FINAN (Mac-Tiarcaín) O'Gorman.

DIED A. D. 1160.

FINAN O'GORMAN, abbot of Newry succeeded in 1148 to the see of Kildare, and assisted at the synod held at Kells in 1152, when Cardinal Paparo made distribution of the palls. He died in the year 1160, and was buried at Killeigh.

* Dalton's Hist. of Archbishops of Dublin.

† Faust, p. 52.

Malachy O'Birn.

DIED A. D. 1176.

MALACHY O'BIRN, O'Brin, or O'Brien, as he is called in the *Annals of Leinster*, succeeded O'Gorman. Nothing very creditable to him is recorded, unless it be his own consciousness of demerit, by which he obtained a character for modesty. He was engaged with the bishop of Wexford in an infamous stratagem to deceive Fitz-Stephen, who was bravely defending his castle in Carrick; and little suspected that two *nominally* Christian bishops were basely perjuring themselves, when they swore by the mass-book, the eucharist, and various saintly relics, "that Dublin was taken, and all the English destroyed; and that the forces of Connaught and Leinster were marching down to besiege him."* This fabrication was unfortunately too successful; and the brave and unsuspecting warrior surrendered himself and his party into their hands, upon terms, which they with added baseness failed to fulfil. Malachy is mentioned in the life of Lawrence O'Toole, archbishop of Dublin, published by Surius; and is stated in the *Annals of Leinster* to have died in the year 1175, while other authorities say his death took place on the 1st of January, 1176.

Cornelius MacGelany.

DIED A. D. 1222.

CORNELIUS MACGELANY was consecrated bishop of this see, 1206, having first been rector of Cloncurry and archdeacon of Kildare. The *Annals of Inisfail* mention that his death took place in the year 1223, but the more general opinion seems to have been that it was in 1222.

Ralph of Bristol.

DIED A. D. 1232.

RALPH OF BRISTOL was the first treasurer of St Patrick's church, and was consecrated to the see of Kildare in 1223. About three years before, St Patrick's had been converted into a cathedral by Henry Loundres, archbishop of Dublin, and Ralph is represented as having gone to great expense in repairing and ornamenting it. William of Malmesbury states, that he was one of those who granted fourteen days of indulgences to the abbey of Glastonbury, fifteen to the church of Torre, and thirteen to the church of the Holy Trinity of Godenie, both belonging to this abbey. Ralph wrote a life of Lawrence O'Toole, archbishop of Dublin, (which was published by Surius,) and died in 1232.

* Giraldus.

John Taunton.

DIED A. D. 1238.

JOHN TAUNTON, canon of St Patrick's, Dublin, was elevated to the see of Kildare in 1233, and continued to govern it for twenty-five years. He died in 1238.

Matthew O'Heney.

RESIGNED A. D. 1206.

MATTHEW O'HENEY, archbishop of Cashel, was witness to the charter of Donald O'Brian, king of Limerick, by which he granted large portions of land to Brietius, bishop of Limerick, and all his successors. He is spoken of in the *Annals of St Mary's Abbey*, as being "a man of all the Irish the wisest and most religious," as having founded many churches, and "voluntarily abandoned all worldly pomp." He is buried in the monastery of the Holy Cross in Tipperary.

Felix O'Dullany.

DIED A. D. 1202.

FELIX O'DULLANY, abbot of Ossory, was appointed to the see of Ossory in 1178, and about the latter end of Henry II.'s reign, transplanted the episcopal seat from Aghavoe to Kilkenny, and laid the foundation of the cathedral of St Canice, or Kenny, which was afterwards finished at great expense by Geoffry St Leger. He died in 1202, and was buried in St Mary's monastery of Zerpoint, in a tomb on the north side of the altar.

Geoffry St Leger.

DIED A. D. 1286.

GEOFFRY ST LEGER, descended from a noble family, was consecrated bishop of Ossory in 1260. He finished at great expense the cathedral of St Canice, and also founded the college of Vicar's Choral of Kilkenny, and ordered that they should celebrate his anniversary and the anniversaries of several of his predecessors. He recovered the manor of Seir Keran by the right of combat then in use, his champion overcoming that of his adversary. After governing this see for about twenty-six years, he died in 1286, and was buried in his church near St Mary's chapel, in a tomb ornamented with his own statue.

William de Birmingham.

DIED A. D. 1311.

WILLIAM DE BIRMINGHAM, son of Miler de Birmingham, baron of Athenry, was appointed by Edward I. to the archbishopric of Tuam, which he held for twenty-two years. Shortly after his consecration, he joined to it the church of Enaghduin, and ordered Philip le Blound, archdeacon of Tuam to take the mitre, pastoral staff, &c. of the bishopric of Enaghduin, which had been deposited in the friary at Clare, till a new bishop should be elected. There were many contests respecting the union of these two sees, both before and after the time of this prelate. In 1306, a Franciscan of the name of Gilbert, managed to get himself consecrated bishop of Enaghduin, and notwithstanding Birmingham making a personal appeal to the pope, he could obtain no redress, and Gilbert was established in the temporalities of the see. The archbishop died in 1311, and was buried at Athenry near his father Miler.

John Comyn.

SUCCEEDED A. D. 1181.—DIED A. D. 1212.

JOHN COMYN, a native of England, who was a particular favourite of Henry II. and his chaplain, was recommended by him for the archbishopric of Dublin, and was accordingly elected to it on the 6th of September, 1181. He was afterwards ordained priest at Velletri, and on Palm-sunday, March 21st, was consecrated at the same place archbishop, by pope Lucius III. He there obtained a bull from the pope, dated April 13th, 1182, in which there is the following passage:—"In pursuance also of the authority of the holy canons, we order and decree that no archbishop or bishop, shall, without the assent of the archbishop of Dublin, (if in a bishopric within his province,) presume to celebrate any synod, or to handle any causes or ecclesiastical matters of the same diocese, unless enjoined thereto by the Roman pontiff or his legate." The copy of this bull may be seen in an ancient registry of the archbishop of Dublin, called *Crede Mihi*. A very sharp controversy arose afterwards between the archbishops of Armagh and Dublin, on the subject of this privilege, which did not terminate for centuries. *Cambrensis*, who knew the archbishop, states, that he was at the time of his consecration, created cardinal priest at Velletri; but *Ware* disputes this, as it is not alluded to, either in the bull of pope Lucius, in Comyn's characters, or in Onuphrius, or Ciacorims, who have published a catalogue of the cardinals. Comyn came to his see, September, 1184, to prepare for the reception of earl John, whom Henry II. was sending over as governor of Ireland. John gave him in 1185, the reversion of the bishopric of Glendalough, when it should become vacant, and also granted him a remarkable charter, which entitled him and his successors to hold courts, and administer justice throughout Ireland; but it does not appear that any of his successors

exercised either civil or ecclesiastical jurisdiction beyond the dioceses of their own archbishopric. Comyn assisted at the coronation of Richard I., on the 3d of September, 1189, and was a witness to that monarch's letters patent, for surrendering to William, king of Scotland, the castles of Rockbork and Berwick, which he acknowledged to have been his hereditary right. He was also present at the council which appointed the regency during the king's absence in the Holy Land. Roger Hoveden gives an account of the various injuries inflicted on this prelate, by Hamo de Valonis, lord-justice of Ireland, which made the archbishop determine to leave the kingdom rather than be subjected to a continuance of them. He first, however, excommunicated all those who had done him wrong, and laid an interdict upon his archbishopric. He then went to earl John to obtain redress of his grievances, and to demand restitution of what had been forcibly taken from him. Not receiving the prompt and efficient aid that he expected, he fled to France, and appealed to pope Innocent III., who wrote a remonstrance to John upon the occasion, and also complained of the archbishop having been unreasonably detained in Normandy. This appeal, although it effected Comyn's present purposes, and that Hamo was in consequence recalled from the government, caused a long and bitter enmity against the archbishop on the part of John, which does not seem to have been removed until 1206, when the king again received him into favour, and commanded the lord-justice in Ireland both to protect him from all injuries, and also to make every possible restitution to him for the losses he had sustained. Hamo also, who had greatly enriched himself before leaving Ireland, seems to have at length become conscious of his own injustice, and to expiate his crime, gave to the archbishop and his successors (in free alms,) twenty plough-lands in the territory of Uenuil. The account of this is given by John Alan, a subsequent archbishop, in his registry, which is called the *Black Book of the Archbishop of Dublin*, a copy of which is in Marsh's library. Comyn is described as a man of learning, gravity, and eloquence, and a very munificent benefactor to the church. He built and endowed as a collegiate church, St Patrick's cathedral in Dublin, about the year 1190, and in part repaired and enlarged the choir of Christ's church. He also founded and endowed a convent of nuns in Dublin, which took its name *a Gratia Dei*, and was commonly called *Grace Dieu*. Dempster asserts Comyn to have been a Scotchman, born at Bamff, and descended from the earls of Buchan, but there does not seem to be any good authority for this statement. The constitutions and canons made by this prelate, and confirmed under the leaden seal of pope Urban III., are yet extant among the archives preserved in Christ's church, Dublin. His mortal remains are also deposited there, where there is a marble monument erected to his memory on the south side of the choir. His death took place in Dublin, on the 25th of October, 1212.

As the regulations and canons made by this prelate are curious in themselves, and many of them still binding, we subjoin them. The synod at which they were agreed to was held in the year 1186 in Dublin, in the church of the Holy Trinity:—

“The 1st. Prohibits priests from celebrating mass on a wooden table

according to the usage of Ireland; and enjoins that, in all monasteries and baptismal churches, altars should be made of stone; and if a stone of sufficient size to cover the whole surface of the altar cannot be had, that in such a case a square entire and polished stone be fixed in the middle of the altar, where Christ's body is consecrated, and of a compass broad enough to contain five crosses, and also to bear the foot of the largest chalice. But in chapels, chauntries, or oratories, if they are necessarily obliged to use wooden altars, let the mass be celebrated upon plates of stone of the before-mentioned size, firmly fixed in the wood.

"2d. Provides that the coverings of the holy mysteries may spread over the whole upper part of the altar; and that a cloth may cover the front of the same, and reach to the ground. These coverings to be always whole and clean.

"3d. That in monasteries and rich churches chalices be provided of gold and silver; but in poorer churches, where such cannot be afforded, that then pewter chalices may serve the purpose, which must be always kept whole and clean.

"4th. That the host, which represents the Lamb without spot, the alpha and omega, be made so white and pure, that the partakers thereof may thereby understand the purifying and feeding of their souls rather than their bodies.

"5th. That the wine in the sacrament be so tempered with water, that it be not deprived either of the natural taste and colour.

"6th. That all the vestments and coverings belonging to the church, be clean, fine, and white.

"7th. That a lavatory of stone or wood be set up, and so contrived with a hollow, that whatever is poured into it may pass through, and lodge in the earth; through which also the last washing of the priests' hands after the holy communion may pass.

"8th. Provides that an immoveable font be fixed in the middle of every baptismal church, or in such other part of it as the paschal procession may conveniently pass round. That it be made of stone, or of wood lined with lead for cleanness, wide and large above, bored through to the bottom, and so contrived that after the ceremony of baptism be ended, a secret pipe be so contrived therein as to convey the holy water down to mother earth.

"9th. That the coverings of the altar, and other vestments dedicated to God, when injured by age, be burnt within the inclosure of the church, and the ashes of them transmitted through the aforesaid pipe of the font to be buried in the bowels of the earth.

"10th. Prohibits any vessel used in baptism to be applied ever after to any of the common uses of man.

"11th. Prohibits, under the pain of an anathema, any person to bury in a churchyard, unless he can show by an authentic writing, or undeniable evidence, that it was consecrated by a bishop, not only as a sanctuary or place of refuge, but also for a place of sepulture; and that no laymen shall presume to bury their dead in such a consecrated place without the presence of a priest.

"12th. Prohibits the celebration of divine service in chapels built by laymen to the detriment of the mother churches.

"13th. Since the clergy of Ireland, among other virtues, have been

always remarkably eminent for their chastity, and that it would be ignominious, if they should be corrupted through his (the archbishop's) negligence, by the foul contagion of strangers, and the example of a few incontinent men, he therefore forbids, under the penalty of losing both office and benefice, that priest, deacon, or subdeacon, should keep any woman in their houses, either under the pretence of necessary service, or any other colour whatsoever; unless a mother, own sister, or such a person whose age should remove any suspicion of unlawful commerce.

"14th. Contains an interdiction against simony, under the before-mentioned penalty of losing both office and benefice.

"15th. Appoints that if any clerk should receive an ecclesiastical benefice from a lay-hand, unless, after a third monition, he renounce that possession which he obtained by intrusion, that he should be anathematized, and for ever deprived of the said benefice.

"16th. Prohibits a bishop from ordaining the inhabitant of any other diocese, without commendary letters of his proper bishop, or of the archdeacon; nor that any one be promoted to holy orders without a certain title to a benefice assigned to him.

"17th. Prohibits the conferring on one person two holy orders in one day.

"18th. Provides that all fornicators shall be compelled to celebrate a lawful marriage, and also that no person born in fornication should be promoted to holy orders, nor should be esteemed heir to either father or mother, unless they be afterwards joined in lawful matrimony.

"19th. Provides that tithes be paid to the mother churches out of provisions, hay, the young animals, flax, wool, gardens, orchards, and out of all things that grow and renew yearly, under the pain of an anathema, after the third monition; and that those who continue obstinate in refusing to pay, shall be obliged to pay more punctually in future.

"20th. Provides that all archers, and all others who carry arms, not for the defence of the people, but for plunder and sordid lucre, shall on every Lord's day be excommunicated by bell, book, and candle, and at last be refused christian burial."*

Henry de Loundres.

CONSECRATED A. D. 1213—DIED A. D. 1228.

HENRY DE LOUNDRES, or the Londoner, archdeacon of Strafford, was elected to the archiepiscopal see of Dublin, immediately on the death of Comyn. He was consecrated early in the following year, and was present in the year 1213 when king John executed his degrading charter, surrendering the crowns of England and Ireland to Pandulph the pope's legate. Henry resolutely protested against it, and refused to subscribe to it as a witness, or as in any degree sanc-

* Harris's Ware.

tioning the proceeding. It concludes, *Teste rege, coram Henrico archiepiscopo Dublinensi et aliis*, and not *his testibus*. He seems to have stood high in the favour of John, and to have proved himself a very faithful servant to him. In the July of this year he was appointed lord-justice of Ireland, and continued to fill this office until the year 1215, when he was summoned to Rome to assist at a general council. He appointed Jeffry de Mariseis to conduct the affairs of the kingdom in his absence, under the title of Custos of Ireland;* and, making England his way to Rome, he was present, and of the council, together with the archbishop of Canterbury, and other bishops, and barons of England, when the king executed the *Magna Charta*, and charter of the forests at *Runnemede*; and his name is mentioned in the said charters, as one of the persons by whose advice the king granted these liberties to his subjects. Some historians assert that Henry built the castle of Dublin at his own cost, but this, at all events, is certain, that it was erected by his exertions. He expended large sums for John, not only when he was lord-justice of Ireland, but when he went to Rome—as much to solicit aid† for John against the barons as to attend at the general council. While he was lord-justice of Ireland he had to supply the kings of Ireland, and others of the king's liege subjects, with scarlet cloth for their robes at his own expense; and John's short and troubled reign prevented his ever being reimbursed by him. He was personally engaged in many of the most important occurrences of this reign, and was selected to conduct Stephen Langton, archbishop of Canterbury, and the rest of the exiled bishops, into the king's presence. Henry III. did not forget the archbishop's services to his father; and accordingly we find that in the twelfth year of his reign he issued a writ to the lord-justice, reciting his obligations to this prelate, and stating that he had granted him the custodium to all vacant archbishopries and bishopries in Ireland, the profits to be received by John St John, bishop of Ferns and treasurer of Ireland, and G. de Theurville, archdeacon of Dublin, until the debts due by the crown to the archbishop should be paid. The king also in the same year issued another writ to Richard de Burgo, lord-justice, letting him know that he had assigned one hundred pounds out of the farm rent of the city of Limerick, and fifty marks a-year out of the farm rent of the city of Dublin, toward the payment of debts due by the late king to the archbishop. In the year 1219, the archbishop again took the reins of government into his hands, and for five years faithfully discharged the trust committed to him, but was afterwards accused of trenching on the rights of the crown for the benefit of the church; by which he both offended the king, and irritated the people committed to his charge. So far back as the year 1217, he had been appointed legate by pope Honorius III.; and in 1225 the pope sent a bull to this prelate, authorizing him to excommunicate all such as detained the king's castles in Ireland from him. The see of Glendalough was first united to the see of Dublin under this archbishop, at the distance of about six centuries from the death of St Kevin, its first bishop. He augmented the revenues of *Grace*

* Mathew Paris.

† Cox.

Dieu, erected the collegiate church of St Patrick, built by his predecessors, into a cathedral, and neglected no opportunity of advancing the interests of the church. There is a story told, not very creditable to him, by which he obtained the nick-name of *Scorch-villein*. He summoned his tenants, according to the statement in the *Black Book of the Archbishop of Dublin*, to give an account by what title they held lands, and immediately, on getting the deeds into his hands, he flung them all into the fire. He held the archbishopric for fifteen years, and died about the beginning of July, 1228, and is said to be buried at the north wall of Christ's Church, opposite to Comyn, where there had been a wooden monument; but there is at present nothing to mark the spot.

LUKE.

SUCCEEDED, A. D. 1228.—DIED, A. D. 1255.

LUKE, dean of St Martin's, London, and treasurer of the king's wardrobe, was elected to this see, and obtained the royal assent on the 13th of December, 1228. But the pope set this election aside, saying that it was not canonical. For two years his appointment remained doubtful; but he was again re-elected, and the election was confirmed by pope Gregory IX. in the year 1230, the bull of which confirmation is still extant. He owed his election to the persevering kindness of Hubert de Burgh, earl of Kent, to whom he was chaplain; and it is pleasant to observe, in his future life, the steady fidelity with which he adhered to the fallen fortunes of his patron and friend. When, in the year 1232, Hubert de Burgh, earl of Kent, was so cruelly persecuted by the court, and deserted by all who should have upheld him, Luke formed the single exception, and boldly pressed his suit on the irritated monarch, until he obtained for Hubert far milder terms than could, in the first instance, have been hoped for. During the twenty-five years that he governed the see of Dublin, great contests arose between his two cathedrals respecting the elections of archbishops upon vacancies, which had ultimately to be referred to the pope, and even his decision did not satisfy the contending parties. There were also great disputes between Reiner, archbishop of Armagh, and this prelate, on the subject of the primacy, and of the bull, before alluded to, granted to Comyn by pope Lucius III. About the year 1250, the *Irish* archbishops, bishops, and clergy, enacted a decree, that no *Englishman* should be received as a canon into any of their churches; but on king Henry making a complaint upon the subject to pope Innocent IV., he issued a bull ordering them to rescind this decree within the space of a month. Mathew Paris states that this prelate died on the 13th of December, 1255, having been deprived of his eye-sight some years before his death; but the *Annals of St Mary's Abbey* state it to have taken place in 1253. He is buried in Christ's Church, in the same tomb with Comyn.

Fulk de Saundford.

CONSECRATED, A. D. 1256.—DIED, A. D. 1271.

FULK DE SAUNDFORD, a native of England, an archdeacon of Middlesex, and a treasurer of St Paul's, London, was appointed archbishop of Dublin, July 20, 1256. In the interval between the death of archbishop Luke and this appointment, Ralph of Norwich, a canon of St Patrick's, had been elected by both chapters to the vacant see, but this nomination was set aside by the pope; and, according to the statements of Mathew Paris, it would appear, on just grounds. He describes him as being "witty and pleasant, and one who loved good cheer," and from being chancellor of Ireland, he was necessarily engrossed in secular occupations. Ware states, on an ancient authority, that he lost his election by the treachery of his own people, "by whom he was betrayed" in the court of Rome. Fulk obtained a license from the pope to retain his treasurership and other benefices, and by subsequent bulls gained many additional privileges and preferments, amongst which was the deanery of St Michael of Penkeriz, in the diocese of Coventry, which had before been granted to Henry de Loundres, and which was now annexed to the see of Dublin for ever. In 1261 he visited Rome, when he complained of the illegal interferences of the king's justiciaries in ecclesiastical matters, and their wresting from the clergy their established rights; sheltering offenders, and restraining the due collection of sums appropriated to religious purposes. On this representation, pope Urban issued a bull condemnatory of such practices, and threatening excommunication if persevered in. During the absence of De Saundford, the bishops of Lismore and Waterford superintended and transacted the business of the see. After his return from Rome he visited England, where he remained for a long period; but was sent by king Henry to Ireland in 1265, along with the bishop of Meath, Lords William de Burgo, and Fitz-Maurice Fitz-Gerald, in the capacity of commissioners, to quiet the contentions of that kingdom.

The archbishop found on his return that the mayor and citizens of Dublin had been interfering with the revenues of the church, and had resorted to very arbitrary means to limit his power and diminish his finances. Finding all threats and admonitions ineffectual, he excommunicated the offenders, and put the city under an interdict; sending at the same time to desire the bishops of Lismore and Waterford to denounce them as excommunicated persons through the province of Dublin. In the year following, the contending parties were reconciled through the interposition of Sir Robert de Ufford, lord-justice, and the privy council, when the citizens made all just concessions. It would appear, however, that their rebellious and contumelious spirit had been merely curbed, not quelled; for in 1270 prince Edward, to whom his father had given the sovereignty of Ireland, received information of an attempt made on the life of De Saundford and his companions, which, though then unsuccessful, would probably be repeated in a more determined manner, and with fatal results. He accordingly

ordered that every protection should be extended to him, that he should be granted whatever aids or powers he might require for the establishment of his ecclesiastical authority, and commanded the government steadily to repress all infringement on the rights or liberties of the church.

Archbishop Fulk did not long survive. He was attacked with his last illness at Finglass, and died in his own manor, May 6th, 1271, having governed the see about fifteen years. His body was taken to St Patrick's church, and buried in Mary's chapel, which Ware thinks had been founded by himself. The archbishopric remained unfilled for seven years, owing to the opposing elections of individuals, combined with other less prominent causes. In the month following the archbishop's death the king granted a license for the election of William de la Comer, chaplain to the pope, who was subsequently promoted to the see of Salisbury, but on the same day the dean and chapter of St Patrick's appointed Fromun le Brun, who was then chancellor of Ireland. This led to long and virulent controversies, which remained unsettled until 1279, when the pope rejected the claims of both, and appointed John de Derlington to the vacant see. On the death of Fulk, Henry III. granted the chief profits of this see to prince Edward, to aid in the expense of his expedition to the Holy Land, and issued a writ to John de Saundford, his escheator of Ireland, to prevent any interference from him in this appropriation. He also ordered, if any of the funds had been collected, that they should be at once paid back to the attorneys of the prince. In the year 1272, when Edward the first ascended the throne, he entrusted the management of the temporalities of this see to Thomas Chedworth, and directed the chief-justice of Ireland to present to the vacant benefices, as in the right of the crown. In some of the records of this period, Robert de Provend, is mentioned as bishop of Dublin, but he evidently could only have been entitled to this denomination, by having been an assistant, or deputy, to Fulk during his various absences, as he did not either receive the revenues, or exercise the privileges or functions of an archbishop. In 1275, the prior of the chapter to the convent of the Holy Trinity, asserted that he had the right, during the vacancy of the see, to appoint to the archdeaconry of Dublin, which the king and his justices steadily resisted; and this dispute remained unsettled until the elevation of John de Derlington took from both parties any further claim to the appointment.

John de Derlington.

CONSECRATED A. D. 1279.—DIED A. D. 1284.

JOHN DE DERLINGTON, a Dominican friar, and confessor to Henry III., was appointed to the archbishopric of Dublin, in 1279, and was consecrated in the abbey of Waltham, by John, archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by the bishops of Winchester, Bath, and Norwich. Mathew Paris says, "he was a man of great authority for his learning and prudence;" and he was employed by three successive

popes, John I., Nicholas III., and Martin IV., as treasurer and collector of the Peter-pence in England as well as in Ireland, which made him be unfavourably noticed by Bale and others. He died suddenly while in London, which Bale attributes to a divine judgment, and was buried in a monastery of Predicants or Dominicans. He published the following works:—*Concordantiæ Magna Anglicanæ*; *Sermones ad Utrumque Statum*; and *Disceptationes Scholasticæ*.

John de Saundford.

CONSECRATED A. D. 1286.—DIED A. D. 1297.

JOHN DE SAUNDFORD, brother to Fulk, the former archbishop of Dublin, was elected to the vacant see immediately on the death of Derlington, but found some difficulty in obtaining the pope's sanction to his appointment. He was, however, at length consecrated in Dublin, 1286. Ware states him to have been "a learned and eminently prudent man," and to have been in great favour with Edward I., who not only appointed him lord-justice in Ireland, with a salary of £500 per annum, but sent him along with the bishop of Durham on an embassy to Adolphus of Nassau, newly elected emperor, for the purpose of inducing him and several other German princes to join Edward in a league for the recovery of Guienne, which Philip the Fair had by a very unworthy stratagem obtained possession of some time before. It is stated that Edward promised to furnish one hundred thousand pounds to the emperor, with other large sums to the princes; but however this may be, the archbishop acquitted himself to the satisfaction of all parties in his portion of the negotiation, but did not live to see its termination. He died very suddenly on his return to England; and his body was, according to the request of the canons of St Patrick, taken to Ireland, and buried in his brother's tomb in that church. It is difficult to fix the exact year of his death, as there are discrepencies in the statements made upon the subject; but as the embassy to the emperor took place in 1297, and as Ware states on the authority of Westminster, that he was "seized with a grievous malady," which carried him off immediately on his return, the inference is that it must have been in that year.

Simon of Kilkenny.

SUCCEEDED A. D. 1258.—DIED A. D. 1272.

SIMON, canon of Kildare, was born in Kilkenny, and was elected to the bishopric of Kildare, October, 1258. He died at Kildare (according to a chronicle of the Dominicans), in April, 1272. The see was vacant for some years after the death of this prelate.

Nicholas Cusack.

SUCCEEDED A. D. 1279.—DIED A. D. 1299.

A CONTEST took place between the members of the chapter, after the death of Simon, half of them being firmly devoted to William, treasurer of the church, and the other half electing Stephen, dean of Kildare, to the vacant see. They referred their dispute to pope Nicholas II., (or III.) who settled it by nullifying both elections, and appointing Nicholas Cusack, a Franciscan friar, to the bishopric, on the 29th of November, 1279. He was not, however, restored to the temporalities for about two years. He was joined in the commission with Thomas St Leger, bishop of Meath, in 1292, to collect a tenth granted by the pope to the king for the relief of the Holy Land; and the sheriffs were ordered to aid them in making this collection. Ware's *English Annals* mention, that when (in 1294) the castle of Kildare was taken, the rolls and tallies burnt, and the whole county devastated by the English and Irish troops, that the bishop's property was supposed to have been involved in the general wreck. He continued to hold the bishopric of Kildare for twenty years after the pope's nomination, and died 1299. He was buried in his own church.

Walter le Veele.

SUCCEEDED A. D. 1299.—DIED A. D. 1332.

WALTER LE VEELE, chancellor of Kildare, was nominated to the bishopric, and Edward I. confirmed the election. He was consecrated in St Patrick's church, in the year 1300, and held the bishopric for upwards of thirty-two years. In the year 1310, a parliament was held at Kildare. He died November 1332, and was buried in his own church.

Richard Hulot.

SUCCEEDED A. D. 1334.—DIED A. D. 1352.

THE see of Kildare was for some time vacant, when at length Richard Hulot, or Houlet, was elected bishop, and obtained restitution of the temporalities. He died on the 24th of June 1352.

William de Hothum.

DIED A. D. 1298.

WILLIAM DE HOTHUM, (called by some authorities Odo,) was appointed to the archbishopric of Dublin in 1297. He had been pre-

viously ambassador to the pope, from Edward the first, and was held in such high estimation for his diplomatic talents, that he was selected immediately after his consecration as the organ of communication between Edward and Philip IV. of France; and conducted his embassy with such skill and discretion, that, aided by the intervention and influence of the king of Sicily and the earl of Savoy, he succeeded in establishing a truce between France and England, which lasted for two years, and was of great importance to Edward in the prosecution of his Scotch wars. He was the person selected to convey the articles of the treaty to Boniface, who acted as umpire between the two monarchs; and on his return homewards through Burgundy, he was attacked with severe illness at Dijon, where he died on the 27th of August, 1298. His body was removed to England, where it was buried in a Dominican monastery. His learning, sound judgment, and integrity are testified by many writers, though Bale, with his usual animosity, accuses him of having won the favour of Boniface by large sums of gold. He at the same time admits that he was highly esteemed as a person "of a great spirit, acute parts, and one who had a singular dexterity in conciliating to himself the favour of men." He was the author of several works on Divinity.

Richard de Ferings

DIED A. D. 1306.

ON the death of William de Hothum, there was a contest between Christ's church and that of St Patrick's, as to the nomination of an archbishop of Dublin—the former selecting Adam de Balsham their prior, and the latter Thomas de Chatsworth, dean of St Patrick's, and also chief-justice of the King's Bench, to the vacant see; to which he had been on a former occasion elected by the king and clergy, but was set aside by the authority of the pope. Neither of these elections, however, at this time pleased the king; and an interval occurring, the pope asserted his title to nominate, and appointed Richard de Ferings, who had been for a long period archdeacon of Canterbury, and who was consecrated in 1299. This prelate made a large conveyance of church lands to Theobald Fitz-Walter, butler of Ireland, with the sanction of the chapters of the Holy Trinity and St Patrick's. He also, says Ware, "took a great deal of pains to reconcile the differences between the two cathedrals, the heads of which composition are in the register of Alan (archbishop of Dublin), whereof these are the chief:—" That the archbishops of Dublin should be consecrated and enthroned in Christ's church; that each church should be called cathedral and metropolitan; that Christ's church as being the greater, the mother and elder church, should take place in all church rights and concerns; that the cross, mitre, and ring of the archbishop, wherever he should die, be deposited in Christ's church; and that the body of every archbishop that died for the future be buried in either church, by turns, unless he disposed of it otherwise by his will." These articles were written and agreed to in 1300; and after having thus established peace

in his diocese, he went to England, and subsequently to the continent, where he remained for many years. He at length determined on returning to Ireland, but was attacked with a sudden illness in the course of his journey, of which he died the 18th of October, 1306.

Alexander de Bicknor.

SUCCEEDED A. D. 1317.—DIED A. D. 1349.

NOTWITHSTANDING the articles of agreement formally entered into between the two cathedral churches of Dublin, and confirmed by the seal of each chapter, with a penalty annexed to their infringement, the usual contests commenced on the death of archbishop Lech, respecting the appointment of a successor: one party declared for Walter Thornbury, chanter of St Patrick's and chancellor of Ireland; while the other nominated Alexander de Bicknor, or Bignor, the descendant of a distinguished English family, and treasurer of Ireland. Walter, thinking to secure his election at once, took shipping for France, where the pope then resided, but was overtaken by a violent storm, and he with the entire of the crew and passengers, amounting to 150 persons, perished. Alexander was accordingly elected without opposition, but his consecration was delayed in consequence of his personal services being required by the king. He was sent by Edward II. along with Raymond Subirani, and Andrew Sapiti, to transact some business of importance, relative to his foreign dominions with the cardinals attending on the pope, at Avignon; to twenty-four of whom the king wrote special letters.* He was three years afterwards consecrated in this place, July 22d, 1317, by Nicholas de Prato, cardinal of Ostium. Edward who appears to have held him in high estimation, appointed him lord-justice of Ireland, in 1318, and he arrived there on the 9th of October, in the joint character of archbishop, and governor of the kingdom, and was received both by the clergy and people with great demonstrations of joy. He had been previously directed by pope John XXII., to excommunicate Robert Bruce and his brother Edward, with all their followers, unless restitution was made for their destructive and sacrilegious ravages throughout the kingdom. He attended several parliaments in England, was present in the palace of Westminster when the bishop of Winchester surrendered the great seal, and was also a party with the king in the treaty made with the earl of Lancaster.

In 1320, he founded or rather renewed the university founded by his predecessor John Lech, and procured a confirmation of it from Pope John XXII. It had doctors of divinity, a doctor of the canon law, and a chancellor, besides inferior officers. There were public lectures established, and at a later period a divinity lecture by Edward III.; but from want of proper aid for the maintenance of the scholars it gradually declined, though Ware says, "there remained some footsteps of an academy in the time of Edward VII." Accord-

* Dalton's Archbishops.

ing to the same writer, Bicknor was sent ambassador to France by the English parliament in 1323, along with Edmund de Woodstock, earl of Kent, younger brother of Edward II.; but this embassy proved unsuccessful. He was also afterwards joined in a commission with the same earl, to reform the government of Aquitaine, but ultimately fell under the king's heavy displeasure for consenting to the surrender of the town and castle of La Royale, in that duchy, to the French. He was one of the accusers of Hugh de Spencer, which so irritated the king that he wrote a letter to the pope, entreating that he might be banished from his kingdom, and that another might be appointed to the see. The application of this weak and vindictive monarch was however disregarded at Rome; and we find him again taking his place among the prelates and barons of England in 1326, when prince Edward was appointed guardian of the kingdom. The king, however, found means to punish the archbishop by seizing on the revenues of his see, on the pretence of arrears being due to him from the time of Bicknor having been treasurer of Ireland; this money was appropriated to the expenses of his army. The archbishop took a strong and creditable part against Ledred, bishop of Ossory, who prosecuted several persons accused of heresy. These persons boldly seized Ledred, and kept him in confinement until they were enabled to escape beyond his jurisdiction, and seek the protection of Bicknor. He not only saved them from all further persecution, but when Ledred sought to appeal to Rome, he took means to prevent his journey thither; and when he ultimately succeeded in leaving Ireland, Edward's power arrested him in France, and he was there detained an exile for nine years. During this period, the archbishop exerted his power as metropolitan, and seized on the profits and jurisdiction of the diocese of Ossory. In 1331, Edward III. wrote to the pope to counteract the impressions likely to be made by the representations of Ledred against Bicknor; but his interference does not appear to have been very effectual, for the pope suspended his power over the diocese of Ossory immediately after his holding a visitation there, and the interdiction continued in force during the remainder of Bicknor's life. Edward granted him a royal license in 1336, for annexing additional lands to the see, to the amount of £200 yearly.

In the following year he had a contest with David O'Hiraghty, archbishop of Armagh, who was summoned to attend a parliament in Dublin, held by Sir John Charleton, lord-justice of Ireland; when as Ware states, O'Hiraghty "made procession in St Mary's near Dublin, but was hindered by the archbishop of Dublin and clergy, because he would have the cross carried before him, which they would not permit," and this contest was carried on with more or less violence during the remainder of Bicknor's life. In 1348, the king appears to have taken part with Bicknor, as he wrote to cardinal Audomar, urging his being exempted from any subjection to Armagh; while in the year following he seems to have favoured the pretensions of Richard Fitz-Ralph, who, by asserting that he had royal authority, triumphantly entered Dublin with the cross borne erect before him. Ware, however, thinks this assertion false, and that he had received no permission from Edward on the subject; and this opinion seems confirmed by the lord-justice

and others in authority sending him hastily back to Drogheda, where he was accompanied by those who supported his pretensions. Edward had always shown him particular favour, and in 1347, had extended to him a formal pardon for the charges that were against him, whether true or false, respecting the inaccuracy of his accounts when treasurer in the reign of his father. Bicknor's life was now drawing fast to a close. He died on the 14th of July, 1249, having governed the see of Dublin for nearly thirty-two years. He was remarkable for learning, wisdom, sound judgment, and exemplary morals; and in that age of civil strife, was entrusted with the management of secular as well as spiritual affairs of great importance, and managed them with a dexterity and discretion which proved that his sovereign's confidence in him was well founded. He built the Bishop's House at Tallagh, and considerably improved the lands belonging to the see. He is said to have been buried in St Patrick's cathedral, but no monument remains to mark the spot.

John de St Paul.

DIED A. D. 1362.

JOHN DE ST PAUL, a canon of Dublin, was promoted to the archbishopric of Dublin in 1349, and was quickly engaged in the controversy which had been carried on with so much bitterness between his predecessors and Richard Fitz-Ralph, archbishop of Armagh, respecting the primacy. The king in vain issued his commands that Fitz-Ralph should not raise his cross in the province of Dublin, and also again urged cardinal Audomar to use his influence with the pope to have the question set at rest, and the claims of each prelate adjusted. This was however not decided for many years after, when at length under pope Innocent VI., it was determined by the approbation of the college of cardinals, "that each of them should be primate; but for distinction of style the primate of Armagh should entitle himself primate of all Ireland; and the metropolitan of Dublin should inscribe himself primate of Ireland, like Canterbury and York in England, the first of which writes himself primate of all England, the other primate of England. This, John Allen (who many years after succeeded him) affirms he read in the pope's own private library, whilst he was agent at Rome for William Warham archbishop of Canterbury.*" Shortly after this prelate's elevation, he was directed by Clement VI. to seek out all those who had been accused of heresy by Ledred bishop of Ossory twenty years before, and who had been rescued and protected by the late archbishop, and to inflict on them whatever degree of punishment the canons of the church authorized. He was also made chancellor by Edward III., with a salary of £40 per annum. In 1358, he was appointed a privy councillor; the lord-deputy receiving an order at the same time from the king to follow his advice and suggestions in all cases of difficulty. In one of the great councils to

* Ware.

which he was summoned, he laboured with indefatigable zeal to reconcile the opposing parties in the state, and blended with firm and judicious regulations, and restraints, the greatest lenity to offenders. He took their causes of complaint into account, and endeavoured to procure a general amnesty both for the English and Irish who had fallen under the displeasure of the court. He also strongly urged the necessity of noblemen residing on their estates, when situated near the marches of the pale, by which means they might be both improved and fortified, in place of their being left as they were in so many instances exposed to the depredations of the neighbouring chiefs, and thus exciting fresh causes of enmity and revenge. He made many improvements in his diocese, and greatly enlarged and improved Christ's Church, having built the entire chancel at his own expense. He died on the 9th of September, 1362, having governed the see for about thirteen years, and was buried in Christ's Church according to his will, under the marble, laid with brass plates, at the second step before the high altar, on which were inscribed these words:—"Ego Johannes de S. Paulo, quondam archiepiscopus Dubliniæ, credo quod Redemptor meus vivit, et in novissimo die de terrâ surrecturus sum, et iterum circumdabor pelle mea videbo Deum salvatorem meum."

Robert de Wikeford.

DIED A. D. 1390.

SHORTLY after the death of Thomas de Minot, archbishop of Dublin, Robert de Wikeford was appointed to the vacant see. He was born at Wikeford Hall in Essex, was a man of learning and ability, archdeacon of Winchester, doctor both of the civil and canon law in the University of Oxford, and was held in high estimation by Edward III., who, on frequent occasions, both employed and rewarded his services. Previous to his elevation he was for some time constable of Bourdeaux, and assisted in the management of the affairs at Aquitaine, on the Black Prince surrendering that province to his father. He removed to Ireland immediately after his appointment to the archbishopric, and the following year was made chancellor of that kingdom. In 1377, on the death of Edward III., he received the writ to alter the great seal, and substitute the name of Richard for that of Edward, and he was allowed £20 from the treasury for his own expenses. He was active and judicious in his management of the see, and was permitted to make many valuable additions to it. In 1381, he was employed in promoting the collection of a clerical subsidy for Richard, and in 1385 he was again appointed chancellor. At a meeting of the prelates and nobles in Naas, he received orders not to leave Ireland, where his presence was of much importance, without a special license; but this he obtained early in 1390, when he removed to England, where he intended to remain for a year; but while there, was seized with his last illness, and died August 29th, 1390.

Robert Waldby.

DIED A. D. 1397.

ROBERT WALDBY, a man of great learning and natural endowments, accompanied Edward the Black Prince to France, and was appointed professor of divinity at Toulouse, "where," says Bale, "he arrived to such a pitch of excellence, as to be esteemed the first among the learned for eloquence and skill in the languages." He was promoted to the bishopric of Ayre in Gascony, through the influence of his patron Edward, and was some years after translated to the see of Dublin. Richard II. continued to him the same consideration and regard shown by his father, and about 1392, appointed him chancellor of Ireland. He at the same time appointed Richard Metford the bishop of Chichester, treasurer of Ireland; and on his promotion to Sarum, in 1395, Waldby successfully used his interest at court to be removed to Chichester, from which he was the following year translated to the archbishopric of York. He did not long enjoy this new dignity being attacked with a severe illness early in 1397, and dying on the 29th of May in that year. He is buried in the middle of St Edmond's chapel in Westminster Abbey under a marble tomb which bore the following inscription, though from some of the brass plates being torn off it is now defaced :—

Hic, fuit expertus in quovis jure Robertus ;
De Walby dictus: nunc est sub marmore strictus
Sacre Scripture Doctor fuit et Genitureæ
Ingenuus medicus, et Plebis semper amicus ;
Consultor Regis optabat prospera Legis,
Ecclesie Choris fuit unus, his quoque honoris
Presul advensis, post Archos Dubliniensis ;
Hinc Cicestrensis, tandem Primas Eboracensis,
Quarto Calendas Junii migravit, cursibus anni
Septem milleni ter C. nonies quoque deni.
Vos precor Orate ut sint sibi dona beate,
Cum sanctis vitæ requiescat et sic sine lite.

He was brother to the learned John Waldby.

Richard Northall.

DIED A. D. 1397.

RICHARD NORTHALL, or Northalls, seventeenth archbishop of Dublin, was first promoted to the see of Ossory by Richard II., in consequence of his great eloquence as a preacher, his learning, and general talents. This king also had a high opinion of his probity and discretion, and in 1390, committed to him the responsible task of inquiring into the abuses of the government in Ireland, empowering him to summon both peers and prelates to assist in this arduous investigation, and to give him the benefit of any local knowledge they might possess. In consequence of the great dissatisfaction felt at the heavy expenditure

of Sir John Stanley, lord-deputy to the earl of Oxford, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, he was directed to investigate the extent and nature of his disbursements, the number of his attendants, and also to ascertain the actual value of the revenues he received while in Ireland. This deputy having also received the humble submission in writing of Nigel O'Neale and his sons, whom he set at liberty, Northall was directed to ascertain whether the security they gave for renouncing the bonnogh of Ulster, could be depended on, and whether the hostages for their promised allegiance were of sufficient value to ensure its continuance. The manner in which the bishop managed this difficult commission seems to have given satisfaction to the court of England, for he was afterwards not only employed by Richard as ambassador to Boniface IX., and made chancellor of Ireland,* but he was in 1396 nominated archbishop of Dublin, on the promotion of Waldby to the see of York; but he did not long enjoy this advancement, for he died the 20th of July, 1397, in Dublin, where he was buried in his own cathedral.

Roger Cradock.

DIED A. D. 1382.

ROGER CRADOCK was consecrated bishop of Waterford in 1350. A few years after his appointment, two Irishmen of Clankellans were accused of heresy, and tried before the bishop at the castle of Bunratty, in the diocese of Killaloe, when on his own authority, and without the sanction of Ralph Kelly, archbishop of Cashell, he had them burnt. This justly drew upon him the heavy displeasure of his metropolitan, who, however, took the unjustifiable course of resisting this outrage upon his authority, by an outrage upon the person of the bishop, whose house he attacked at midnight with an armed troop, wounded him and some of his attendants, and by the advice of William Sendal, mayor of Waterford and Walter Reve the dean, he also took possession of the property he found in it.† In 1362, Cradock was translated to Landaff, which he governed for twenty years.

Alexander Petit.

DIED A. D. 1400.

ALEXANDER PETIT, or Balscot, was translated from the bishopric of Ossory to that of Meath in 1386. He had been treasurer of Ireland both to Edward III. and Richard II.: while treasurer to Edward, he was allowed a guard of six men-at-arms, and twelve archers at the king's charge. Richard also made him chancellor of Ireland and lord-justice twice: first, while he was bishop of Ossory, which see he governed for fifteen years; and afterwards in 1387, when he was

* Dalton's Archbishops.

† Wadding's Annals.

bishop of Meath. He died at Ardbracean, the general residence of the bishops, in 1400, and is buried in St Mary's Abbey at Trim.

William Sherwood.

DIED A. D. 1482.

WILLIAM SHERWOOD was consecrated bishop of Meath in 1460. He was for some time deputy to George duke of Clarence, and "held a parliament," says Cox, "at Dublin, after the feast of St Margaret, which makes it treason to bring bulls or apostiles from Rome, and orders the lords of parliament to wear robes on pain of one hundred shillings, and enjoins the barons of the exchequer to wear their habits in term-time; and enacts, that if any Englishman be damnified by an Irishman, not amenable to law, he may reprove himself upon the whole sept or nation; and that it shall be a felony to take a distress contrary to common law, which was a very necessary act in those times, and is the only act of this parliament which is printed." William Sherwood died in Dublin, the 3d of December, 1482, and was buried at Newtown near Trim, in the church of St Peter and St Paul, having held the bishopric for twenty-two years.

Thomas Cranelly.

DIED A. D. 1417.

ON the death of Northall, archbishop of Dublin, Thomas Cranelly was appointed as his successor, but he did not arrive in Dublin until late in the following year, when he accompanied the lord-lieutenant, Thomas Holland, duke of Surrey, at which time he was also appointed chancellor of the kingdom. In 1399, (the year of Richard's deposition,) he was empowered to treat with the Irish rebels; and in 1401, he was again appointed chancellor. Henry V. nominated him to the same office in 1413, and subsequently made him lord-justice of Ireland; while he held this situation he addressed a long and spirited epistle in verse to Henry, of which Leland the antiquary speaks in terms of high admiration. He was so impartial in the administration of justice, both in his official, legal, and spiritual character, that he not only obtained the testimony of Irish writers of his day, but he gave the utmost satisfaction to the king and council in England. Cox speaks of him as "a man of singular piety and learning," and Marlborough who enlarges more upon his character, calls him "a very bountiful man, and full of alms-deeds, a profound clerk and doctor of divinity, an extraordinary fine preacher, a great builder and improver of places under his care: he was fair, sumptuous, of a sanguine complexion, and a princely stature." At the time that MacGenis, one of the Irish chieftains obtained a victory over Jenico de Artois, his followers and the surrounding Irish became so daring and insolent, that the lord-justice was forced to go out against them in person, but did not pro-

ceed farther than Castle-Dermot; he then committed his army to a competent military commander, and remained with his clergy engaged in earnest prayers for its success.* The result was favourable; but as the English were shortly after defeated in Meath, it was thought expedient to commit the government of Ireland to a military commander; and accordingly on the 10th of September, Sir John Talbot, lord Furnival, arrived as lord-lieutenant. He immediately made a progress round the pale in a warlike manner, and though he brought no additional forces with him from England, he induced all the surrounding chiefs to sue for peace. In 1416, when lord Furnival went to England, he appointed the archbishop as his deputy, who pursued the same mild and judicious line of conduct—repressing disorders, redressing grievances, and administering justice with an impartiality at that time little practised. He visited England in 1417, and died the 25th of May at Faringdon, “full of days and honour.” His body was conveyed to Oxford, and buried there in New College of which he had been warden, and had also been for a time chancellor of that university.

Richard Talbot.

DIED A. D. 1449.

RICHARD TALBOT, brother to the celebrated Sir John Talbot, lord of Furnival, was consecrated archbishop of Dublin in the year 1417. He had the year before been elected to the primacy, but having neglected to hasten his confirmation in due time, John Swain was promoted in his place.† His brother, who for his distinguished and faithful services in France, was in the succeeding reign created earl of Shrewsbury, Waterford, and Wexford, was now the lord-lieutenant; and when he was summoned to England in 1419, he appointed the archbishop as his deputy. In 1423 he was made lord-justice, and afterwards chancellor of Ireland, and had various grants of land assigned him for the purpose both of supporting his dignity, and rewarding his services. There were various contests between him and Swain on the subject of primatial jurisdiction, and Talbot was summoned to England on the complaint of the latter to answer the charges made against him on this subject. These complaints, however, do not appear to have had any prejudicial effect on his interests; as in 1431 he was granted the custody of two-thirds of the manor of Trim, and other lands being in the crown, in consequence of the minority of Richard, duke of York;‡ he was also still continued as chancellor, and in 1436 was again appointed deputy of the kingdom, to Sir Thomas Stanley. On the primacy of Armagh becoming vacant, he was a second time elected to that see, but refused the appointment. In 1440 he was nominated lord-justice, and held a parliament in Dublin, at which it was enacted,

“1st. That no purveyor or harbenger should take any thing without payment; and if he did the proprietor might resist.

* Cox.

† Dalton.

‡ Ibid.

“2d. That comrick or protection of tories be treason.

“3d. That charging the king’s subjects with horse or foot without consent, is treason.

“4th. That the party who desires a protection, (*cum elausa volumus*) shall make oath in Chancery of the truth of his suggestion.’

But to make provision for war, it was enacted that every twenty pound worth of land should be charged with the furnishing and maintaining an archer on horseback.*

James, earl of Ormonde, being shortly after sent over as lord-lieutenant, Talbot resigned his office, and in the subsequent administration of lord Wells, was sent to England by the parliament, along with John White, abbot of St Mary’s, to the king, “to represent the miserable estate and condition of Ireland, whereby the public revenue was placed so low, that it was less than the necessary charge of keeping the kingdom by one thousand four hundred and fifty-six pounds per annum.”† In 1447, he was appointed deputy to his brother the earl of Shrewsbury, then lord-lieutenant, who, on his return to England, accused the earl of Ormonde of treason before the duke of Bedford, constable of England, in the Marshall’s Court, but the king abolished the accusation. The archbishop wrote a tract this year, entitled, *De Abusu regiminis Jacobi Comitis Ormondie, dum Hibernie esset locum tenens*. And it seems that Thomas Fitz-Thomas, prior of Kilmainham was on the side of the archbishop, for he also accused the earl of Ormonde of treason, and the combat was appointed between them at Smithfield in London, but the king interposed and prevented it.‡ There were also champions on the opposite side, among whom was Jordan, bishop of Cork, and Cloyne whose epistle to Henry VI. upon this subject is still extant.§

The contests for primatial sway between Talbot and the archbishops of Armagh were numerous, and were renewed by him and John Mey in 1446, and the three following years. In the last of these Talbot died, having held the archbishopric for nearly thirty-two years, during the entire of which time he was privy councillor to Henry V. and VI., and was buried under a marble tomb in St Patrick’s church, which was ornamented with his figure cut in brass. Ware states that it bore the following inscription:—

“Talbot Richardus latet hic sub marmore pressus
 Archi fuit Præsul hujus Sedis Reverendæ
 Parvos Cononicos, qui fundavitque Choristas.
 Anno Milleno, C quater, X quoque nono,
 Quindeno Augusti Mensis Mundo Valedixit:
 Omnipotens Dominus cui propitiatur in Ævum.”

Michael Tregury.

DIED A. D. 1471.

MICHAEL TREGURY, “a man so famous,” says Ware, “for his learning and prudence, that he was sent by Henry V., king of England, in

* Cox.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

§ Dalton.

1418, to take upon him the provostship of the college of Caen in Normandy," and was selected to succeed Talbot in the archbishopric of Dublin. He had been also chaplain to Henry VI., and was nominated one of the privy counsellors, with a salary of £20 per annum on his promotion. The temporalities of the see were also immediately restored to him, with the usual clause, by which he renounced any benefit from the pope's bull, that might be prejudicial to the crown of England. He rebuilt the manor of Tallagh, and there he usually resided. At the time of the great jubilee held by pope Nicholas V. in Rome, a number of pilgrims went from his diocese, to whom he gave recommendatory letters; and so great was the crowd there, that many of them were pressed to death.* Palmerius says, "there was so great a gathering of people from all parts of the Christian world at this jubilee, that at Adrian's hole almost 200 perished in the press, besides many who were drowned in the 'Tiber.'" When the news was brought in 1453 that Constantinople was taken by the Turks, and the emperor Constantine Palaologus slain, the archbishop was so afflicted that he proclaimed a fast to be observed throughout his diocese for three successive days, and went himself with his clergy to Christ's Church clothed in sackcloth and ashes.† In 1453, the archbishop was taken prisoner in the bay of Dublin by some pirates, who were however pursued and overtaken, and the archbishop released from his perilous condition. He lived to an advanced age, and died in 1471 at Tallagh. His body was conveyed to St Patrick's church, where, according to Ware, there was "a spacious monument erected most artfully adorned with his statue." The ruins of this were discovered in the time of Swift, who had the cover set up in the wall on the left hand after entering the west gate with the following inscription:—"Vetus hoc monumentum, e ruderibus capellæ divi stephani nuper instauratæ erutum, Decanus et Capitulum huc transferri curaverunt. A. D. 1730." His works are mentioned by Bale and Pitts.

Walter Fitz-Simons.

DIED A. D. 1511.

WALTER FITZ-SIMONS was consecrated archbishop of Dublin in 1484. Ware calls him "a learned divine and philosopher;" and he was bachelor both of the civil and canon law. His knowledge and learning, however, did not secure him from deception; and he became a strenuous supporter of the absurd pretensions of Lambert Simnel, at whose coronation he assisted in Christ's Church in 1487, when John Payn, bishop of Meath, preached a sermon in the presence of the lord-deputy, the chancellor, treasurer, and other great officers of state, and that they placed on the head of Simnel a crown taken from the statue of the Virgin Mary.‡ This strange delusion being, however, quickly dissipated by the capture and degradation of Simnel, the archbishop renewed his allegiance, and received his pardon the year fol-

* Dalton.

† Ibid.

‡ Cox.

lowing, from Sir Richard Edgecombe, the king's commissioner, who, in the great chamber in Thomas Court, received the oaths and recognizances of the earl of Kildare, then lord-deputy, and all the nobility who had been involved in the late rebellion.* In 1492, Fitz-Simons was made deputy to Jasper, duke of Bedford, and while he held this office Perkin Warbeck made his appearance in Ireland, but from the shortness of his stay there at that time, the lord-deputy was not compelled to take any part either for or against him. He held a parliament in Dublin in 1493, and having resigned his office to viscount Gormanstown, he went to England, both to give the king an account of his own administration, and also to make him aware of the general state of the kingdom. After remaining there about three months, during which time he appears to have made a most favourable impression on the mind of Henry, he returned to Ireland with ample instructions respecting the management of that country. It is stated by Stanihurst that the archbishop being with the king when a highly laudatory speech was made in his presence, he was asked by Henry his opinion of it, on which the archbishop answered, "If it pleaseth your highness it pleaseth me; I find no fault, save only that he flattered your majesty too much." "Now, in good faith," said the king, "our father of Dublin, we were minded to find the same fault ourselves." When, in 1496, the king having appointed his son Henry, duke of York, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, he put him under the guidance of the archbishop, in whose "allegiance, diligence, integrity, conscience, experience, and learning," he had the most implicit confidence; and he at the same time appointed him lord-chancellor. In a synod held by the archbishop, he ordained a yearly salary to be paid by him and his suffragans to a divinity reader.† In the same year the see of Glendalough, which had been united to Dublin from the reign of king John, but the government of which had been usurped by friar Denis White, was re-united to that of Dublin by the voluntary surrender of it by White, whose conscience became oppressed towards the end of his life by his illegal tenure of it. Fitz-Simons, having held the archbishopric for twenty-seven years, died at Finglass, on the 14th of May, 1511, and was buried in St Patrick's Church. He was a man of a very just mind, of high principle, deep learning, and had a graceful and insinuating address, which particularly qualified him for the high sphere in which he moved, and won for him the regard and confidence of persons of opposite parties and opinions.

William Rokeby.

DIED A. D. 1521.

WILLIAM ROKEBY, bishop of Meath, was translated to the see of Dublin in 1511. In the following year, Cox says, "Rokeby, archbishop of Dublin, held a provincial synod at Dublin where they did *non constat*, for the canons are lost;" but in 1518 he convened another,

* Cox.

† Ware.

the canons of which are still extant in the Red Book of the Church of Ossory. During this year he was made chancellor of Ireland by Henry VIII., who valued him highly, and expresses his "special thanks" to Surrey, on his appointment as lord-lieutenant in 1520, for sending "the archbishop of Dublin, our chancellor there, to Waterforde, for the pacifying of suche discourdes, debates, and variances, as be betwixt the Erle of Desmonde and Sir Piers Butler;" and adds, "right comfourttable news it shulde be unto us, to heare and understande of a goode concourde betwixte theym, so that they, being soo pacified, mought, with their puyasaunes, joyne and attende personally with, and upon you our lieutenaunte, for your better assistance in repressing the temerities of our rebellious Irishe enimyres."* Rokeby died on the 29th of November, 1521. In his will he gave special directions respecting his remains, ordering that his heart should be buried in the church of Halifax, and his body in his new chapel at Sandal. The former injunction was certainly complied with; but Ware states that his body was deposited in his own cathedral of St Patrick's.†

Hugh Juge.

DIED A. D. 1528.

HUGH JUGE succeeded Rokeby both in Meath and Dublin. He was a man of great probity, and much esteemed by the earl of Kildare, who entrusted him with matters of great importance. He held the see only six years, being attacked with that complaint called the English sweat, of which he died in 1528, and was buried in St Patrick's cathedral.

Maurice de Porto, Bishop of Tuam.

DIED A. D. 1513.

THIS prelate was appointed to the see of Tuam by pope Julius II. in 1506. His true name was O'Fihely. He was a native of Cork, and educated at Padua. He seems to have spent his time chiefly abroad; and assisted at the council of Lateran in 1512. It was on the following year that he was sent over to his diocese. He obtained on this occasion a license to grant certain indulgences to all who should attend his first mass at Tuam; but on landing in Galway he was taken ill, and died without saying the mass, on the 28th May, 1513. He was so much admired for learning and virtue, that he obtained the appellation of *Flos mundi*.

* State Papers.

† Ware.

John Bale, Bishop of Ossory.

DIED A. D. 1563.

THIS ecclesiastie, famous for his many and voluminous writings in support of the Reformation, was born at Covy in Suffolk. He was for some time a carmelite, and received his education first at Norwich, and afterwards at Cambridge. He early commenced his career as a reformer; and was imprisoned for preaching against the doctrines of the church of Rome both by Leo, archbishop of York, and again by Stokesly, bishop of London: from the latter imprisonment he was freed by Cromwell. He was, however, remarkable for an uncompromising spirit, and went beyond the progress of his leaders in the English Reformation, and in consequence was compelled to retreat from the arbitrary temper of Henry, whose ideas of reformation went little further than an usurpation of the papal authority in his own person. Bale, who little understood the secrets of court divinity, went forward in his course, simply following the guidance of facts, authority, and reason. This was not a temper to prosper long in an atmosphere where the boldest was compelled to trim his conscience by the tyrant's dictum. Bale was compelled to take refuge in Germany, where he remained for eight years, and where, it may be conjectured, that his opinions lost nothing of their decision, or his zeal of its fire. The auspicious moment of Edward VI.'s accession brought him home, and by the favour of this king he was made bishop of Ossory in 1552. Again, however, the hapless event of Edward's death harshly interrupted his tenure; and he was, in six months from his consecration, compelled to fly for the preservation of his life, leaving behind him a good library. On his way to Germany he was taken by pirates, but happily ransomed by his friends, and reached Germany, where he lived for five years more in the peaceful pursuits of literature, and in the society of learned men. Among these he formed a special intimacy with Conrad Gesner, "as appears," says Ware, "by the epistles which passed between them."* At the end of five years he returned into England, but wisely avoided plunging into the turbid billows of Irish politics and controversy. Instead of looking for his bishopric, he contented himself with a prebend in the cathedral of Canterbury, where he died in 1563, sixty-eight years of age.

His writings were numerous, and are remarked for their coarse and bitter humour. He was violent and satirical; but his severity is fairly to be excused, both on account of the general tone of the polemics of his age, which was rude and coarse, and of the state of controversy when its currents were fierce and high. On these currents Bale had himself been roughly tossed through his whole life. And it was a time when a conscientious writer must have felt that no resource then thought available, should be feebly or sparingly used. Among the remains of Bale's writings, are several of those strange dramas rendered popular by the rudeness and ill-taste of the age; in these the

* Ware's Bishops.

powers of burlesque were exhausted to turn popular scorn and ridicule on the tenets and ritual observances peculiar to the Roman Church. In these, ridicule was often carried too near the bounds of discretion and the reverence due to sacred things; but not perhaps more than was in some measure warranted by the time. "What," asks Warton, "shall we think of the state, I will not say of the stage, but of common sense, when these deplorable dramas could be endured? of an age, when the Bible was profaned and ridiculed from a principle of piety." It seems evident to our plain apprehension, that so far as reverence was felt or piety meant, there could have existed no designed or conscious purpose of ridicule. And from this axiomatic assumption, it must be the inference that those combinations of thought by which the refinement of our times, rise in its sense of propriety, is offended or amended—conveyed nothing of the ludicrous to the rude simplicity of the days of Bale. The sense of burlesque, materially depends on the extent and precision of knowledge; for the uncouth representation, or the ill-sorted combination, can only be so by a comparison with some ascertained or imagined prototype. The prince of the air, who awes and terrifies our generation with the "horrors of his scaly tail," is compelled to appear as a courtier or a travelling student, and to be fit company for the refined wits of posterity; and in a still later and more refined generation, he finds it necessary to content himself with his latent and viewless empire over human hearts. The dramas of Bale, were chiefly written before he became a reformer and a bishop,* though two or three were afterwards acted by the youths of Kilkenny, on a Sunday, at the Market cross. Many of them seem to have long been popular. Warton mentions that his "*Comedie of the Three Laws, of Nature, Moses and Christ, corrupted by the Sodomites, Pharisees, and Papists,*" became so popular, that it was reprinted by Colwell in 1562.

George Dowdal, Archbishop of Armagh.

DIED A. D. 1551.

THIS prelate lived through a time, of which the ecclesiastical history demands some detail. This, however, we reserve for a memoir of George Browne, the reforming archbishop of Dublin. We shall here confine our notice of Dowdal to a brief outline. He was born in Louth, and became official to Cromer, whom by the interest of the lord-deputy St Leger, he succeeded. He was a staunch adherent to the Roman see, and in consequence of this and his elevated position in the Irish church, he was the constant adversary of Browne. During the short reign of Edward VI., his see was granted to Hugh Goodacre, and he lived in exile but was recalled and restored by queen Mary to the archbishopric and primacy, which latter title king Edward had given to the see of Dublin. Dowdal was together with other bishops commissioned to deprive married bishops and priests of their livings, and amongst others they deprived the archbishop of Dublin,

* Warton.

who after the license of the primitive bishops, and the apostolic precept, had thought fit that a bishop should be "the husband of one wife."

Dowdal went shortly after on ecclesiastical business to London, where he died 15th August, 1551.

To Ware's account of Dowdal he adds, "It is not to be omitted, that during the life of George Dowdal, who was in possession of the see of Armagh by donation of king Henry VIII., pope Paul III. conferred the same on Robert Wancop or Venautius, a Scot, who though he was blind from a boy, had yet applied himself to learning with so much assiduity, that he proceeded doctor of divinity at Paris. He was present at the council of Trent from the first session in 1545, to the eleventh in 1547. He was sent legate *a latine* from the pope to Germany, from whence came the German proverb, 'a blind legate to the sharp-sighted Germans.' By his means the jesuits first came into Ireland. He died at Paris in a convent of jesuits, the 10th November, 1551."*

John Allen, Archbishop of Dublin.

DIED A. D. 1594.

PREVIOUS to his succession to the diocese of Dublin, Allen had been variously engaged, and held many preferments in England. Having graduated as bachelor of laws in Cambridge, he was appointed to the church of Sundrithe in Kent in 1507.† Soon after he was colated to Aldington in the same diocese, and from thence was promoted to the deanery of Riseburgh in 1511.‡ In 1515 he obtained the living of South Osenden in Essex. During this latter incumbency he was sent to Rome by Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, as his agent and envoy to the pope. There he continued nine years, during which time he was incorporated doctor of laws in Oxford.§ On his return he became Wolsey's chaplain; but was soon removed to Ireland, as his rising character, and perhaps his ability and forward spirit, occasioned a jealousy between him and another chaplain of Wolsey's, the well-known Gardiner, afterwards bishop of Winchester.

Allen was consecrated archbishop of Dublin on 13th March, 1528.|| His advancement was designed partly in opposition to the wishes of Gerald, earl of Kildare, between whom and Wolsey there was a violent enmity, and Allen was deemed by his patron a fit person to resist and embarrass the earl in Ireland. It was perhaps to give additional effect to this design that Allen was immediately after his appointment made chancellor of Ireland. He brought over with him as his secretary John Allen, who became after successively master of the rolls and chancellor.¶

In 1529 he received the confirmation of the pope, and in 1530 held

* Ware. † Dalton.

‡ Cox, Ware, Dalton.

§ Ib.

¶ Ware's An.

§ Ib.

a consistory in Dublin, of which the acts are preserved in the *Black Book* of Christ Church.*

In 1532, his enemy, the earl of Kildare, rising into favour, and being appointed lord-deputy, succeeded in displacing Allen from the chancery bench in favour of Cromer, the archbishop of Armagh, a creature of his own.—a circumstance which increased the enmity that already subsisted between Allen and earl Gerald. The indiscretion of the earl was not long in placing formidable advantages in the hand of his enemy, and from the moment of this injury a strenuous cabal was formed amongst the Irish administration to expose or misrepresent his conduct. It happened favourably to Allen's views, though not quite so fortunately for his safety—for the desires and true interests of men are often wide asunder—that Kildare's arrogant and ambitious conduct involved him in many suspicious proceedings, and gave offence to many. Allen's faction, in consequence, rapidly increased in numbers, and in the means of annoyance. In our life of the earl we have already had occasion to relate the particulars of this proceeding, and the *State Paper* correspondence affords full and detailed evidence both of its nature and means. The council itself became, in fact, what might well be termed a conspiracy, if the substantial justice of their complaints did not necessitate and excuse the course they adopted.

In 1533 Allen entered into a dispute for precedence with Cromer, who had been made chancellor in his room. The controversy appears to have been decided in favour of Cromer. Subsequent events, as Mr Dalton observes, put an end to "all controversies concerning bearing the cross." An arrangement of a very different nature, also mentioned from the *State Papers* by the same author, affords the only probable inference on the subject of the contest. Among the provisions made for the defence of the country, it was appointed that "all lords, and persons of the spirituality, shall send companies to hostings and journeys in the manner and form following:—

"The archbishop of Armagh, 16 able archers or gunners, appointed for the war. The archbishop of Dublin, 20, &c. &c. &c."†

The consequences of the hostility of Allen's party now began to be rapidly and fatally developed. The earl of Kildare having continued for some time to plunge deeper and deeper in the embarrassments brought on by his own rashness and his enemies' contrivance, went, for the last time, to England, leaving the government to his son, lord Thomas Fitz-Gerald, in whose memoir we have fully related the event—the disgrace of the earl—the fatal course of infatuation which led his son to an early death—and the most foul and inhuman murder of Allen. This last-mentioned event took place on the 28th July, 1534. On the preceding evening Allen, reasonably fearful of the enmity he had excited, and apprehending the siege of Dublin castle, resolved to save himself by a flight into England, and embarked with this intent. In the night his vessel was stranded near Clontarf—most probably by the treachery of the pilot, who was a follower of the Geraldines. Finding his danger, the archbishop took refuge in the "mansion of Mr

* Dalton.

† State Papers.

Hollywood of Artane, whose extensive hospitality he commemorates in his *Repertorium Ovide*.* The hospitality of his friend could not, however, relieve him from his cruel fate. His retreat was reported to lord Thomas, and the next morning his fell and blood-thirsty foes were at the door. In his shirt he was dragged out, and, during his prayers and entreaties for mercy, he was beaten to death. Neither his reputation for learning and talent, the sanctity of his profession, his helpless terror, nor his age, could arrest the hands of the wretches who committed the crime; and who all shortly after came to violent deaths on the field or by the halter.

George Browne, Archbishop of Dublin.

DIED A. D. 1556.

AMONG the most illustrious churchmen of the period in which we are engaged, none claims a higher place than George Browne. As the main agent of the Reformation in Ireland, he is justly entitled to that notice which belongs of right to the instruments of the Almighty in the working out of his plans, even when we are compelled to separate the character and motives of the agent from the tendency of the work effected by his instrumentality. Browne's life demands as little allowance of this nature as that of most men; but we make the remark, because his time and actions have placed his character in the arena of a great controversy, and the Roman Catholic historians, when writing with the greatest fairness of intention, have been led into the error of viewing his conduct through the medium of strong prejudices. There is one especial error against which it is indeed necessary to guard in all biographical notices which are to be found in the pages of controversial history—injustice done through the means of statements in themselves not untrue. Misstatements of fact can easily be coped with; but the tacit insinuation of a fallacious inference demands reflection and analysis—a labour disagreeable to the reader even when competent to the task. A few reflections on this fallacy will be here an appropriate preface.

It has been too much the custom of the popular adversaries of the reformation to make an un candid attempt to throw discredit on it by the misrepresentations of individual character—a resource not more unfair than injudicious, from the facility with which it can be retorted with fatal effect in most instances. If it were possible, without an absurdity too glaring for ordinary discretion, for any hostile writer to tell us,—your creed is a spurious compound of human inventions, traceable to no adequate authority, opposed to revealed religion, or contrived for evil ends, we must admit the fairness of the issue, and can prove the contrary. But when the human infirmities of human teachers—their fears, their passions, or the errors of their lives, and, above all, the weakness of which they have been guilty under trying circumstances, are brought forward, and the least worthy

* Dalton.

constructions of which human nature will permit are affixed to all their actions, we must feel it a sacred duty to guard every reader, of whatever creed, against the fallacy of the appeal to prejudice. We protest, once for all, against the insinuation of a test by which no profession can be fairly tried, so long as its agents and teachers are subject to the laws of humanity. To give the slightest weight to *the inference*, the *conduct* which is to be condemned *must* be traced to the *creed*. If flagrant vice can be traced to a flagitious article of faith, we have done with the argument; our answer fails, and not till then. Otherwise, objections of more or less cogency must arise from the life of every man of every creed that ever has been taught or professed, save the *one man*, who alone was without sin. If, indeed, the articles of our creed were to be accredited from human authority, it might be fair enough to grope among the roots of error, among the failings of their inventors and promoters. But in all things appealing directly to a common admitted source, of which none (here concerned) deny the authority, we disclaim all reliance on the goodness or wisdom of any human being, and affirm that God himself governs his Church, and guides its changes according to his own purpose by the methods of his providence, and without any regard to the characters of the various agents he uses, who are moved to act, or whose acts are overruled according to circumstances. The case actually to come before us does not require extreme instances; we are not called on for illustration to exhibit the crimes of millions fearfully visited by the vices of one monster; we are not called on to execute that always nice and delicate task of exhibiting the course of examples by which the moral Governor of the universe often visibly elicits good from evil: we are to exhibit, with a faithful hand, that usual compound of human virtue and weakness, which, when truth is preserved, will ever appear in the proudest niches of biographical history, affording ample material for partial eulogy, or party misrepresentation.

We have thus far written to exonerate ourselves from the ungracious and disagreeable task of noticing remarks among our authorities, which have excited our sense of opposition, and against which we felt in fairness bound to protest.

On the shocking and barbarous murder of Allen, George Browne was appointed in his room, to the metropolitan see. He had been a friar of the order of St Augustin, in London, and provincial of the order. He had distinguished himself for some time, by the boldness of his preaching, in which he maintained the doctrines of the Reformation, which were then rapidly spreading in the English church. Fortunately for him, the tyrant, Henry VIII., who had commenced by the vain effort to put down the growth of opinions then by no means confined to a few in England, was led by many motives to adopt its views; and the doctrines, for which he might a little before have been led to the stake, were under providence, the means of opening to him the path to promotion and extended usefulness. Having been recommended to the fickle tyrant as a preacher of the doctrines he now meant to impose on his subjects, by the same force that he had previously exerted for the opposite doctrines; George Browne was consecrated by Crammer, and other bishops on the 19th March, 1533: and on the 23d the lord-

chancellor of Ireland was directed by writ to have the revenues of the see restored to the new bishop.

On his arrival in Ireland, his religious tenets were openly avowed. And not long after he had the satisfaction to receive a letter from Cromwell, containing the welcome information, that the king had renounced the authority of the see of Rome, "in spiritual affairs within his dominion of England: that it was his will that his Irish subjects should follow his commands as in England: and that he was appointed by the king as one of the commissioners for carrying his purpose into effect." Browne's answer is preserved by all his biographers, and is as follows:—

"MY MOST HONORED LORD,—Your most humble servant receiving your mandate, as one of his highness's commissioners, hath endeavoured almost to the danger and hazard of this temporal life, to procure the nobility and gentry of this nation to due obedience, in owing of his highness their supreme head, as well spiritual as temporal, and do find much oppugning therein, especially by my brother Ardmagh, who hath been the main oppugner, and so hath withdrawn most of his suffragans and clergy within his see and jurisdiction; he made a speech to them, laying a curse on the people whosoever should own his highness's supremacy; saying that this isle, as it is in their Irish chronicles, *Insula sacra*, belongs to none but the bishop of Rome, and that it was the bishop of Rome's predecessors gave it to the king's ancestors. There be two messengers by the priests of Ardmagh, and by that archbishop now lately sent to the bishop of Rome. Your lordship may inform his highness, that it is convenient to call a parliament in this nation to pass the supremacy by act; for they do not much matter his highness's commission which your lordship sent us over. This island hath been for a long time held in ignorance by the Romish orders, and as for their secular orders they be in a manner as ignorant as the people, being not able to say mass, or pronounce the words, they not knowing what they themselves say in the Roman tongue; the common people in this isle are more zealous in their blindness than the saints and martyrs were in the truth at the beginning of the gospel. I send you my very good lord these things, that your lordship and his highness may consult what is to be done. It is feared O'Neal will be ordered by the bishop of Rome to oppose your lordship's order from the king's highness, for the natives are much in number within his powers. I do pray the Lord Christ to defend your lordship from your enemies. Dublin, 4 Kalend Septembris, 1535."

In the following year a parliament was called in Dublin, by lord Grey, in which—among many important enactments, providing chiefly for the inheritance of the crown, in conformity with the similar provisions in the English statutes passed at the same time on the king's marriage with Anne Boleyn—it was further passed into a law, 28 Henry VIII., that the king was supreme head of the church of Ireland; appeals to Rome were declared illegal, and the first-fruits vested in the king. By a separate act he was also invested with the first-fruits of the bishopricks and other ecclesiastical temporalities of every denomination. The authority of the Roman see was abrogated, and its

acknowledgment prohibited under the penalties of premunire. The oath of supremacy was imposed on every official person, and whoever should refuse to take it declared guilty of high treason. An English statute which prohibited all applications for faculties and dispensations, and the payment of pensions and other dues and impositions to the Roman see, was adapted to Ireland, and declared to be law. Another enactment suppressed twelve religious houses and vested their lands in the crown.

These important changes though they were fully accommodated to the progress of the public mind, in England, which had long been ripening for the reformation, cannot be denied to have been abrupt, arbitrary, and tyrannical, in Ireland, where no free breathing of opinion, no advance in social organization, had given birth to progress, and where after a long and fierce contest, favoured by the state of the country for the last four previous centuries, the church of Rome had at length cast its deep and widely spreading roots. It was therefore to be anticipated that a spirited opposition must have been roused by these propositions. In the house of Parliament, accordingly, the abolition of the pope's supremacy, did call forth considerable excitement and opposition. On the occasion, Browne delivered a short speech which expressed his view of the argument in a few words, which, though far from conveying the real force of the argument, as it might now be stated, seems to have carried much weight: it affords some notion of the theological method of reasoning at the time.

“My lords and gentry of his majesty's realm of Ireland, behold your obedience to your king, is the observing of your God and your Saviour Christ, for he that high priest of our souls paid tribute to Cesar (though no Christian), greater honour then is surely due to your prince, his highness the king, and a Christian one. Rome and her bishops in the fathers' days, acknowledged emperors, kings, and princes, to be supreme over their own dominions, nay Christ's own vicars; and it is much to the bishop of Rome's shame, to deny what their precedent bishops owned; therefore his highness claims but what he can justify. The bishop Elutherius gave to Lucius, the first Christian king of the Britains, so that I shall without scrupuling vote king Henry supreme over ecclesiastical matters, as well as temporal, and head thereof, even of both isles, England and Ireland, and without guilt of conscience or sin to God; and he who will not pass this act, as I do, is no true subject to his highness.”

The act was passed, but the effect was not equal to the expectations of the peremptory despot who sat on the British throne. Henry made no account of the convictions or the conscience of others, but with the ferocious and irrespective decision of a selfish and arrogant man, presumed that the mind of a nation was to veer with the changes of his own. He could only attribute the recusancy of the Irish, to the slackness of his ministers: and when he soon ascertained that, with its natural effect, oppression raised a fiercer zeal among the people in behalf of their church; his rage vented itself in threats on archbishop Browne, whose zeal was more sincere, and founded on purer motives

than his own. He wrote an angry letter, in which the archbishop was reproached with the benefits which had been conferred on him on the consideration of his known principles, and charged with a blameable slackness: with threats of removing him if his conduct should not become more satisfactory.

The archbishop was naturally alarmed; he well knew the nature of the tyrant, and the dangers with which he was himself environed on either side, so that in fact no course was safe. While the course which it was his most bounden duty to pursue, was such as to make him the mark of general aversion, and demanded the exercise of much moderation and caution, he was at the same time surrounded by the rivalry and secret hostility of the party from which he should receive the surest support, and urged on into the extremest steps, by the blindfold tyranny at his back. The archbishop was fully sensible of these dangers, and also of the necessity there was of conciliating and soothing the royal breast, on the determinations of which both his personal security and the difficult concerns committed to his agency must entirely depend. He returned a submissive answer to the king, and wrote another letter to Cromwell, in which he strongly states the oppositions which he experienced, with the general contempt of his authority; as an instance of which, he states, that he could not prevail so far as to have the bishop of Rome's name cancelled from the church books. He strongly and judiciously pressed for the appointment of an ecclesiastical jurisdiction, in such authorities as might be competent to the exigencies of church regulation and government under the circumstances.

It is observed by Mr Dalton, in his useful and able work on the archbishops of Dublin, that this letter, which he has cited at length, shows how slight was the progress in Ireland of the attempted reformation. The same intelligent author observes, that this attempt appears to have been very much limited to the assertion of the king's supremacy in Ireland. In point of fact, Henry's own views went nothing farther, and it would be unsafe in the most thorough reformer to go a hair's-breadth beyond the theology of the king. Henry, while with arbitrary decision he put down the authority of the pope, with equal determination maintained all the doctrinal tenets of the Roman church. For a moment, in the first ardour of opposition, he lent an indulgent ear to those whose views though substantially different from his own, yet were such as to favour his main object. But as this appeared to be no longer a matter of dispute, he assumed the position of an ecclesiastical despot, and maintained it with a fierce and peremptory authority, to which all opposition was alike useless and perilous. Cranmer and Cromwell on the one side, and on the other the duke of Norfolk and Gardiner, with the other peers and prelates who adhered to the pope, felt themselves under the necessity of compromise. And while the reformers were compelled to give a seeming acquiescence to the doctrines of the Roman church, their opponents were, with equal reluctance, forced to renounce the pope. Each party acted with dexterous pliability, for the furtherance of its objects, suppressing whatever articles of faith on the one side, or discipline on the other, they respectively held in opposition to the royal will: while

the king with more boldness, and not less vigilance, used the compliance of both for the confirmation of his own power. Had it not indeed been for the irritation caused by the violent resistance of the church of Rome, the reformers might soon have found Henry a rougher antagonist than the pope; but decidedly as the king was bent on checking the progress of Protestant tenets, he was fully aware how much his power against this external pressure, lay in the reforming spirit of the bulk of the people. And hence it was, that he was forced to afford a doubtful countenance to a party whom he disliked. Such is the explanation of the conduct of Browne—himself decided, zealous, and disinterested, he was necessarily compelled to adopt the expedient language of subserviency, and to yield where conscientious conviction would have gone further than discretion. The English reformers though awed by the king, were supported by the people; notwithstanding which, their zeal was tempered by a due share of caution: Browne was on the other hand alike circumscribed, by the zealous opposition of the national spirit, and the liminary dictation of Henry. Under these circumstances, the conduct of the archbishop, was in all respects such as the exigencies of the situation demanded, he could not be more decided without endangering his object, or less active without betraying his trust. The instructions which he sent round to the incumbents and curates of his diocese, present the doctrines of the church of Rome in the form least inconsistent with the views of the reformation; and contain some clauses not quite reconcileable with Romanism, as it existed until very recently within our own times, when under the pressure of external circumstances it has been undergoing a silent and partial reformation. We give the “form of beads,” from the *State Papers*. “You shall pray for the universal catholic church, both quick and dead, and especially for the church of England and Ireland. First for our sovereign Lord the king, supreme head on earth, immediate under God, of the said church of England and Ireland. And for the declaration of the truth thereof, you shall understand, that the unlawful jurisdiction, power, and authority, of long time usurped by the bishop of Rome in England and Ireland, who then was called pope, is now by God’s law, justly, lawfully, and upon good grounds, reasons, and causes, by authority of parliament, and by and with the whole consent and agreement of all the bishops, prelates, and both the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and also the whole clergy both of England and Ireland, extinct and ceased, and ceased for ever, as of no strength, value, or effect in the church of England or Ireland. In the which church the said whole clergy, bishops, and prelates, with the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, have, according to God’s law, and upon good and lawful reasons and grounds, acknowledged the king’s highness to be supreme head on earth, immediately under God, of this church of England and Ireland, which their knowledge confessed, being now by parliament established, and by God’s laws justifiable, to be justly executed; so ought every true christian subject of this land, not only to acknowledge and obediently recognise the king’s highness to be supreme head on earth of the church of England and Ireland, but also to speak, publish, and teach their children and servants the

same, and to show unto them how that the said bishop of Rome hath heretofore usurped, not only upon God, but also upon our princes. Wherefore, and to the intent that ye should the better believe me, herein, and take and receive the truth as ye ought to do, I declare this unto you. The same is certified unto me from the might of my ordinary, the archbishop of Dublin, under his seal, which I have here ready to show you, so that now it appeareth plainly, that the said bishop of Rome hath neither authority nor power in this land, nor never had by God's laws; therefore I exhort you all, that you deface him in all your primers, and other books, where he is named pope, and that you shall have from henceforth no confidence nor trust in him, nor in his bulls or letters of pardon, which before time with his juggling casts of binding, and loosing, he sold unto you for your money, promising you therefore forgiveness of your sins, when of truth no man can forgive sins but God only; and also that ye fear not his great thunder claps of excommunication or interdiction, for they cannot hurt you; but let us put all our confidence and trust in our Saviour Jesus Christ, which is gentle and loving, and requireth nothing of us when we have offended him, but that we should repent and forsake our sins, and believe steadfastly that he is Christ, the Son of the living God, and that he died for our sins, and so forth, as it is contained in the Credo; and that through him, and by him, and by none other, we shall have remission of our sins, '*a pœnâ et culpa*,' according to his promises made to us in many and divers places of scripture. On this part ye shall pray also for the prosperous estate of our young prince, prince Edward, with all other the king's issue and posterity, and for all archbishops and bishops, and especially for my lord archbishop of Dublin, and for all the clergy, and namely, for all them that preacheth the word of God purely and sincerely. On the second part ye shall pray for all earls, barons, lords, and in especial for the estate of the right honourable lord Leonard Gray, lord-deputy of this land of Ireland, and for all them that be of the king's most honourable council, that God may put them in mind to give such counsel, that it may be to the pleasure of almighty God and wealth of this land. Ye shall pray also for the mayor of this city, and his brethren, with all the commonalty of the same, or for the parishioners of this parish, and generally for all the temporality. On the third part, ye shall pray for the souls that be departed out of this world in the faith of our Saviour Jesus Christ, which sleep in rest and peace, that they may rise again and reign with Christ in eternal life. For those and for grace every man may say a *Pater Noster* and an *Ave*."*

This is not the place to enter in detail upon the subject of a controversy, still raging, and to rage with a scarcely mitigated force until it shall please the Divine Ruler, in the development of his own purposes to send peace to his church. But it is plainly apparent, according to every view, that the place of the reforming archbishop of Dublin was not one to be desired by any one who sought his own tranquillity, or desired to shrink back from the turbulence and bitterness of the times, then as now keenly edged with the zeal of controversy. Among the

* State Papers. Dalton. Ware.

many trials with which Browne had to contend, the most personally vexatious, arose from the opposition and the hostility of Leonard lord Grey, who, himself the object of a persecution which pursued him to the block, did not the less indulge in the gratification which his high and arbitrary temper found in heaping insult, and injury, upon one whom he personally disliked, and to whose exertions he was no friend. The civil and religious state of the time, was such as to demand the control of stern, arbitrary, and uncompromising spirits, which alone have efficacy amid the tempests of disorganized society. Of this temper each of these persons had his due share. But the spirit of the military and civil ruler, and that of the ecclesiastic, were so placed in respect to each other, as to be too easily brought into collision, and to entertain the dislike to which arbitrary and aspiring tempers will ever mutually tend. The archbishop sat under too close and stern a control, to move in enmity towards his powerful antagonist; but Grey could admit no shadow of a rival jurisdiction in any department of the state, he probably felt that if the king was to be the arbitrary ruler of the church, the archbishop's active assumption of power would be an encroachment; but it is still more likely, that his arbitrary temper was provoked at the additional difficulties he apprehended from the exasperation of the public mind, by a controversy, to which he assigned no serious importance. Such indeed is the observable spirit of every time, the serious controversialist, who has motives of conscience to direct his zeal, will still be constrained more or less by the spirit and temper of the religion he professes: the Christian will reason because it is his duty; the partisan will fight on this as he would on any other cause; the sceptic, who is alike indifferent to every creed, will treat the controversial combatant, to whom by party he is opposed, or whose views are such as to come into collision with his own, with irrespective and irreverent scorn—because he can comprehend no reason why the concerns of a *future*, in which he has neither hope nor faith, should be suffered to disturb the present, in which all his heart and understanding are centred. We cannot now pretend with any accuracy or justice to analyze the mind of lord Grey, who executed his own trust with vigour, and was ill repaid with the punishment of a traitor. But we entertain no doubt that his persecution of archbishop Browne, was carried into minute and vexatious aggressions which were hard to bear. In the complaints which are to be found in Browne's letters to the king, he seems nevertheless to have exercised great moderation, as he confines himself to the plea of his own want of authority under the interference of Grey, when such a complaint is rendered necessary by the reproaches of the king; but in his other correspondence with his personal friends, the true state of the case appears more plainly. Such passages as the following extract, speak a very overbearing and persecuting spirit, and show more clearly the difficult straits in which Browne was placed between the king, his lord-deputy, and the country, or rather the Irish church. *Romanis ipsis romaniores*, if this grammatical barbarism may be allowed. "Good master Allen, it needeth not me to declare unto you what wrongs I do sustain by the lord-deputy, and I perceive it needeth not me to expect for any of his better favours; but rather the en-

crease of daily wrongs. It chanced me and the abbot of St Thomas court, to have bought against this time of our own tenants, two fat oxen being paid for more than two months past; that notwithstanding, my lord-deputy hath not only taken the said oxen to his own kitchen, but also doth imprison one of the tenants. Thus by high power man be here oppressed.*

But the greatest difficulties with which the zeal of Browne had to contend, was unquestionably that which he met in the direct discharge of his ecclesiastical functions, as the prelate of a divided and recusant church. From other bishops he met with a resistance the more difficult to contend with, as their recognised authority was upheld by the spirit of the Irish people and hierarchy. The bishop of Meath resisted him by open and violent opposition, and countermined him by secret intrigue. The clergy of his own immediate diocese used both evasion and resistance: his attempts to displace the images and relics from the cathedrals of Dublin were stubbornly opposed by his clergy, who dispatched a secret emissary to Rome to bear their assurances of devotion and implore for aid. Of these trials he complains with much evident bitterness in a letter to Cromwell in 1538: the letter is given in the republication of *Ware's Annals* by his son, who has an autograph letter in it from the collection made by his father. It is also printed in Mr Dalton's *Bishops*.

“*Right honourable and my singular good lord.*

“I acknowledge my bounden duty to your lordship's goodwill towards me, next to my Saviour Christ, for the place I now possess. I pray God give me his grace to execute the same to his glory and highnesses honour, with your lordship's instructions.

“The people of this nation be zealous, yet blind and unknowing; most of the clergy, as your lordship hath had from me before, being ignorant, and not able to speak right words in the mass or liturgy, as being not skilled in the Latin grammar, so that a bird may be taught to speak with as much sense as many of them do in this country. These sorts, though not scholars, yet crafty to cozen the poor common people, and to dissuade them from following his highnesses orders. George, my brother of Armagh, doth underhand occasion quarely; and is not active to execute his highnesses orders in his diocese.

“I have observed your lordship's letter of commission, and do find several of my pupils leave me for so doing. I will not put others in their livings till I know your lordship's pleasure, for it is fit I acquaint you first. The Romish relics and images of both my cathedrals of Dublin, of the Holy Trinity, and St Patrick's, took off the common people from the true worship; but the prior and the dean find them so swat for their gain that they heed not my word; therefore, send in your lordship's next to me an order more full, and a chide to them and their canons, that they might be removed. Let the order be that the chief governors may assist me in it. The prior and dean have written to Rome to be encouraged; and if it be not hindered before they have a mandate from the bishop of Rome, the people will be

* Archbishop Browne to Allen. State Papers.

bold, and then tug long before his highness can submit them to his grace's orders. The country folk here much hate your lordship, and despitefully call you, in their Irish tongue, the blacksmith's son.

"The duke of Norfolk is, by Armagh [*the bishop*] and that clergy, desired to assist them not to suffer his highness to alter church rules here in Ireland. As a friend I desire your lordship to look to your noble person, for Rome hath a great kindness for that duke, (for it is so talked here,) and will reward him and his children. Rome hath great favour for this nation purposely to oppose his highness, and so have got, since the act past, great indulgences for rebellion; therefore my hope is lost, yet my zeal is to do according to your lordship's orders. God keep your lordship from your enemies here and in England. Dublin, the 3d kalends of April, 1538.

"Yr lordship's at commandment,

"GEORGE BROWNE.

"*To the Lord Privy Seal his Honourable Lordship.*"

[Ex autographo.*]

Immediately after this letter a bull was sent over which all the historians of every party have severally thought proper to preserve, and which we do not feel authorized to omit. This bull is contained in a letter from the archbishop to Cromwell, as follows:—

"RIGHT HONOURABLE,

"My duty premised, it may please your lordship to be advertised, sithence my last there has come to Ardmagh and his clergy a private commission from the bishop of Rome, prohibiting his gracious highnesses people here in this nation to own his royal supremacy, and joyning a curse to all them and theirs, who shall not within forty days confess to their confessors (after the publishing of it to them) that they shall have done amiss in so doing. The substance, as our secretary hath translated the same into English, is thus:—

"I, A. B., from this present hour forward in the presence of the holy Trinity, of the blessed Virgin Mother of God, of St Peter, of the holy apostles, archangels, angels, saints, and of all the holy host of heaven, shall and will be always obedient to the holy see of St Peter of Rome, and to my holy lord the pope of Rome and his successors, in all things as well spiritual as temporal, not consenting in the least that his holiness shall lose the least title or dignity belonging to the papacy of our mother church of Rome, or to the regality of St Peter.

"I do vow and swear to maintain, help and assist the just laws liberties and rights of the mother church of Rome.

"I do likewise promise to confer, defend and promote, if not personally, yet willingly as in ability able, either by advice, skill, estate, money or otherwise, the Church of Rome and her laws against all whatsoever resisting the same.

"I further vow to oppugn all hereticks, either in making or setting forth edicts or commands contrary to the mother Church of Rome, and in case any such be moved or composed, to resist it to the utter-

most of my power, with the first convenience and opportunity I can possible.

"I count and value all acts made or to be made by heretical powers of no force or worth, or to be practised or obeyed by myself, or by any other son of the mother Church of Rome.

"I do further declare him or her, father or mother, brother or sister, son or daughter, husband or wife, uncle or aunt, nephew or niece, kinsman or kinswoman, master or mistress, and all others, nearest or dearest relations, friend or acquaintance whatsoever, accursed, that either do or shall hold for the time to come, any ecclesiastical or civil authority of the mother church, or that do or shall obey for the time to come, any of her the mother church's opposers or enemies, or contrary to the same of which I have here sworn unto: so God, the blessed Virgin, St Peter, St Paul, and the holy evangelists help, &c.

"His highness's viceroy of the nation is of little or no power with the old natives, therefore your lordship will expect of me no more than I am able; this nation is poor in wealth, and not sufficient now at present to oppose them: it is observed, that ever since his highness's ancestors had this nation in possession, the old natives have been craving foreign powers to assist and rule them; and now both English race and Irish begin to oppose your lordship's orders, and do lay aside their national old quarrels, which I fear if any thing will cause a foreigner to invade this nation, that will. I pray God I may be a false prophet, yet your good lordship must pardon mine opinion, for I write it to your lordship as a warning.

Your humble and true servant,

"GEORGE BROWNE.

"*Dublin, May, 1538.*

"*To the Lord Privy-Seal with speed.*"

We have already mentioned the letter to O'Neale* from the pope, which was found on the person of a friar who was seized by the archbishop at the same period with the last-mentioned bull and letter; in the beginning of June, Thady O'Birnie was seized and imprisoned, till orders could be received from England; but on hearing that an order had arrived for his transmission into England, this order the unfortunate friar justly looked on as the preliminary to a rough trial and a certain death, to avoid the horrors of which he anticipated the executioner, and was found dead in his prison.

The struggles between the archbishop and his powerful and numerous opponents were at this time attended with much active and rancorous hostility, which, as either party gained the advantage, showed the extent to which the worst elements of human nature could take the lead in the zeal of sects and parties for a religion broadly opposed to the passions which were thus enlisted in its cause. Human beings, animated by the purest motives of which humanity is capable, and engaged in the holiest cause, will still act from the spirit which rules the breast of short-sighted and inferior creatures, and "call down fire from heaven" on those whom God in his long-suffering allows to brave him with impunity; nor in the energy of opposition

* Con Boccagh, first earl of Tyrone. See Vol. i.

and defence once revert to the precept and the testimony which tells how different indeed is the fight of faith to which our Lord sent forth his chosen, or the test of that divine light which shows the creature of sin what spirit he is of: but the strife was actually embittered by the infusion of mere political and party rancour; and two great and powerful parties were opposed to each other, fighting under the name of religion, and drawing excitement from the zeal of party prejudices.

We have already at some length shown how the part of Browne was rendered difficult not alone by the formidable tyranny at his back, with both the remissness and impetuosity of which he was reduced to contend, nor even by the vast weight of national prejudice and zeal which opposed him; his most truly vexatious trials arose from those to whom he might have mainly looked for support. The lord Grey, while he was ostensibly the instrument of the king's designs, was in effect their determined enemy, and omitted no occasion by which he might without suspicion impede the progress of the reformation, or embarrass the proceedings of Browne. There is a paragraph in a letter from lord Butler to Cromwell, which contains a curious account of a scene which in some degree illustrates this.

"This last week the vicar of Chester, sitting at the lord-deputies board, the archbishop of Dublin, the chief-justice, the master of the rolls, with others of the king's counsel, and I, there present, said openly before us all, that the king's majesty had commanded that images should be set up again, and honoured and worshipped as much as ever they were; and we held us all in silence in my lord-deputy's presence to see what he would say thereto. He held his peace and said nothing. Then my lord of Dublin, the master of the rolls, and I, said among other things, that if he were in any other place, out of my lord-deputy's presence, we would put him fast by the heels, and that he had deserved grievous punishment. His lordship kept his tongue and said nothing the while. Sure he hath a special zeal to the papists." This letter is dated 26th August, 1538.

Nevertheless, in the end of the same year, by a letter bearing date 6th November, the archbishop seems to have met with many circumstances of better hope. In a letter to Cromwell, he says, "that the papishe obstinate observants be here among themselves in such desperation, that where there hath been twenty in a monastery, there be now scarcely four; yea, and by your presence they think that little number too many; for their feigned holiness is so well (among the king's subjects) espied, that the people's devotion is clean withdrawn from them."* In the same letter he complains emphatically of the continual counteraction he met with from the interference of lord Grey. In the following month, a letter from the Irish council to Cromwell, mentions the following circumstances:—A little before Christmas, the writers Allen, Brabazon, and Aylmer, made a sort of progress through the "four shires" about the Barrow, for the purpose of publishing and giving effect to the king's commands and ordinances both civil and ecclesiastical; as also to hold sessions and levy first-fruits and other revenues. They resorted first to Carlow, "where the lord

* State Papers.

James Butler kept his Christmas, and these being very well entertained, from thence we went to Kilkenny, where we were no less entertained by the earl of Ormonde. There on new-year's day, the archbishop of Dublin preached the word of God, having very good audience, publishing the king's said injunctions, and the king's translation of the Paternoster, Ave Maria, the articles of faith, and ten commandments in English; divers papers whereof we delivered to the bishop and other prelates of the diocese, commanding them to do the like, through all their jurisdictions.*

Though the lord-deputy Grey had set himself in opposition to the archbishop, and frequently disconcerted his efforts to introduce the changes enjoined by the king, yet his efficient activity in the suppression of rebellion had more favourable consequences than his personal opposition could defeat. Numbers, whose religious animosity was little else than faction, were when the political motive was suppressed, ready to adopt any change for peace and favour; and much ecclesiastical zeal was subdued into acquiescence, by a sense of the idleness of holding out. The religion enforced by Henry, was it is to be remembered far more that of Rome than England: on the Reformation in England, the tyrant looked with an eye of watchful jealousy, and whatever he had yielded to its doctrines, was rather unwilling political concession than sincere. The conquest over such opposition in Ireland, so far from being matter of surprise, must indeed on the contrary appear far below what should, under all the circumstances, be expected; and were it not that the Irish looked rather to the party than the creed, a far greater effect might have been reasonably anticipated. The defeats at this time sustained by the Irish chiefs contributed much to facilitate the objects of Browne; and the same favourable effect was forwarded by the successful vigour of De Brereton, who was deputed in the room of Grey on his return into England. Many of the monasteries were in consequence resigned to the king. The priory of the Trinity in Dublin is more especially noticed, which was changed, in 1541, into a deanery under the new appellation of Christ Church. It now consisted of a dean and chapter, with a chanter, treasurer, six vicars choral, and two singing boys. It was after extended by King James.

Soon after, Sir Anthony St Leger was sent over, and a parliament called in Dublin, in which the king's style was changed from lord of Ireland to that of king, an act to which much good is attributed. Among other immediate consequences seems to be numbered the unqualified submission of Con O'Nial, with the fullest renunciation of the papal authority, an example which was followed by the other chiefs of Ulster.

Such is nevertheless but the fair aspect of the history of the day. The concessions and submissions of the Irish were partly insincere, partly from ignorance; they were also but partial. The vindictive ferocity of Henry impelled numbers whom the thunders of the Roman see drove back; and while the chiefs were tossed back and forward by the contending sway of parties, no pains were taken to instruct the

* State Papers.

populace. For this indifference to the spiritual intent of religion, Browne and his bishops have been justly censured, nor can it be admitted as an excuse that their opponents were no less to blame. It was indeed a time, when the inferior orders were little more thought of than beasts for the ends of husbandry or war. "Hard it is," writes chancellor Cusaek, "that men should know their duties to God and to the king, when they shall not hear teaching or preaching throughout the year."* The evil here complained of was indeed wide spread and fatal; and the obstacles to any remedy, perhaps, insurmountable, unless by the slow operation of time. The knowledge of the English language, a needful preliminary, can hardly be described as co-extensive with the pale; and through every other district the people were altogether dependent on such instruction as they were likely to obtain in their native tongue.

In 1542, the archbishop caused an application to be made by the council in his behalf, that he might be compensated for lands released by him to the king in favour of one of the O'Tooles; and was let off a debt of 250 pounds by the king. This debt had been originally incurred by a promise of so much to lord Rochford, and on the attainture of this lord, it fell to the king.†

In 1542, an inquisition was taken of the temporality of the see of Dublin,‡ and in the next a suit between the archbishop and lord Howth, for the inheritance of Ireland's Eye, was adjudged in favour of the archbishop.§ In the same historian we find many interesting particulars of the internal regulations and changes made about the same time by this prelate—one of which alone we shall now delay to mention :—"By deed of the 12th July, 1545, this prelate, in consideration of £40, conveyed to trustees the town of Rathlande, being on the southern part of Thomas-Court Wood, then lately occupied by Thomas Battee; also, all the lands, &c., in Rathlande aforesaid, and the rents and reversion of the same, to hold for ever, to the use of William Brabazon, ancestor of the earl of Meath, his heirs and assigns, at the yearly rent of 13s. 4d., being the site of that wretched district of paupers, now denominated the earl of Meath's liberties."||

It was in the following year that a commission was issued for the sequestration of St Patrick's, with its lands and revenues to the king's use. For a time the chapter refused to yield, but after some days' deliberation, the required resignation was made by the dean. They were afterwards restored in 1554, by queen Mary. Before that restoration, however, the canons had been pensioned liberally by Edward VI., their plate, jewels, and other moveables restored, and an addition of priests and singing boys is also attributed to the same occasion by Ware; which nevertheless, is placed by Mr Dalton at an earlier period.

The death of Henry and the accession of Edward VI. introduced momentous changes into the English church. The first steps of the reformation, were, on the part of Henry, reluctant concessions to

* Leland, from MS. Trin. Col. Dub.

† State Papers, vol. ii. pp. 11, 390, 394.

‡ Dalton.

§ Ibid.

|| Ibid.

those who acting with more sincerity, and from far other motives, were yet necessary to his purposes: these purposes were nothing more or less than the emancipation of his own actions from control, the gratification of revenge, and the assertion of an arbitrary temper. To the reforming party it was necessary to concede, and opposition alone impelled him to a certain length; but his was not a nature to be carried far with the changes of others, and he sternly turned round when his point was secured. Such institutions or doctrines of the Roman see, as when admitted must needs have rendered his usurpation impossible, and which formed the basis of its power, he willingly, and with a high and arbitrary hand, suppressed with all that disregard of opinion and conscience, which were characteristic of one who was himself little, if at all, swayed by either: and as he arbitrarily dragged his subjects to the point required by his purpose, so, with the same arbitrary will, he forbade them to go further. His creed, which was in some of its points, repugnant to the faith of the Roman, and in more irreconcilable with that of the reformer, he enforced against both with irrespective tyranny. He was content to establish a supremacy more absolute than the pope ever claimed over the faith; and when the point was (according to his opinion) gained, it was his wish to repress innovation, and the daring spirit of search and speculation, under which no tyranny could long subsist, and to reign in a new obscurity and torpor of his own creation. Accordingly, as Burnet has observed, having once reached a certain point, he began to turn back, and had his life been spared, there can be little doubt that he would have carried back the church to the same creed from which he had endeavoured violently to remove it. Among his own bishops there were few who were not fully aware of this fact: nor were there wanting many to avail themselves of it. Hence a protracted and violent struggle set in between two powerful and influential sections of the church, who each continued to temporize and triumph in its turn, with the changes of this royal autocracy. Some time previous to the period at which we are now arrived, the natural effect of this disposition of the king had begun to take place; the influence of Cranmer, whose agency had been found useful in one part of the monarch's course, began to give way to that of Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, whose opinions and instrumentality became no less important in another stage. Cranmer's views essentially differed from those of his master who had the penetration to see that they were quite inconsistent with the infallible and all-controlling supremacy he claimed: Gardiner had no objection to acknowledge the pope in the king, and the king had no opinions incompatible with Gardiner's theology.

In this state of things a royal proclamation prohibited the importation and printing of books, unless under the most strict and jealous supervision—a provision more distinctly explained by the accompanying prohibitions:—All parts of scripture not first inspected and approved of by the king—all works denying the doctrine of transubstantiation. By the same instrument, all persons were forbidden to deny this doctrine under pain of death and confiscation. Married priests were denounced, those already married to be deprived, and those who should thereafter marry, were to be imprisoned¹.

This retrograde movement was completed by an act of parliament for the prevention of diversity of opinion in religion; well known as the statute of the six articles, the purpose of which was to be a formidable bulwark against the further approach of the reformation. This act fixed the creed of king Henry at a standard which he maintained to the end of his life, with the sword and faggot. By this law, of which the title was "An act for the abolishing diversity of opinions in certain articles concerning the Christian religion," hanging or burning at the stake was enacted to be the punishment of whoever should—

I. By word or writing deny transubstantiation.

II. Who should maintain that communion in both kinds was necessary.

III. Or that it was lawful for priests to marry.

IV. Or that vows of charity may be broken.

V. Or that private masses are unprofitable.

VI. Or lastly, that auricular confession is not necessary to salvation.*

Such was the Protestantism of Henry VIII. The composition of Gardiner and the act of the same subservient parliament, which granted to the king the lands of the religious houses, thus exhibiting a perfect indifference to all creeds and churches, and shaping their conscience to the fashion of a despotic court. Against this law of the six articles Crammer stood alone. And the opposition he made, would, as Rapin justly observes, "have ruined any other person but that prelate." The bishops of Salisbury, Shaxton, and Latimer bishop of Worcester, who could neither conform their consciences to the king's rule of faith, thought to escape by the resignation of their bishopricks. But they no sooner gave in their resignations, than they were committed to the Tower, as having spoken against the six articles; and an inquisitorial commission was appointed to make strict inquiry through the country for those who had spoken against them. This proceeding, was, however, interrupted, by the numerous arrests in the city of London—in consequence of which the chancellor represented to the king the detrimental and dangerous consequences likely to arise from the vast numbers who were likely to be thus involved through the kingdom.

Henry maintained thus a doubtful church which in many points gave offence to all, by a dexterous accommodation of the powers he had acquired, to circumstances as they occurred; and while he still maintained a discretionary power over articles of faith, he sometimes gave a slackened rein to the reformers, and sometimes drew them up, so as to balance the two parties and preserve his power over both. But it was thoroughly understood that he was the steady enemy of the reformers on one side, and to the pope on the other; while he went heart and hand with Gardiner's party, who agreed with his theology and connived at all with which they disagreed.

This state of things was in England partly mitigated and concealed by the king's anxious fears of the German Protestants: and by his manœuvres to gain them. This topic would lead us far from our

* Rapin.

object: but it is not foreign from our purpose to notice that Henry failed to impose on the German Protestants, who answered his messages, that they had seen with grief that he persecuted those of their opinions in England.

Such, then, was the Protestantism of the monster, whom it is not to be wondered, if every church is willing to disclaim; for such is the blind zeal of faction: while the reflecting and independent student of history will reject with decision the absurdity of estimating the truth of God by the folly and wickedness, or wisdom and virtue of men—fallible, whatever be their creed. In the furtherance of his private objects, in the indulgence of an opinionative and arbitrary spirit, Henry VIII. unquestionably gave to the reformation, long rooted in the public mind, a form and substance in the church. But it was still in the most essential articles, resting on the sands of human corruption. The accession of Edward VI., gave a new and effectual impulse to reformation; and though soon interrupted by his death, may be said to have fixed the form of the English church, and given it a substance in the minds of men by the publication of the English liturgy in 1548. There had previously been some ineffectual changes introduced by Henry; but still there was in point of fact no liturgy, either adequate to represent the reformation, or to supply the uses of a liturgy considered as a form of prayer. There were different liturgies used through the kingdom: of these many parts had been handed down from remote and primitive antiquity, while others had been supplied according to the growth of the tenets of the church of Rome. But on the accession of Edward, a newly arranged and improved form was sent forth in an English dress—retaining all that was according to scripture, adding much that was wanting, and rejecting erroneous forms which corrupted all the Latin liturgies. The new liturgy prepared by Cranmer, was then established by parliamentary enactment; and in 1551, sent over to Sir Anthony St Leger, to promulgate and establish in Ireland.

The following is the order transmitted from king Edward to the lord-deputy:—

“Edward, by the grace of God,

“Whereas our gracious father, king Henry the VIII. of happy memory, taking into consideration the bondage and heavy yoke that his true and faithful subjects sustained under jurisdiction of the bishop of Rome, as also the ignorance the commonality were in, how several fabulous stories and lying wonders misled our subjects in both our realms of England and Ireland, grasping thereby the means thereof into their hands, although dispensing with the sins of our nations by their indulgences and pardons for gain, purposely to cherish all evil vices, as robberies, rebellions, thefts, whoredoms, blasphemy, idolatry, &c.—He, our gracious father, king Henry of happy memory, hereupon dissolved all priories, monasteries, abbies, and other pretended religious houses, as being nurseries for vice and luxury, more than for sacred learning. He therefore, that it more plainly appear to the world that those orders had kept the light of the gospel from his people, he thought it most convenient for the preservation of their souls and

bodies, that the holy Scriptures should be translated, printed, and placed in all parish churches within his dominions, for his subjects to increase their knowledge of God and our Saviour Jesus Christ. We, therefore, for the general benefit of our well-beloved subjects' understandings, whenever assembled or met together in the said several parish churches, either to hear or to read prayers, that they join therein, in unity, hearts and voice, have caused the liturgy and prayers of the church to be translated into our mother tongue of this realm England, according to the assembly of divines lately met within the same for that purpose. We, therefore, will and command, as also authorise you Sir Antony St Leger, knight, our vice-roy of that our kingdom of Ireland, to give special notice to all our clergy, as well archbishops, bishops, deans, archdeacons, as other our secular parish priests within that our said kingdom of Ireland, to perfect, execute, and obey this our royal will and pleasure accordingly.

"Given at our manor of Greenwich, the 6th February, in the fifth year of our reign.

"To our trusty and well-beloved Sir Antony St Leger, knight, our chief governor of our kingdom of Ireland."

On receiving this order, St Leger convened a council of the archbishops, bishops, and clergy, to whom he communicated it with the opinions of their English brethren in its favour. When he concluded, Dowdal, the archbishop of Armagh, stood up and made a speech in which he principally objected, that if the liturgy were to be thus adopted in the English language, the consequence must be that every illiterate person would have it in his power to say mass. Dowdal's objection was adopted by most of the Irish bishops, who (we infer from Ware's statement,) many of them followed in the expression of the same objection. St Leger replied, that, the very circumstance that many of the clergy were already too illiterate to understand the Latin tongue, rendered it advisable that they should have an English liturgy, by the adoption of which the priest and people "will understand what they pray for." To this Dowdal, who seems by his whole course of objection, to have been singularly inexpert, warned Sir Anthony "to beware of the clergy's curse." "I fear no strange curse," replied Sir Anthony, "so long as I have the blessing of that church which I believe to be the true one." "Can there be a truer church," replied Dowdal, "than the *church of Saint Peter*, the mother church of Rome." "I thought," retorted Sir Anthony, "that we had been all of the *church of Christ*, for he calls all true believers in him his church, and himself the head thereof." To this Dowdal replied, "and is not St Peter's the church of Christ," and was met by the conclusive replication, "that St Peter was a member of Christ's church, but the church was not St Peter's, neither was St Peter, but Christ the head thereof."* On this Dowdal rose and left the assembly, and with him all the other bishops but Staples of Meath. The order was then handed to Browne, who in a brief speech of which the substance was nothing more than a state form, proposed it to the accept-

* Ware.

ance of the assembly, who accordingly received it. Some of the more moderate of the other bishops, joined the archbishop of Dublin immediately after, among whom were Staples of Meath, Lancaster of Kildare, and Bale of Ossory; all of whom were shortly after expelled from their sees, by queen Mary. The opposition of Dowdal does not appear to have drawn upon him any severity. The title of primate was necessarily transferred from him to Browne; but his opposition was, as might well be anticipated from the zeal and firmness of his character, continued until it was found necessary to banish him. This should, however, be stated with much caution, as a matter in some dispute, and it seems not to be clearly settled whether he was banished, or went away of his own accord. Either might well be expected to happen, and the point is of slight importance. Hugh Goodacre was certainly appointed in his place in the year following.

To what extent the change now described might have been carried in Ireland, were fruitless to discuss. It was quickly arrested in the outset, and the course of after events was such as to leave little room for amelioration of any kind for another half century, in a country of which the mind was kept low by a continual succession of demoralizing wars and insurrections.

The early death of Edward, placed the weak and bigoted Mary on the throne; and the hopes of England, with the dawn of a better day in Ireland, were at once overcast with the horrors of a cruel and bloody persecution.

Mary, not long after her accession, restored the primacy to Armagh, in the person of Dowdal, who deprived Browne on the ground of his being a married man. The temporalities of his see were, according to ancient custom, deposited in the custody of the dean of Christ Church, and the see continued vacant for two years after which it was filled by Hugh Curwen. Browne did not long survive; his death is referred to the year 1556. He is thus mentioned by primate Usher, whose testimony should not be omitted in this memoir:—"George Browne was a man of cheerful countenance; in his acts and conduct, plain and direct, to the charitable and compassionate; pitying the state and condition of the souls of the people, and advising them when he was provincial of the Augustine order in England, to make their application solely to Christ; which advice coming to the ears of Henry VIII., he became a favourite and was made archbishop of Dublin. Within five years after he enjoyed that see, he caused all superstitious relics and images to be removed out of the two cathedrals in Dublin, and out of all the churches in his diocese; and caused the ten commandments, the Lord's prayer, and the creed to be placed in gilded frames, above the altars. He was the first that turned from the Romish religion of the clergy here in Ireland, to embrace the reformation of the church in England."

Hugh Curwin, Archbishop of Dublin.

DIED A. D. 1563.

CURWIN, a native of Westmoreland, a doctor of laws in Oxford, and dean of Hereford, was appointed by queen Mary to succeed Browne in 1555. He was at the same time appointed chancellor in Ireland. At the close of the year he held a synod, in which some arrangements relative to the rites and ceremonies of the church were constituted. In connexion with this Cox states, that "afterward, the church goods and ornaments were restored, and particularly those belonging to Dublin and Drogheda." "And although," says the same writer, "many glebes contained lay fees during all the reign of queen Mary; yet at the request of cardinal Pale, her majesty restored the possessions of Kilmainham."

In 1556, we are informed by Mr Dalton, that a commission was appointed to make an account of the value and condition of church possessions in this diocese of Dublin, and that similar commissions were issued for the other dioceses. All statutes from the twentieth year of Henry, which had been against the church of Rome, were at the same time repealed, saving the authority of the British throne and laws. Former enactments against the reformers, who were included under the denomination of heretic, were revived; and other legal provisions were made for the restoration of the ancient state of things as regarded the affairs of religion.

The accession of queen Elizabeth, which happily interrupted the changes in their course, did not alter the condition of Curwin; who, with a latitude of conscience not to be commended, at once accommodated his principles to the demand of the varying hour; and in 1557, was appointed one of the lords-justices with Sir Henry Sidney, and continued in the office of chancellor. In 1559, the office of lord-keeper of the great seal of Ireland was added to his honours. He was a second time chancellor in 1563; and in 1567, feeling the rapid encroachments of old age on his personal strength, he sought and obtained his translation to the see of Oxford, where he died in the following year.

Adam Loftus, Archbishop of Dublin.

DIED A. D. 1605.

THIS prelate has a more than ordinary claim upon our notice as the zealous promoter, and the first provost of Trinity college near Dublin, an institution which has conferred more real and lasting benefit on Ireland, than all others taken together; and which when justly estimated by its intrinsic merits as a repository of knowledge, and a centre for the diffusion of sound learning and principle, will, in the history of learning, be hereafter considered to stand at the head of the universities of Europe—being second to none in the cultivation of

every branch of profane literature, and first of all in its proper and peculiar function as the great seminary of the principles of the church of England. Such being the great claim of Loftus on the commemoration of history, we shall do him the justice, to dwell but lightly on those parts of his life which are nothing more than the ordinary incidents of his time, and proceed with a rapid hand to this main transaction which sheds particular honour on every name with which it is connected.

Loftus was, according to Ware, born at Swineshead in Yorkshire, of an ancient and respectable family, and received in his youth a more careful and costly education than was usual in his time. He became soon distinguished for talent and literary accomplishment; and on some public occasion had the good fortune to win the admiration of the queen, by his striking display of logical and rhetorical talent, when, with her characteristic promptitude, she marked him for distinction, and encouraged his youthful ambition to effort by promises of speedy advancement.

The queen kept her promise, and never lost sight of the distinguished youth until an opportunity occurred, when she was sending lord Sussex over as lieutenant of Ireland, on which Loftus was sent over as his chaplain; and but little time elapsed when another mark of favour indicates the favourable impression, which his early promise made on one so keen in her discernment of merit. In 1561, he was appointed by letters patent to the rectory of Painestown in Meath, and the following year, by one wide step elevated to the see of Armagh in the room of Dowdal. On this incident, Harris remarks, that "the Irish protestant bishops derive their succession through him, without any pretence to cavil, for he was consecrated by Curwin, who had been consecrated in England according to the forms of the Romish pontifical, in the third year of queen Mary."

In 1564 he was elected to the deanery of St Patrick's by royal license, on the consideration of the insufficiency of the revenues of the see of Armagh, "his archbishopric being a place of great charge, in name and title only to be taken into account, without any worldly endowment resulting from it." In 1566 he was joined by the clergy of Armagh in excommunicating Shane O'Neale, who burned "the metropolitan church of Ardmagh; saying he did it lest the English should lodge therein." In the same year he took his doctor's degree in Cambridge, and was soon after translated to Dublin.

In 1572 he obtained a dispensation from the queen to hold with his archbishopric any sinecures not exceeding £100 in annual value. In 1573 he was appointed chancellor, and held the office during his life. In 1582, and again in 1585, he was one of the lords-justices.

We pass the particulars of his unhappy quarrel with Sir John Perrot, as not essential to the main purpose of this memoir. It mainly originated in the archbishop's determined resolution in preserving the cathedral of St Patrick's from being converted into a university to the prejudice of certain rights of his own. The design thus resisted, was one the frustration of which might well be counted a stain on the memory of Loftus, had it not been fortunately wiped away by an ample and honourable compensation. The cathedral of St Patrick's

was preserved to the church in its ancient venerable character, and the university was soon after instituted by the zealous instrumentality of the archbishop.

The full importance of this institution is too great to admit of its being discussed at the termination of this series, where it may escape the attention of the greater portion of our readers. We shall presently have an occasion to enter on the subject at length. The history of the foundation is briefly as follows:—

Such an institution had previously, at different periods of the Anglo-Irish history, been attempted, but in vain; the troubles of the country were too rife, and the want insufficiently felt: the desire of knowledge is itself a result of intellectual cultivation. This desire was one of the chief influences of the Reformation in England; of which, as we shall hereafter more fully explain, learning was soon found to be an indispensable requisite. But in Ireland the necessity of some native centre of an academical character became strongly perceptible. The necessity of looking in England for ministers for the churches, and of supplying the deficiency by the employment of illiterate persons, grew to be felt as an evil of serious magnitude. To supply the demand of a church essentially connected with knowledge, had become a necessity which at the time strongly pressed itself on every cultivated mind. The call was felt with a force, which has no expression on the cramped page of the annalist. It was indeed the ripeness of time; but, like all the events of time, chiefly traceable to incidental causes, and the underworking agents, whose names are made illustrious by changes which must have occurred if they had not been born.

Loftus having effectually resisted the plan of Sir John Perrot, which was to convert St Patrick's church into law courts, and apply its revenues to the foundation of a university, applied to the queen in favour of another scheme for that desirable end. For this purpose he pitched on the ancient monastery of All-hallows, on Hoggin Green, near Dublin. It had been founded by Dermot MacMurragh for Aroasian monks in 1166, and been richly endowed, not only by the founder, but also by the illustrious Milo de Cogan. Its possessions were confirmed by the charter of Henry II. On the dissolution of the monasteries, the site of this monastery had been granted to the corporation of Dublin. From this body it was now obtained by the assiduous representations of the archbishop, who told them that the act would be "of good acceptance with God, of great reward hereafter, and of honour and advantage to yourselves, and more to your learned offspring in the future; when, by the help of learning, they may build your families some stories higher than they are, by their advancement either in the church or commonwealth." The representations of Loftus had the influence due to their truth; and the city consented to a slight sacrifice of property, which was to be compensated by advantages more important to Dublin and the country, than they or their adviser could well appreciate at the time. They granted the monastery with its precincts.

Loftus next deputed Henry Usher and Lucas Chaloner to England, to apply for a charter and license for the mortmain tenure of the lands granted by the city. This may be regarded as a matter of

course, and the deputies quickly returned with the queen's warrant for letters patent under the great seal of Ireland, dated 29th December, 1591, for the incorporation of a university, with power to hold the lands granted, with other endowments, to the value of £400 per annum. The university was thus incorporated, "by the name of the provost, fellows, and scholars, of the holy and undivided Trinity of Queen Elizabeth, near Dublin," who were thus duly qualified to acquire and hold the lands, tenements, and hereditaments, to themselves and their successors for ever, with certain legal provisions now unimportant. Their privilege to teach the liberal arts in Ireland was exclusively vested in them, and the license granted to confer degrees. They were empowered to make laws for their own internal government—a privilege afterwards revoked. The number of the members was limited to a provost, three fellows, and three scholars, and their functions and privileges were fully defined and guarded.*

Loftus was appointed first provost; Henry Usher, Lucas Chaloner, and Launcelot Moyne, fellows; and Henry Lee, William Daniel, and Stephen White, scholars;—the first representatives of a body, which was in the course of time to produce James Usher, King, Berkely, Young, Hamilton, as its members, with a host of other not inferior names, which shed the honours of literature and science around their country's name.

The erection of the college was next to be effected. To obtain the necessary fund, circular letters were issued by the lord-deputy (Fitz-William) and the council to the Irish nobility and gentry, representing the importance of the foundation to literature and the reformed church. A contribution was thus obtained; and in 1593 the building was finished for the reception of its inmates. The Ulster rebellion, under Hugh, earl of Tyrone, had an unfavourable influence on its growth, as its principal endowments lay in the north. But the zeal and bounty of Elizabeth, under Providence, carried it through this severe trial which menaced ruin to its infant state; and, in the language of Leland, himself one of its illustrious ornaments, "it struck its roots securely amid the public storms, and, cultivated as it was by succeeding princes, rose to a degree of consequence and splendour disproportioned to its first beginnings."†

King James endowed this foundation with large grants in Ulster. And Charles I., distinguished among the kings of England for his love and munificent patronage of all the arts, followed liberally in the same course. By his patent the foundation was enlarged; the fellows were increased to sixteen, and the scholars to seventy; the laws improved by the repeal of some, and the enactment of other provisions. Amongst these, one has more especially struck us as a judicious change; by the charter of the queen it was provided that the fellows were to resign their fellowships at the expiration of seven years from their election. Such a regulation, by no means so inexpedient in the infant state of such a community, was obviously inconsistent with the furtherance of its interests or uses in a more advanced stage of learning.

* Letters Patent of Charles I., in which the first patent is recited.—*Coll. Stat.*

† Leland, who was a senior fellow, about 1771.

While it is to be admitted that one of the main benefits conferred on society, results from the circulation of the fellowship and the multiplication of academical offspring thus produced, it is equally evident that a regulation calculated to diminish the advantages to be sought for by a most arduous course of study, must have essentially destroyed the intent, so far as the production and circulation of scholars was an object. No man, whose intellect was in sound order for any useful purpose, would sink his better days in a course of learned labour, to be thrown aside like worn-out books when their better days were spent. It would be found, save by a very few, that life is short to be consumed over the study of the arts; and most men would shrink from a sacrifice thus to be crowned by deprivation. From the consideration of this defect, remedied in the patent of Charles, will appear the consummate wisdom of the provision which secures to society the advantage contemplated in the first arrangement, without the counter-acting evil, and secures the continual circulation of the fellowship, by the creation of a beneficial interest to compensate the resignation of a functionary whose office has been hardly earned. This object is secured by benefices and professorships in the gift of the university, which, when they become vacant, are disposed of to such of the members as desire them, who thereby vacate their fellowships.

In 1637 a new charter from king Charles was accompanied by a body of statutes, which, with several modifications, are still the laws of the university. We shall, a little farther on, take up this interesting subject, in its further and more general bearings on Irish literature and civilization. On the ecclesiastical state of Ireland its effects were rapid and decisive; and it appears, from the statements of Spencer, that the reformation in Ireland can scarcely be said to have commenced, until its influence was felt in an improvement of the education of churchmen.

We now return to the provost. In 1597 he was appointed one of the lords-justices; and again, in 1599, at the close of this year, he was appointed one of the counsellors to the president of Munster.

In 1603, he died in his palace at St Sepulchre's, and was buried in St Patrick's church. He had been forty-two years a bishop. Mr Dalton, from whose work on the *Archbishops of Dublin* we have received valuable assistance in this and some other of our ecclesiastical series, concludes his account of Loftus with the remark, "that Anne, the second daughter of this prelate, was married to Sir Henry Colley of Castle Carbery, and from that union have descended the present marquis of Wellesley and the duke of Wellington."

III.—LITERARY SERIES.

[The editor begs to apologize to the Irish historical student, for the omission of numerous eminent poets and historians of this period. So little is known of their personal history, that he could not avoid the consideration, that the space they must have occupied in this series would be altogether too much for a popular work, and would be regarded as objectionable by the numerous readers who cannot be assumed to look beyond the amusement of a leisure hour. A small selection has been made of those most noticed by antiquarian writers: or which are noticeable for any special circumstances. To the general reader it may be observed, that all the persons here mentioned, were illustrious in their day, and have some claim to be so still. Their writings are extant, and form a curious and unique department of national literature. Of some of these we can offer no further account than the mention of their works; and a few are withheld, because we shall have to notice their writings more at large under the general head of Irish literature.]

Mal Suthain O'Carroll.

DIED A. D. 1009.

MAL SUTHAIN O'CARROLL, is remarkable for having been the writer who commenced the Annals of Innisfallen. Of these important documents we shall have occasion to give some account at a later period. Generally speaking, the more important portions of the literature of this and several following centuries, can only be viewed with advantage, in their collective character, and in those later times, when their record closes and the history of their transmission (the most important question in which they are concerned,) comes before us:—Of the general history of the literature of this period, we shall find room to give some account under the lives of Scotus and John Sacrobosco. During the greater part of the period, literature must be considered as on the decline in Ireland. There nevertheless wanted not accomplished Irish scholars in every department then existing. The following small selection from numerous names, exhibit the fact that poetry at least was not wanting.

Of the illustrious O'Carroll, we can only add, that he was not only one of the most learned monks of the island, but of his time, and had the added distinction of high birth. He died, according to the Four Masters, in the year 1009.

Mac Liag.

DIED A. D. 1015.

IRELAND, of all countries in the world, is best entitled to the appellation of the "Land of Song," from her early writers being almost invariably poets, and verse having been selected as the easiest and simplest medium for conveying their thoughts, whether the topic was religion, war, or individual history. Among these, Mac Liag takes a very

prominent place, being honoured by the title of "chief poet of Ireland," besides being the friend and chief antiquary of Brian Boromhe. He was the son of Conkeartach, a doctor or professor of some eminence, and early became a favourite with his royal master, whose "fifty battles" he enthusiastically commemorates, and whose triumphant fall on the plains of Clontarf, he so pathetically, but proudly details. His chief writings are "the Munster Book of Battles," which gives the most authentic detail of the encounters with the Danes, down to the battle of Clontarf; a life of Brian Boromhe; a poem of an hundred and sixty verses upon the descendants of Cas, son of Conal Each Luath, king of Munster; and one of nearly the same length, on the twelve sons of Kennedy, father of Brian Boromhe; also three separate poems, lamenting the fall of Brian, and strongly expressive of his own personal grief on the event; one beginning, "Oh Cinn-coradh, where is Brian;" another, "Westward came the fall of Brian;" and the last, which was written in the Hebrides, where Mac Liag went after the death of Brian, begins, "Long to be without delight," and bitterly mourns over his own lost happiness, and the desolation of Cinn-coradh. His death took place, according to the Four Masters, in 1015.

Erard Mac Coisi.

DIED A. D. 1023.

ERARD MAC COISI, one of the historians of Ireland, and "chief chronicler of the Gaels," carried on a literary contest of some length with Donough, son of Brian Boromhe, in the course of which Donough asserts the superiority of his father, and the Munster troops over Maol-seachlainn, in a poem of an hundred and ninety-two verses, while Erard, who was secretary to the Leinster king, contends with equal warmth for the more doubtful pre-eminence of his own master. He died in Clonmacnoise in the year 1023.

Cuan O'Lochain.

DIED A. D. 1024.

CUAN O'LOCHAIN, who was considered the most learned antiquarian and historian of his time, was made joint regent of Ireland with Core-ran, a clergyman, on the death of Maolseachlainn. His virtues and talents were of a very high order, and he was the author of various poems; one of them descriptive of the splendour of the royal palace of Tarah, in the time of Cormac Mac Art, monarch of Ireland; another, on the rights and privileges of the monarch, and provincial kings of Ireland; the first of an hundred and eighty verses, and the next of an hundred and forty-eight; besides a poem of fifty-six verses, on the origin of the name of the river Shannon. The annals of Tighernach, Innisfallen, and the Four Masters state his having been killed in Teathbha, in 1024.

Dubdalethy.

DIED A. D. 1065.

DUBDALETHY OR DUDLEY, archbishop of Armagh, was son of Maelbury, senior lecturer of divinity in that city. He wrote annals of Ireland, beginning at 962, and ending 1021, which are quoted both in the Ulster Annals, and by the Four Masters. He was highly esteemed for his learning both in Ireland and Scotland; and when in the year 1050, he made a circuit of cincal conaill, he obtained three hundred cows from the people of that country. Colgan says, that he also wrote an account of the archbishops of Armagh down to his own time. He died the 1st of Sept., 1065.

Giolla Caoimhghin.

DIED A. D. 1072.

GIOLLA CAOIMHGHIN, one of the most celebrated poets and historians of his time, has left a variety of historical and chronological writings in verse, some of them upwards of six hundred verses in length. One commences with the creation, and is carried down to the year in which he died. He divides his chronology into different eras, and gives the names of several memorable persons who lived in each period. There is a fine copy of this in the possession of Sir Wm. Betham. Another poem gives the names of the ancestors of the chief line of the Gaels, from the dispersion at Babel to their establishment in Spain. Copies of this are in the books of Ballinote and Leacan, in the library of the royal Irish academy. He has also written a poem of six hundred and thirty-two verses, which was one of the chief documents on which O'Flaherty founded his technical chronology. This poem gives an account of the first colonization of Ireland, and enumerates all the monarchs that reigned until the time of Laoghaire, A. D. 432, when St Patrick first introduced Christianity into Ireland. Copies of this, are also in the books of Ballinote and Leacan. A poem on the Christian kings of Ireland, of an hundred and fifty-two verses has been attributed to him, but some authorities give it to Conaing O'Maelconaire. In another poem he gives the names and number of the Milesian monarchs that reigned in Ireland, specifying from which of the sons of Golamh each king descended. In the same poem he gives the names of the kings who ruled in Ireland of the Fir-Bolg and Tuatha-de-Danan races. Giolla died 1072.

Tigernach.

DIED A. D. 1072.

TIGERNACH, abbot of Clon-mac-noise, wrote the Annals of Ireland, partly in Latin, and partly in Irish, from the reign of Cimbæth, king

of Ulster, and monarch of Ireland, A. M. 3596, to his own time. They were continued by Angustin M'Grath to the year of our Lord, 1405, when he died. A copy of these annals are in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, and are amongst the most valuable of the existing materials for Irish history. Tigernach died in 1072.

Tanaiðhe O'Mulconaire.

DIED A. D. 1136.

TANAIÐHE O'MULCONAIRE wrote two historical poems, one giving an account of the kings of the race of Fírbolg, who possessed Ireland before the arrival of the Tuatha-de-Danan, and whose descendants retained a great part of the island until after the introduction of Christianity; the other gives the names of the seven kings of the Tuatha-de-Danan race, who ruled Ireland for an hundred and ninety-seven years: it also mentions the arrival of the Milesians, A. M. 2935. There are copies of both these poems in the book of Invasions by the O'Clerys. Tanaiðhe died in 1136.

Giolla Modhuda O'Cassidy.

DIED A. D. 1143.

GIOLLA MODHUDA O'CASSIDY, otherwise called Dall Clairineach, abbot of Ardbracean in Meath, was a very learned man, a good historian, and a poet. As usual at that time, he wrote his histories in verse. In one of them he gives a catalogue of the Christian monarchs of Ireland, with the number of years that each king reigned, from the time of Leogaire, A. D. 428, to the death of Maelseachlin II., 1022. In a poem of two hundred and forty-four verses, besides enumerating the kings, he shows how many of each name reigned; and in another, of three hundred and seventy-four *ramns** of irregular verses, he gives the names of the wives and mothers of the kings and chiefs of Ireland of the Milesian race. Giolla died, according to the best authorities, in 1143, though in one of the verses of the last mentioned poem (which is to be found in the book of Leacan), it is stated that it was written in 1147.

Giolla O'Dunn.

DIED A. D. 1160.

GIOLLA O'DUNN, chief bard to the king of Leinster, wrote many poems which are preserved in the books of Leacan and Ballimote, chiefly connected with Leinster, which he calls "the province of the

* Each *raun* consists of four verses.

tombs of kings." One of his poems describes the tribes that sprung from the sons of Milesius, and from Lughaid, and the districts possessed by them; and another gives an account of the chief tribes descended from the three Collas sons of Cairbre, monarch of Ireland, who was killed near Tara in Meath, 286, after a reign of seventeen years. Giolla died 1160.

Maurice O'Regan.

DIED A. D. 1171.

AMONGST the writers of this period, Maurice O'Regan takes a prominent place, from the importance of the events with which his life and writings are connected. He was a native of Leinster, and was employed by Dermot MacMurrough, king of that province, to whom he was secretary and interpreter, as ambassador to Strongbow, Robert Fitzstephen, and other English nobles, to entreat their aid for the recovery of his kingdom, from which, as we have before related, he was expelled by Roderick O'Connor, and other Irish chiefs, for the abduction of Devorgoil, the wife of O'Rourke. O'Regan wrote with much accuracy, a history of the affairs of Ireland during his own time, in his native tongue, and this composition was translated by a friend, into French verse. In the reign of Elizabeth it was again translated into English by Sir George Carew, president of Ireland, and afterwards earl of Totness. O'Regan was sent by Dermot and Strongbow to demand the surrender of Dublin, when they were on their way to besiege it, and all his details are given with the animation of an eyewitness. His history embraces the events of about three years, from the invasion of Strongbow, in the year 1168, to the siege of Limerick, in 1171, about which period it is supposed, that he either died, or was killed, as his history ends abruptly at this event.

Marian O'Gorman.

DIED A. D. 1171.

MURRAY OR MARIAN O'GORMAN, abbot of Knock, near Louth, was contemporary with Regan. He wrote a martyrology in verse, respecting which the statements of Ware and Colgan are rather at variance. The former says that he published a supplement to the martyrology of Ængus, in 1171, while Colgan states that O'Gorman wrote a martyrology in most elegant Irish verse in the time of Gelasius, archbishop of Armagh, about the year 1167, which is held in great esteem, and ever will be so, for the beauty of the style, and great fidelity of the performance. This (he continues) is, for the most part, collected out of the Ængusian martyrology, as an old scholiast, in his preface to that work, says; and further, that O'Gorman does not confine himself to the principal saints of Ireland alone, but takes in promiscuously those of other countries.

Conor O'Kelly.

DIED A. D. 1220.

CONOR O'KELLY wrote a metrical history of his own tribe, the O'Kellys, chiefs of Hy-maine, an ancient district now comprehended in the counties of Galway and Roscommon. It is preserved among the Irish manuscripts in the Marquis of Buckingham's library at Stowe.

Giolla Tosa Roe O'Reilly.

DIED A. D. 1330.

ON the death of Matthew O'Reilly, in the year 1293, his brother, Giolla Tosa Roe O'Reilly, succeeded him in the government of the principality of East Brefsny. He was learned, prudent, brave, and victorious, and he extended his territory from Drogheda to Rath Cruachan, now the county of Rosecommon. In the year 1300, he built and endowed the monastery of Cavan, in which he erected a chapel, and marble monument as a place of sepulture for himself and family. He was recognised by Edward the Second, as one of the chief princes of Ireland, who addressed him, "dilecto sibi Gillys O'Reilly Duce Hibernicorum de Breifenehy," &c., when he wrote a circular letter to the Irish princes requesting their aid against the Scotch. Giolla appointed his nephew Maelsachlain as his successor, and resigned his principality to him in the year 1326, when he retired to the monastery of Cavan, where he continued for the remainder of his life, venerated for his wisdom and sanctity. He died in 1330.

He wrote two poems, one of them on the death of his brother Matthew, and the other, extolling the power and extent of territory possessed by his nephew and successor.

John O'Dugan.

DIED A. D. 1372.

JOHN O'DUGAN, chief poet of O'Kelly of Ibh Maine, wrote a poem of five hundred and sixty-four verses, giving an account of the kings of Ireland, from Slainge of the Fir-Bolgian race, who in conjunction with his four brothers, began to reign over Ireland, A. M. 2245, to Roderick O'Conor, last monarch of Ireland. A copy of this poem is in the possession of Sir William Betham.

He also wrote a topographical and historical poem of nearly nine hundred verses, giving the names of the principal tribes of Ulster, Connaught, and Meath, with their chiefs at the time of Henry II.; but left this work unfinished.—It was completed by Giolla na Naomh O'Huidbrin, who wrote the entire of the history of Munster and its chieftains, and nearly the whole of that relative to Leinster.

A perfect copy of this poem remains in the handwriting of Cucoig-eriche O'Clery, one of the Four Masters.

He also wrote a poem recording the kings of Leinster, descended from the thirty sons of Cathaoir Mor, monarch of Ireland, and another giving a catalogue of the kings of Cashel, from the time of Core 380, to that of Tirlagh O'Brien 1367. A copy of this is in the book of Ballimote. Another poem describes the actions of Cormac Mac Art, monarch of Ireland; but the most curious of all, is one upon the festivals, with rules for finding the moveable feasts and fasts by the epacts and dominical letters, and its rules still regulate the practice of many who have never seen this poem. He also wrote a poetical vocabulary of obsolete words which has since been adopted into dictionaries. O'Dugan died in 1372, and O'Huidbrim survived him for nearly fifty years.

Mahon O'Reilly.

DIED A. D. 1380.

MAHON O'REILLY, lord of clan Mahon, wrote a poetical eulogy on his son Thomas, prince of East Brefne, who distinguished himself by the impetuosity of his valour, and his successful resistance against the English, having in a short period levelled eighteen castles belonging to the pale, and laid the country from Drogheda to Dublin under contribution.

Magnus O'Duignan.

LIVED A. D. 1390.

THIS writer is chiefly known in connexion with the book of Ballimote, on different pages of which his name is signed, but it seems uncertain what precise share he had in the composition; whether he was the compiler or merely the transcriber of those portions of that celebrated book to which his name is appended. We shall therefore, here, in the absence of all personal detail respecting O'Duignan, proceed to mention such facts respecting this book, as have come to our knowledge.

It is described by O'Reilly, "as a large folio volume, written on vellum of the largest size;" it contained originally 550 pages, but the two first are wanting. As usual in the history of books of this class, it passed down through the hands of numerous possessors. A portion of it appears, on the authority of the volume itself, to have been written in the reign of Tirlagh O'Connor, king of Connaught, who died 1404; and by an entry, p. 180, vol. I. "in a handwriting different from any other part of the book, it appears that Hugh *Duff*; son of Hugh Roe, son of Niall Garoe O'Donell, bought it in the year 1522, from M'Donogh of Coran, for one hundred and forty milch cows."

The matter of this volume is compiled from a great variety of ancient MSS. of which the principal are yet extant, thus receiving and

imparting to these venerable documents, the authority of so much importance to MS. documents.

The modern history of this valuable MS. must be regarded as especially curious and interesting. It had belonged to the library of Trinity College, Dublin, from which it was either purloined, or fraudulently detained. Vallency gives an account of the book of Leacan, which with good reason is supposed by Mr O'Reilly to have actual reference to the book of Ballimote. The General mentions that Doctor Raymond, about the year 1790, lent a book out of the college library to a person of the name of M'Naghten; from M'Naghten it was stolen by one Egan, from whom it came into the possession of Judge Marley, whose servant he was; and remained in the Judge's library till his death. It was then by some means conveyed to the Lombard college in Paris. That this account is mainly conjectural, is apparent on its very face, and the Abbè Geoghegan states that the book of Leacan had long before been transferred to the Irish college in Paris, by James II.; a fact formally attested by a notary. According to this statement, the book lent to M'Naghten, could not have been the book of Leacan. There is, on the other hand, strong reason to suppose the book of Ballimote, to have been that which was lent to M'Naghten—as there is among the MSS. in the college library, a copy in the hand of M'Naghten. It would then be the high probability, that having lost the original, which he had borrowed through the interposition of Raymond, for the purpose of transcription, that he in compensation, gave his paper copy to the college.

From the mark and memoranda on the copy in the Academy, it is inferred by O'Reilly, that it was in 1769, in the hands of O'Dornin of Drogheda, "a good Irish scholar," and remained with him till 1774. It then probably came into the possession of the college. The next hand to which it seems to be traced with any certainty is that of the chevalier O'Gorman, who presented it to the Royal Irish Academy.

Dermot O'Conor, who translated Keating, mentions having obtained the "book of Ballimore in the county of Meath, by the kindness of Dr Anthony Raymond of Trim, who entered into a bond of a thousand pound, security for its safe return."* This statement is questioned by O'Reilly, who infers that the book in question, was the book of Ballimote. He observes, that no Irish scholar ever heard of a book of Ballimore in Meath; and confirms his inference by the numerous errors in O'Conor's translation, which he considers sufficient to prove that "he could make nothing" of the book of Ballimote. The conjecture that this was the book of Ballimote, receives some additional probability from the circumstance, that Bishop Nicholson who mentions this book twice, calls it once "the book of Ballimore." O'Conor may have caught the word, and referred the book to the place with which he was most familiar.

One more observation we cannot avoid adding in favour of this supposition, though personally we have no present means of verifying it. The enumeration of the contents of this book by O'Conor,† is not in

* Preface to Keating's Ireland.

† Preface to his translation of Keating's Ireland.

accordance with that of Mr O'Reilly. For this fact, if correct, we must be content to refer to the several books; as those who choose to verify it must be already in possession of the means. Keating mentions the Psalter of Tara, and the Book of Armagh.

Donogh Ban O' Maelconaire.

DIED A. D. 1404.

DONOGH BAN O'MAELCONAIRE, chief poet of the O'Conors of Connaught, was author of a poetical catalogue of the kings of Connaught, from Tirlogh O'Conor, son of Roderick the great, to Tirlogh O'Conor, who lived upwards of two hundred and thirty years afterwards.

A copy of this poem is in the book of Leacan.

Angustin Magradian.

DIED A. D. 1405.

ANGUSTIN MAGRADIAN, or Austin M'Craith continued the annals of Tigernach to his own time, and they have been since continued by another writer to the year 1571. A copy of these annals is in the library of Trinity College.

Maurice O'Daly.

A. D. 1415.

MAURICE O'DALY, who with many poets of his time, was this year cruelly plundered by Lord Furnival, revenged himself by recording in verse, the defeats of the English, and the signal victories of Thomas, prince of East Brefne, when he razed eighteen castles belonging to the lords of the pale, for which he was also celebrated in verse by his father, the lord of Clan Mahon.

Gerald Barry.

BORN A. D. 1146.—DIED A. D. 1220.

AMONG the authorities for the history of the earlier part of this period, none can be named of the same pretension to fulness and minuteness as Giraldus Cambrensis. And as he had probably access to a large class of ancient documents, not now in existence, he is perhaps among the best sources of information on the earlier periods. If we must subtract from this praise the well-known fact that he was a party writer, and the advocate of Henry II.'s views, yet the allow-

ance, too, is easily made, for any deception likely to arise, and where his statement is not perceptibly affected by two great motives, his zeal for the church, and his zeal for the subjugation of this island, he may be relied upon as a safe authority for the transactions of his own time, and that immediately preceding. His errors and prejudices—his ignorance of the Irish language, and the credulity with which he received, and transmitted in his writings, all sorts of improbabilities—have drawn upon him much unmeasured severity; and we must admit that on these grounds, the deductions to be made are large enough. But as much or more is on some similar ground to be deduced from all history, the real authority of which is after all to be elaborately extracted by comparison, and the aid of a comprehensive theory of mankind, and the laws of social transition. Before Cambrensis, it cannot indeed in the full sense of the term be said that there were any Irish historians; the annalists, valuable as they unquestionably are, do not merit the name; it is indeed in a great measure from the fact, that they are but compilers—chroniclers of isolated facts—that their value is derived. Were it not that they copied such ancient dates and records as they found with conscientious accuracy, their ignorant prejudices and superstitious traditions must have rendered questionable every line they wrote: this is apparent from the few well-known remains of the literature of the middle ages. If however these are rendered trustworthy by the barrenness of their statements, and by the fact that they are simply the deliverers of an unbroken series of traditions; the Anglo-Irish historians who follow, have the advantage of standing within the daylight of historical comparison; and of being easily tested by the consent of modern tradition, and by the evidence of existing things.

Giraldus was descended from a noble Norman family, but his mother was a Welsh woman; his native place was Pembrokeshire, where he was born in 1146, at the castle of Manorbur. He was from his childhood destined for the ecclesiastical profession, for which he exhibited early dispositions. He soon mastered the learning of the age, and while yet very young was introduced to his intended profession, in which his learning, zeal, and practical ability, afforded the fairest expectations of advancement. An ambitious and prompt spirit was not wanting to prompt the active exertion of these capabilities, and Giraldus was soon employed to influence his Welsh countrymen to submit to the payment of their ecclesiastical dues to the archbishop of Canterbury, for whom he acted as legate in Wales: in this capacity he suspended the archdeacon of St David's, who refused to part with his mistress, and was himself appointed archdeacon in his room. In this situation the most remarkable incident is his dispute with the bishop of St Asaph, which is worthy of notice for the very strange and peculiar display it offers of the spirit of the age. This contest related to the dedication of a church, which was situated on the borders of the dioceses of the two belligerent ecclesiastics. The bishop with the experience of his maturer age, had planned to anticipate the movements of his youthful antagonist, and dedicate the church before he should become aware of the design. But he had not justly allowed for the vigilance and superior promptitude of Giraldus, who was not to be thus caught sleeping. Giraldus having received some intimation of the bishop's intent, prepared with

discreet celerity to prevent him: sending for an aid of armed men to his friends, Clyd and Cadwallon, chiefs of the country, to whom he represented the important necessity of vindicating the rights of the diocese of St David's, and having been joined by their contingents of horse and foot, he hastened forward with his little army to the scene of action. On the next morning after his departure he arrived early at the scene of meditated conflict, and after some delay, entering the church which was to be dedicated, proceeded to the usual solemnities, and having ordered the bells to be rung in token of possession, he began mass. In the mean time, the bishop, with his host, drew nigh, and his messengers arrived to bespeak the due preparations. On this Giraldus, who had finished his mass, sent a deputation of the clergy of St David's to welcome the bishop if he was coming as a neighbour to witness the ceremony, if otherwise to prohibit his further approach. The bishop replied, "that he came in his professional capacity as a priest to perform his duty in the dedication of the church." With this the bishop came on, and was met by the archdeacon at the head of his party as he approached the entrance of the disputed church. Here these two antagonists, more resolute than wise, stood for a while like thunder clouds over the Adriatic, confronting each other with the fume and menace of controversy, the common presage of those more terrific, but not less futile bolts by which that ignorant age was held in awe. Neither party had the good fortune to shake the purpose of the other by argument, and they had proceeded no further after a considerable length of alternate contradiction and oburgation, than the several assertion of a right to the church of Keli; when the bishop, again thinking to play the old soldier, slipped from his horse and proceeded quietly to take possession. Giraldus was nothing dismayed—at the head of the clergy of St David's, who came forward in good order, in their sacerdotal attire, with tapers burning, and crucifixes uplifted, he met his episcopal antagonist in the porch. The thunder of the church now burst forth, long and loud in all its terror, and the echoes of conflicting anathemas rung from the unblessed walls. Giraldus, promptly taking advantage of this position, secured the efficacy of his spiritual artillery by ringing the bells three times. The expedient was decisive, struck with dismay at this irresistible confirmation of his adversary's curse, the bishop mounted, and with his party fled discomfited from the field. What appears strangest still, the victory of Giraldus was crowned with universal gratulation, and even the bishop of St Asaph, not altogether annihilated by the mauling he had received, recovered breath to express his applause at the skill and vigour of his adversary. This reminds us of a surgeon, who having broken his leg, had the professional enthusiasm to congratulate himself on the happy incident by which he was led to witness the consummate expertness of Sir Philip Crampton in cutting it off.

Giraldus, at this period of his life, maintained the same prompt and assiduous character manifested in this praiseworthy exploit; and by his alacrity in performing the duties, or braving the hardships of his pastoral charge, merited and obtained the general approbation of the people and clergy: so that on the death of the aged bishop of St David's, he was warmly recommended to the king as the most fit and

acceptable successor. But the learning and daring vigilance of Giraldus were by no means recommendations to a monarch who had already had in another eminent ecclesiastic an unfortunate experience of such qualifications. Henry also was made aware of Giraldus's family importance which gave him added influence in Pembrokeshire; and with these prepossessions turned a deaf ear to the application. He had nevertheless the sagacity to discern that the qualifications which he thus excluded from the hostile ranks of the Roman church, might be usefully enlisted in his own; and Giraldus was retained in his establishment as tutor to prince John.

It was in this latter capacity that he visited Ireland, in 1185. Henry having resolved to appoint his son John to the government of Ireland, sent over Giraldus with an expedition, commanded by Richard de Cogan, that he might form a judgment, and report on the state of affairs in that country. He came in the train of his brother, Philip de Barri; and was associated in his commission with the archbishop of Dublin, an Englishman, who resided in England, but who was on this occasion sent over to his Irish diocese. In common with his associate, Giraldus came over strongly prejudiced against Ireland and the Irish church—then in many important respects, superior to the English. They made it their main concern, nevertheless, to inquire into all the particulars of its discipline and doctrine, and were soon scandalized by the discovery of numerous proofs of an independent spirit among the body of the Irish clergy and laity, while the more powerful and intelligent of the bishops were anxious asserters of the authority of the Roman see. These demerits roused the professional spirit of Giraldus; he saw every thing in consequence through a dense mist of prejudice, and gave frequent offence to the Irish bishops by his invidious and acrimonious observations. In the warmth of their simple zeal, the Irish informed the sarcastic scholar of the high claims of their church to veneration; they referred to its antiquity, and enumerated its saints. The taunting archdeacon replied, "You have your saints—but where are your martyrs? I cannot find one Irish martyr in your calendar." "Alas! it must be acknowledged," was the answer of the bishop of Cashel, "that as yet our people have not learned such enormous guilt as to murder God's servants; but now that Englishmen have settled in our island, and that Henry is our sovereign, we may soon expect enough of martyrs to take away this reproach from our church."* On another occasion, the abbot of Baltinglass preached a sermon in Dublin at one of the cathedrals, on the subject of clerical continence. Giraldus was present on the occasion, no tolerant listener to the Irish orator; but when from dwelling strongly on the obligations of this virtue, the abbot proceeded to an implied comparison between the English and Irish churches, and dwelt on the high and exemplary purity of his brethren before their morals had sustained contamination from the flagitious impurities of the English ecclesiastics who had recently been sent amongst them, the spleen of Giraldus could no longer be contained, but starting from his chair, he poured forth a fierce and recriminatory answer. He had the candour to admit the

* Leland.

virtue claimed for the Irish church, and the admission was perhaps made with a scorn which depreciated the praise of a virtue then not held in high request; while he overwhelmed his adversary with charges of drunkenness, treachery, dissimulation, falsehood and barbarism, against the ecclesiastics of the Irish church. The bishoprics of Leighlin and Ferns, were offered to Giraldus by prince John, during this residence, but he was probably not very ambitious to settle in a country so disturbed as Ireland, and of which the manners and literature were so little congenial to the tastes of a man of letters: he was also bent on literary projects, and then engaged in assiduous preparation for his work on Irish topography, of which he at this time collected the ample materials, and finished the work on his return to Wales.*

In 1198, the bishop of St David's dying, Giraldus was nominated by the chapter, but rejected at Rome, where there arose a violent contention on the subject—which was however decided in favour of the other candidate, the prior of Llanthony abbey. The see of St David's was the favourite object of Giraldus' life—it was endeared to him by all those early and native associations, which have a first place among the best affections of the heart, and most of all with those whose habits imply the cultivation of the moral feelings. For this he had refused all other honours—Leighlin and Ferns, Bangor and Llandaff. The chapter of St David's zealously seconded this desire—and he was on three several occasions elected. But neither the king who looked for more subservient qualifications, nor the pope, whose views were inconsistent with the merit pleaded before him by Giraldus "*presentarunt vobis allic libras, sed nos libras*," a jest, the simplicity of which may at least have contended with its wit for the smiles of the conclave or the papal cabinet.†

Notwithstanding the popularity of Giraldus in his native place, with the favour of three monarchs, and the splendid opportunities of preferment which had so often presented themselves, the favourite ambition of his heart seems to have allured him through life, and like the muse, as pathetically described by poor Goldsmith,

“That foundest me poor at first and keepest me so,”

landed his old age in trouble and weariness. His old age was imbittered by a contest with the archbishop of Canterbury, the result of which was his resignation of all his church preferments. Henceforth he lived in studious retirement, glad to escape from the responsibility and the stormy collisions of official employment. From this tranquil pause from a laborious life, even the offer of the see of St David's could not seduce him. He had, perhaps, the wisdom to see the vanity of a burdensome elevation, when the spirit and energy of life are past, and neither the capacity for enjoyment or duty remain. He probably felt that the interval of decrepitude and decay, which is the short avenue to another state, has other objects than the mistaken game which stakes heart, body and soul, in the struggle for earthly preferment—which deceives the young and mocks the old, who have a sterner wit-

* Ware's Writers.

† Hoare's Cambrensis.

ness than popular respect in their homes and breasts. The old archdeacon of St David's refused the dignity which had been the desire of his life, and the act shows a mind more disciplined than is often found, or a spirit sadly broken by old age and vexation.

Giraldus died in his native province, in his 74th year, and was buried in the cathedral of St David's. He is justly described by his biographer, as one of the brightest luminaries that adorned the annals of the twelfth century.* The works of Giraldus were numerous. Ware mentions a long list—now grown unimportant at the distance of more than six centuries. Those which concern us chiefly are the works on the topography, and on the conquest of Ireland: which last has been the main authority for all English historians who have ever since written on the period included in his work. This concludes, however, with the first expedition of prince John. The statements of Giraldus are severely assailed by Lynch, the well-known antiquarian, who lived in the reigns of Charles I. and Charles II.

John a Sacrobosco.

DIED A. D. 1235.

THE once eminent geographer, John a Sacrobosco, or John of Holywood, in the county of Wicklow, is one of the many persons whose just fame is lost in the obscurity which they assisted to dispel. Of the particulars of his life little is preserved; but his name holds its place in the history of science; and his treatise on the sphere continued to be reprinted and looked on as the best yet extant for three hundred years. With the usual fortune of great men, whose lives have not been distinctly recorded, he has been claimed for England and Scotland. But the claim has no ground in either case, beyond conjecture: the claim of Ireland cannot, indeed, be altogether placed beyond the reach of doubt; yet may be preferred on the most probable grounds. Stanihurst asserts his Irish origin, and Ware declines to decide, but includes him among his Irish writers. Unquestionably he lived in a period when learning continued to find a refuge in the comparative seclusion of the Irish monasteries; and when it was yet customary for eminent Irishmen to follow the steps of their illustrious predecessors to seek distinction in the rising schools of Italy and France. We have at least the presumption of a clear analogy in our favour.

This ancient mathematician and astronomer, taught the mathematical sciences, as then known, in the university of Paris, in 1230. Besides his standard work on the sphere, he also wrote on the astrolabe, on the calendar, and an arithmetical treatise. He died in Paris, in 1235, and was buried in the church "D. Maturini."†

From the paucity of our facts in this memoir, we have avoided our usual course of interweaving them with some appropriate notice of the history of the geographical and astronomical knowledge of our author's time. In the literary series for the next period, which will bring us

* Hoare.

† Ware's Writers.

to the times of Boyle and Newton, we shall have a most convenient opportunity to enter fully upon all the details of these interesting subjects. A cursory outline may here be acceptable, and will serve to explain the importance we attribute to Sacrobosco.

The period of Sacrobosco may be viewed as the early dawn of that science which will hereafter be recollected as the glory of the nineteenth century. From the sixth century till the thirteenth, there lay a dull and rayless torpor over the intellectual faculties, in which the science of antiquity was lost. To estimate the advantages and disadvantages which then affected its revival, it may here be sufficient to make a few remarks upon the earlier history of science.

There is a broad interval between the geographical research which bounded the known world by the surrounding sea of darkness, whose unknown shores were peopled with the Hyperboreans, and Lestrigons, and Cimmerians, and other dire chimeras of ignorance, and the voyages of Ross and Parry. The step is wide from the gnomon of Thales to the practical science of Kater, Sabine and Roy, or to the exquisite scientific and instrumental precision of the Ordnance Survey in Ireland. Wider still is the ascent of discovery between the "fiery clouds" of Anaxagoras and his school, and the nebulæ—the "heaven of heavens" of Sir William Herschell, who has expanded the field of observation beyond the flight of the sublimest poetry. Yet astronomy had, nevertheless, been then, and through every period of which there is any record, an object of earnest and industrious inquiry. The most striking and glorious phenomena of the external world, could not fail at any period to excite the admiration, wonder, and speculative contemplation, of a being endowed with the vast grasp of reason which has since explored them with such marvellous success. They were a study to the inquiring, and a religion to the superstitious, from the first of times. The history of the human mind, perhaps, offers no succession of phenomena more illustrative, than the long variety of theories which seem to mark, as they descend, the advances of observation, or illustrate the law of action, by which the reason of man progresses towards its end. To pursue this view would require a volume to itself. It must here suffice to say, that hitherto there appears to have existed no adequate notions of the system of the heavens; neither the form or magnitude of the earth were known; or the distances, magnitudes, and motions of the other great bodies of the solar system. Of the earlier science of the Egyptians, the objects were confined to the measurement of time; and if we knew no farther, the error of their ancient year would sufficiently fix the limit of their knowledge. The Greek philosophers, Pythagoras and his cotemporaries, whose knowledge is referred to Egypt, were evidently further advanced, but have left the landmarks of their progress in the curious absurdity of their theoretical views. It is sufficient that they had no notion, even approaching the truth, on the true magnitude and frame of the solar system. Yet it is not to be passed over, that even at that early period, the surprising sagacity of Pythagoras attained to some just fundamental notions which there were then no sufficient means to verify, and which were destined to sleep for many ages, till taken up by the Italian geometers in the beginning of the sixteenth century. Pythagoras conceived the first

idea of the true system: he supposed the sun to be at rest in the centre, and the earth with the other planets to be carried round in circular orbits. This great philosopher made even a further step, reaching by a very strange and wonderfully ingenious analogy (if the story be true) to both the principle of gravitation and the precise law of its application. He was, by an accident, led to make experiments on sound: by one of these he ascertained the force with which various degrees of tension, caused by different weights, acted on strings of different lengths, so as to produce proportional intensities of sound. This discovery, which is supposed to have been the origin of stringed instruments of music, he applied to the solar system, and conjectured that the planets were, according to the same principle, drawn to the sun, with a force proportional to their several masses and inversely as the squares of their distances. It seems to have wanted little to improve this happy thought; but that little was wanting. There can nevertheless be little doubt, that it continued to pass down the stream of ages, and to recur to the most sagacious understandings of after-times. The fact was veiled by the mystical spirit of the Pythagorean and Platonic philosophy, in a mythological dress: Apollo playing on his seven-stringed harp, appositely described the harmonious analogy of nature's law. It was this conception which originated the idea of the music of the spheres, as imagined by the early philosophers of Greece.

Though the geometers of ancient Greece had carried some principal branches of mathematics to an astonishing degree of perfection, their progress in physical science is chiefly memorable for its errors and the narrowness of its scope. Six hundred years before our era, Thales had invented the geometry of triangles, and measured the heights of the pyramids by their shadows. The elements of plane and solid geometry, cultivated in the long interval between, were matured by the genius of Euclid, Apollonius, and Archimedes: by this latter philosopher, whose genius finds few parallels in human history, mechanics also, and different branches of physical science, were advanced to an extent not now to be distinctly defined. But there lay around those mighty ancients a vast field of obscurity, which they had not attained the means to penetrate. Other aids, both instrumental and theoretical, were reserved for the development of future times; their knowledge was confined in its application to the operations of the rule and compass. Beyond this narrow scope lay the wide realm since fully explored by the science of Galileo and Newton, inaccessible to observation, and darkly explored by conjecture and theory, then, and ever the resources of human ignorance and curiosity, whose knowledge cannot reach.

Nevertheless, so early as the time of Aristotle, the sounder method of observation and experiment were known: but the field of knowledge was too contracted for the range of speculation. The recognition was but partial. Yet from this period, the phenomena of astronomy were observed, registered, and submitted to mathematical computation. The visible stars were grouped and catalogued, eclipses were calculated, and attempts were made, on sound geometrical principles, to measure the circumference of the earth. Just notions of the

system were even entertained, but upon inadequate grounds, and amidst a variety of theoretical systems; and it was not until the year 150 B.C. that Eratosthenes, the librarian of Alexandria, measured an arc of the meridian, and computed the earth's circumference. Among the remarkable circumstances of the interesting progress of this vast and sublime development of genius and observation, thus in (as it were) the first stage of its elevation, two are specially to be observed, for their essential connexion with the history both of astronomy and of human reason. The one, had we time and space, would lead us into the history of astrology—a wonderful combination of the great and little properties of human nature, under the towering shadows of which, the science of observation was preserved and fostered in its growth. The other is the beautiful application of an expedient still employed in natural philosophy, for the same purpose of embodying and subjecting to computation the results of experience. A system purely empirical combined the observed phenomena of the known bodies of the solar system, in such a manner, that being framed so as to include all that could be observed of their motions, it was thus not only adapted for the purpose of computation within those limits, but also served to lead to a closer and more precise measure of phenomena, which, without the reference to some standard system, might easily escape the minute observation necessary for the detection of small quantities of motion or changes of position, such as might lead to further corrections. Of such a nature was the hypothesis by which Apollonius first attempted to solve the seemingly anomalous motions of the planets. This curious system, which was the faith of Europe for fourteen centuries, is worth the reader's attention, and, without any certainty that we can render it popularly intelligible, we shall here attempt to describe it.

In conformity with the universal tendency to explain phenomena by assumptions which seem the most natural, it first began to be the received opinion that the sun and planets moved in circular paths round the earth, which was supposed to be fixed in the centre. The parallel paths and circular apparent motions of the phenomena of the heavens, suggested the notion of a crystalline sphere, in which the multitude of the stars was set, and which revolved with a solemn continuity round its terrestrial centre. The observation of the unequal and contrary apparent motions of the moon and planets extended the theory, and separate spheres of hollow crystalline were devised, to account for these diverse phenomena. It was to these vast concaves, thus spinning round with complicated but harmonious times and movements, that some Eastern poets have attributed a sublime and eternal harmony, unheard in this low world, but heard we should presume, in the

“Starry mansion of Jove's court.”

Such was the first rude and simple outline of the system as adopted by Aristotle and old Eudoxus. Closer and further observation, in the course of time, detected phenomena inconsistent with such a system, and for a time astronomers were content to observe. In proportion to the multiplication of phenomena, conjecture became more timid, and system more difficult. At last, the ingenuity of the geometer Apollo-

nus contrived the first form of a theory which explained the great irregularities of those planetary motions, which most readers now understand to be the combined result of the separate motions of the earth and planets. Instead of a concave sphere having its centre of motion in the earth, Apollonius conceived each of the planets to be carried round on the circumference of a circle, which was itself carried round upon another circle, the circumference of which was the path of its centre. By this ingenious device, the planetary phenomena now so well known by the terms direct, retrograde, and stationary, seemed to be explained. The appearance of a new star, and the long and laborious course of observation into which it led Hipparchus, who undertook in the true spirit of inductive philosophy to catalogue the stars, conducted this great astronomer to the discovery of the precession of the equinoxes.

A new circle, on which the sun was moved, according to the law already explained, reduced this phenomenon to the same convenient system. To this great geometer is attributed the invention of the method of latitude and longitude, by which the position of places on the earth is ascertained: the invention of spherical trigonometry is said also to be among his discoveries.* Of these, however, the most considerable portion were lost, and the remains appear only to be known by their preservation in the *Almagest* of Ptolemy. Three hundred years after the great philosophers already mentioned, their system, with the addition of whatever observation had added in the interval, came into the hands of Ptolemy, whose name it has ever since borne. This great man, not undeservedly, called prince of astronomers by the ancients, may be described as the Laplace of old astronomy: he collected, combined, and completed the results of observation, and reduced the real and theoretical knowledge of his predecessor into an improved, corrected, and augmented theory. A system of empirical knowledge, even then displaying a grand and sublime aspect of the vast capability of human reason, though now chiefly valuable for its connexion with the faith, the superstition, and poetical remains of other times; unless to those who can appreciate its value as a magnificent ruin of ancient philosophy, more instructive and more sublime than Thebes or Palmyra.

Of this system, of which we have forbore to attempt a detailed description, (which would only embarrass the reader who does not already understand it,) one of the effects was, to render permanent the errors which it contained, by the seeming precision with which it explained and calculated the known phenomena of nature. The broad intelligence of Hipparchus and Ptolemy were probably not deceived: they understood the nature of the process too well: they were aware that a theory which comprised, in its first elements, the whole visible phenomena, as well as the rates of movement and times of occurrence, must necessarily, within certain limits, appear to reproduce them as results of calculation. But the very fact that a known succession of phenomena could be thus deduced from a theory, seemed to offer an unanswerable verification of its truth, to a long succession of mindless

* Laplace *Système du Monde*.

ages, whose broken recollections of ancient knowledge were simply the dreams of superstition.

A long period of ignorance followed, in which all science was lost, and human reason was engrossed in devising sophisms and subtle errors. Science, lost in Europe, found refuge in the East; and about the end of the seventh century began to be cultivated with extraordinary zeal and success by the Arabians, who invented algebra, and are also supposed to have invented trigonometry. They translated a vast number of works of Greek science, and among the rest the *Almagest* of Ptolemy, about the beginning of the ninth century.

At the revival of learning in Europe, astronomy, which had always more or less occupied the schools, from its connexion with astrology, as well as its essential combination with the adjustments of the calendar, began earliest to occupy attention. Among the works of science brought from Arabia, the *Almagest* of Ptolemy was obtained, and translated into Latin, by the patronage of Frederick III., in 1230. From this, a quick succession of astronomers and geographers began to construct anew the science of antiquity.

The progress of geographical knowledge had been far more retarded and uncertain. Being chiefly dependent on detailed and local research, it was the less likely to be advanced beyond the narrow limits occupied by civilized nations. Notwithstanding the measurement of Eratosthenes, which is supposed to have been not far from correctness, the geographers who follow for many ages were farther from any approach to the truth. The maps of various geographers of the middle ages, are still extant, to prove how restricted were the bounds of the known world; the farther extremities of Europe, Asia, and Africa, were shut out from all but conjecture: America was yet undreamed of. The knowledge which actually existed was more due to commerce and conquest than to science; and the march of the army, or the station of the caravan, were more to be relied on than the chart of science. In England, the first idea of a topographical survey originated in the distribution of the Saxon lands by the Norman conqueror, and gave rise to the celebrated compilation called *Doomsday Book*. The crusades gave some impulse to the advance of topographical knowledge. The travels of Marco Polo extended geography widely into the East. A long and improving course of maritime discovery set in, and as navigation became cultivated, far less obstructed voyages of discovery soon afforded more correct and extended notions of the compass and form of the old world. Still, however, the condition of geographical knowledge considered as a science, remained in the state in which it was left by Ptolemy.

It is in this state of the science that the great standard work of Sacrobosco finds its place. It held the schools for the following 300 years, went through numerous translations, and has been published with a commentary by Clavius. It might still have held its ground, and Sacrobosco his fame, but for the revolutions in science which the sixteenth century produced. A succession of new intellects broke from the regenerated schools of antiquity. The cycle of a long decline of scientific genius seemed to have rolled back into its renovation of youthful vigour,—the geometry of Archimedes, Apollonius, and Euclid,

seemed to conduct Copernicus, Kepler and Galileo back to the era of Pythagoras. These great men discovered the inadequacy of the Ptolemaic system to account for the phenomena of the solar system. They were silenced by the despotism of ignorance; but they propagated the impulse of right reason, and the light they left never slept till it came into the school of England and the hand of Newton. Every one is aware of the main facts of the Newtonian system. But should any one who has read so far, ask the question which has been often asked—what is our security that the system of Newton is not as fallacious as the system of Ptolemy? the only answer we can give is this, that the principles of their construction are not simply different, but opposite—the one is a system devised to explain appearances, the other an undeviated system, self-built, from discovered truth—the one is a theory, the other a collection of accurately ascertained facts—the one was intentionally assumed to represent what meets the eye, the other studiously rejecting both assumptions and appearances, may be regarded as the laborious work of the observation of ages, slowly falling together, until a hand of power, revealed the fundamental fact which disclosed the secret system of nature. The distances, magnitudes, and motions of the system are facts, tangible to sense: the theory of gravitation rests on the most universal analogy yet discovered, and on the most varied and complex confirmation of geometrical reasoning and computation. “The terms attraction and gravity,” says Mr Woodhouse, “although they seem borrowed from the language of causation, are not meant to signify any agency or mode of operation. They stand rather for a certain class of like effects, and are convenient modes of designating them.”* The law of gravity is the statement of a fact. If it were to be disproved, the vast system of facts, of which it is the combining principle, still remains the same—a symmetrical collection of calculable facts, unmixed with a single inference from mere theory.

We shall hereafter have to offer a more expanded view of this subject, and a continuation of the history of the progress of these parts of knowledge.

Peter.

FLOURISHED A. D. 1240.

PETER, an Irishman of great ability, and remarkable both as a philosopher and a theologian, went to Italy on the special invitation of Frederick II., who had at that time restored the university of Naples, and wished to have a man of his learning and acquirements, both as an example and instructor to the rising generation. He was tutor to Thomas Aquinas in philosophical studies, in the year 1240, and wrote *Quodlibeta Theologica*. The time and place of his death are unknown.

* Preface to Physical Astronomy.

Thomas Hibernicus.

FLOURISHED A. D. 1270.

THOMAS HIBERNICUS was born in the county of Kildare, at a place called Palmerstown. He left his own country and became a fellow of the college of Sorbonne. He continued to reside for some time in Paris, and afterwards travelled into Italy. Marian of Florence writes, "That Thomas, the Irishman, flourished in the year 1270, in the convent of Aquila, in the province of Penin, now called the province of St Bernardin, and was in great reputation for his learning and piety." He continued in this monastery until his death, the period of which is unknown, and was buried there. On his deathbed, he bequeathed all the books he had written, with a variety of other manuscripts, to the college of Sorbonne, together with six pounds for the purpose of purchasing a rent to celebrate his anniversary. The necrology of Sorbonne, states that "Master *Thomas of Ireland*, formerly a fellow of this house, died. He compiled *Manipulum Florum*, and three other small tracts, which he sent to us, and bequeathed to us many other books, and six pounds in money to buy a rent to be employed in celebrating his anniversary." Ware says that the above-mentioned treatise was begun by a Franciscan friar, of the name of *John Gualleis* or *Walleis*, and that, he dying, Thomas completed it, and gave it the title of

Flores Doctorum penè omnium, qui tum in Theologia, tum in Philosophia, hactenus Clarnerunt, lib. ii.

He also wrote—

De Christianâ Religione, lib. i.
De Illusionibus Dæmonum, lib. i.
De Tentatione Diaboli, lib. i.
De Remediis Vitiorum, lib. i.

Ware quotes the following catalogue of his writings from the Bibliotheque of the Dominican order:—

Tabula Originalium, sive Manipulus Florum secundum ordinem alphabeti extracta ex libris 36, Auctorum, edita a M. Thoma Hibernico, quondam Socio Domus Scholarium de Sorbona Parisiensis Civitatis.
Liber de tribus punctis Christianæ Religionis Commendatio Theologia,

beginning "Sapientia Ædificavit fidi Domum," &c., which he explains according to the mystical, allegorical, and moral sense.

Tractatus de tribus Hierarchiis tam Angelicis quam Ecclesiasticis.

In the college of Sorbonne there is another manuscript ascribed to him, under the title of

In primam et secundum sententiarum.

Gotofrid.

FLOURISHED IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

GOTOFRID, a native of the city of Waterford, in Ireland, was a Dominican friar, and deeply skilled in the Latin, Greek, French, and Arabic languages. He left his own country early, and it was thought that he travelled into the East to acquire a more perfect knowledge of the Arabic. He afterwards resided in France, and translated the three following treatises from the Latin, Greek, and Arabic, into French.* He dedicated, according to Harris, “this last piece to some nobleman, whose name is not mentioned in the manuscript from whence the account is taken. For he says thus in the preface—

A noble bers prouz et sages, &c.

which the writers of the Dominican *Bibliothèque* interpret

Nobili viro, strenuo, et prudentia—

“To a man noble, valiant and wise, Goffrid or Gotofrid, from Waterford, the least of the order of Friars preachers, wisheth health in Jesus Christ, and strength both of body and mind”——“whereas, sometimes you provide yourself with arms, and other implements necessary for war, sometimes you entertain yourself in reading books—wherefore to other good books, which you already have, you desire to add a book called *The secret of secrets, of the most wise philosopher, Aristotle, or a treatise of the government of kings and princes*; and for this end you have requested me, that I would for your sake translate the said work from Latin into French, which I have already translated from Greek into Arabic, and again from Arabic into Latin—being overcome by your entreaties, I have taken care to fulfil this task, and have used more pains in it than I am accustomed to do in my deep and profound studies. You are to observe, that the Arabians in a great circuit of words speak but few truths; whereas the Greeks are obscure in their mode of speaking: wherefore by translating from both tongues I have endeavoured to lop off the parts that are too prolix in the one language, and to illustrate what is obscure in the other, as far as the subject-matter would bear, and therein have pursued rather the sense of the words than the words themselves. You are farther to understand, that I have added many other things, which, though they are not contained in that book, yet are drawn from other authentic books, and are no less profitable than what is written in that treatise; these things that are added being pertinent to the subject in hand. Lastly, you are to know, that the Latin is not without a mixture of the Arabic; and therefore I have lopped off many things, which are neither true nor profitable, in such a manner, that I have in the shortest method taken in the marrow of the subject, and what is most consonant to truth.” Thus, as Harris says, the preface shows “the country of the author, of what order of

* 1. Daretis Phrygii Librum de Bello Trojano.

2. Eutropii Romanum Historiam.

3. Aristotelis ad Alexandrum librum, qui dicitur secretum secretorum, seu de regimine Regum.

religion he was, and his skill in the four languages." He also adds, that these three treatises in vellum are preserved at Paris in small folio, in the library of Monsieur Colbert, and are elegantly written in the characters of the thirteenth century; and that in the same volume are contained fourteen sermons turned into French, which in the catalogue are ascribed to *Jacobus de Boragine*: and after them follows a short exposition of the articles of faith, and of the Lord's prayer, in French; and then, other sermons on the first Sunday of advent on time, and on the gospel of all the Sundays in the year. Now as these sermons and discourses are written not only in the same handwriting with the other works before-mentioned, which are certainly Gotofrid's, but also the style and manner of orthography are the same, the authors of the said *Bibliothèque* are willing to ascribe them to him, and think, that they are either composed by him in French, or turned by him into French from some other language. The like judgment is to be made of two other treatises, in the same volume, translated from Latin into French, in the same style and handwriting. The first is entitled in Latin *Libellus mortalitatem*, and in French, *le petits livres demortalites*; and the other is called *Eleucidarius*, being that same book concerning the author of which there are such great disputes among the learned—some ascribing it to Anselm of Canterbury, and others to Honorius of Autun.* The time and place of his death are unknown.

John Duns Scotus.

DIED A. D. 1308.

WHILE a small number of men like John Sacrobosco were in comparative obscurity cultivating the narrow field of real knowledge open to their industry, the schools were with no less diligence, and far more worldly honour, engaged in the fabrication of an enormous pile of laborious and difficult frivolity, in which as much of life, study and genius, was spent to no end, as has since been employed upon the Newtonian philosophy.

Of this curious state of mankind, there are ample remains; and many names illustrious rather on account of the fame they once acquired, than for any real title to the praise or gratitude of posterity. Among these John Duns Scotus, claims a brief notice for the place he once held; and because his name affords the most appropriate occasion for a sketch of the school of which he was one of the ornaments. To preserve the utmost perspicuity, we shall according to the method already pursued, first give an outline of his life.

The birth-place of Duns is disputed by different authorities: the English and Scotch lay claim to him; but Wadding, his biographer, adjudges him to Ireland. This conclusion is supported by the adjunct of Scotus, then unquestionably assumed as distinctive of Irish origin: and it may be observed, that it never has been (and could not have been)

* Harris's Ware.

thus applied to any Scotchman, as it is evident that, so applied, it would have had no distinctive signification. The schools of Ireland, were at the time celebrated for a science, which was eminently adapted to the Irish genius—rather quick and ingenious than solid or profound. A remark which, to apply to the modern Irish, must, we confess, undergo some allowances and deductions, for the modifications derived perhaps from an intermixture of blood. Scotus was born about the year 1266, in the province of Ulster, according to Cavellus, Luke, and Wadding:* he was educated in the university of Oxford, and became a Franciscan friar. From Oxford he went to the university of Paris, where his logical ability quickly made him eminent, and he became a follower of Thomas Aquinas, the famous angelical doctor. During his residence in Paris, he acquired universal applause by an exploit incidental to his age.

The itinerant sophist, has long disappeared with the knight errant and the travelling bard: the increase of knowledge has lessened the value of disputative skill, as the advance of civilization has somewhat cheapened the estimation of physical prowess: and the teeming profusion and facility of the press has obviated the necessity of the *viva voce* encounters of the controversialist. Some remains of this custom, may perhaps, be said to have yet a glimmering existence in Ireland; which in some respects is entitled to be called the *limbus Patrum* of antiquity: we allude to the known practice of the Irish hedge schools, of which the most distinguished scholars travel about from school to school, on a tour of disputation, in which they both add to their learning and endeavour to maintain superiority of knowledge.† This literary knight-errantry may perhaps be regarded as a monument of the time when the wandering doctors of Paris, Bologna, and Padua, and the still more subtle disciples of St Comgall's ancient university, used to travel from college to college, with the spear and shield of Aristotle—*peripatetic* in every sense—and win honours by proving black was white, in opposition to all antagonists. Duns, whose chivalry was in this at least not deficient, had early in life made a vow to support the honour of the Virgin. It was for this purpose that he presented himself to the university of Paris, and offered to maintain against all opponents, her freedom from original sin. A day was set, and the university assembled its powers and intelligence to witness this trial of dialectic skill. Many students and doctors of acknowledged reputation impugned the proposition of the Irish logician. Duns having fully stated the question, allowed his adversaries to discuss it in full detail; and for three interminable days the torrent of their logic flowed, and involved their hearers in the tangled web of scholastic distinctions. Meanwhile, Duns, nothing dismayed, sat listening with a patient and unmoved steadiness of aspect and demeanour, which puzzled all the spectators, and made every one think him a miracle of patience. They were however to be still more astonished, when—after three days of ceaseless verbosity had spun the question into two hun-

* Cited by Ware, *Scriptoribus Hib. Ed.* 1639.

† An ample and curious account of these worthies may be found in Carleton's *Traits and Stories of the Irish peasantry*.

dred elaborate arguments, and the Parisian disputants confessed there was no more to be said—Duns calmly arose and recited all their several arguments, which one after the other he unanswerably refuted. And then while the whole body were yet digesting his superiority in silent dismay, he recommenced and annihilated his already prostrate antagonists with some hundred more unanswerable arguments for the question. The university was convinced, and not only gave Duns his doctor's degree, with the well-merited title of the "subtle doctor," but also decreed that the doctrine thus affirmed should be held by the university in future. We may presume that the university kept its own law: but Duns was not to be tied by the webs of his own subtlety, and proved his claim at least to the title they conferred, by afterwards maintaining a different view of the question. The reputation of Duns grew, and his popularity increased, until it became unfit that he should any longer continue to be reputed the follower of another. To one like Duns, to whom every side of every question must have been equally conclusive, it was easy to find room to differ: and he soon found a fair field of controversy with his great Neapolitan master, Aquinas.

Of Aquinas, our reader may wish to know some particulars. He was the son of the illustrious family of Aquino, in the Terra di Lavoro, in Italy. Contrary to the wish of his parents he became a Dominican friar; and the monks were compelled for some time to remove him from place to place, to maintain their possession of a youth of such high promise. He was at one time seized during a journey by his brothers, and kept for two years in confinement; he was however found out by the Dominicans, and with their aid contrived to let himself down from a window, and escaped. At last having completed the course of study then pursued, he went to Paris and took a doctor's degree: from Paris he returned to Italy, and set up his school at Naples. He soon began to be regarded as the great light of the age, and more than any other writer contributed to the triumph of the scholastic over the ideal or mystic schools. He was among the first and greatest of those who introduced the theological method of collecting and digesting into a theory, the doctrines of scripture. His system, immediately on its publication, received the most distinguished honour and acceptance—and he was ranked after death by Pius V. as the fifth doctor of the church: he was also called the angel of the church, and the angelical doctor. His death took place in 1274, and he was canonized by pope John XXII.*

Such was the mighty antagonist which Duns assailed. The nature of the co-operation between divine grace and human will, and the measure of imparted grace necessary to salvation, were among the most prominent points of difference. The Dominicans sided with their own great light: the Franciscans were no less arduous in support of their subtle doctor; and a violent division renewed the animosity of these two famous orders. Such was the origin of the two sects who are known by the names of Scotists and Thomists.†

Scotus returned from Paris to Oxford, where he for some time con-

* Enfield's Philosophy.

† Mosheim.

tinued to preach and write, with increasing celebrity. But again, visiting Paris, he was tempted to make an effort to settle in a place which was the stage of his greatest celebrity. He continued to teach there for about one year, when he was summoned away by the general of the Franciscans to Cologne. On his approach to Cologne, he was received with all the honour due to his reputation. Here he continued his course of teaching to the numerous scholars whom his renown attracted, until his death. He was one day engaged in delivering a lecture to a crowded audience, when a sudden stroke of paralysis arrested his discourse; it proved fatal in a few hours. His works filled twelve massive folios—which remain a monument of his formidable fertility; and, considering that he died in his 42d year, present no slight illustration of the copious facility of a science which began and ended in words and verbal distinctions—a science which rejected the restraint of facts and the limits of the understanding—and with a compass beyond the grasp of Archimedes, pretended to wield infinity and omniscience without asking for a ground on which to rest the lever of the schools.

Such a state of knowledge may well awaken the interest of many readers, not conversant in the history of the period. For the benefit of such we must now attempt the performance of the promise with which we commenced this memoir; and as in the life of Sacrobosco we gave a cursory sketch of the science of the age, so we shall now offer some brief notice of the philosophy of the schools.

The earlier writers of the church had derived their system of theology from the scriptures. In the course of time, by a natural and very intelligible transition, these earlier divines themselves became the text-book of authority, and gradually began to occupy the place of the scriptures; thus in the decline of literature and philosophy, leading gradually to their disuse. Theology, thus removed from its foundations, was thrown open to the bewildering ingenuity of speculation. The corrupted Platonism of the Alexandrian school, early adopted into the theological school, and largely infused into many of the ancient writers, became in some measure the substance of opinion and controversy; and it is chiefly to the Irish schools of the middle ages that the honour is attributed of an idea which, though sadly misapplied, was yet in its principle not devoid of justness. It was proposed as a new discovery, that it was unworthy to take truths of such importance upon the opinions of fallible authorities, when they might themselves, by the exercise of reason, ascertain what was true from the original documents. But unfortunately, they were utterly devoid of any just knowledge of the use or the limits of reason. From the scripture—by the application of the most absurd system of metaphysics that ever was wiredrawn from sophistry and superstition, in the absence of common sense—they spun the sacred text into allegories and idealisms, that seem more like the ravings of delirium, than the sober interpretation of Divine truths revealed to human apprehension. Such briefly was the form taken by the ancient sect known by the name of Mystics, whose earlier history it does not suit our limits to enter upon. It is perhaps best understood to have arisen anew from the study of Augustine, whose writings it strongly tinctures, and who was a favourite in the cloisters of the middle ages.

A weak glimmer of the peripatetic logic, existing in the same periods, seems to have had little influence in correcting this abuse: the early writers of the church had condemned the writings of Aristotle as inconsistent with divine truth: and the only surviving remains of logical science seems to have been an imperfect system of dialectics ascribed to St Augustin, who was at one time an ardent follower of the Stoic philosophy. At length however an increased communication with Arabia, when about the twelfth century it became customary for learned men to travel in quest of knowledge, was the means of introducing Saracenic translations of the works of Aristotle. The immediate consequence was an infusion of new opinions into the church, founded upon new methods of reasoning.

The church, vigilant in the superintendence of opinion, soon found cause to check the growing evil. Several doctors tested by the jealous thermometer of orthodoxy, were found wanting in the standard shade of Platonism—they were cited before councils, and had their books publicly burned—fortunate in preceding by a few years the period when they might have shared a common fate with their offending volumes. A general prohibition of the writings of Aristotle quickly ensued.

At a somewhat earlier period such a prohibition would have been imperatively felt; but it was a time when a fresh impulse had been imparted to the human mind: the world was awaking from a long sleep, and men in every country of Europe began to look around for light. The orthodox bowed submission, but the schools were at the moment filled with the swarming race of a new generation, and the writings of Aristotle were zealously studied. The mind of the schools soon became largely infused with the elements of a new spirit; and the youth of the age grew up with a deeply imbued love of disputation and subtlety. The church itself felt and yielded to the strong reaction; and, when the growing evil could no longer be suppressed, with its ever admirable tact and sagacity, endeavoured to neutralize and gradually adopt the perilous instrument of human reason. Fortunately for its views, some steps of progress were still wanting to make the instrument dangerous. The love of logic grew; and it became the subject of loud complaint that disputation filled the schools with its noise, and occupied the place of all other study. Disputation became the pride and study of the scholar and the business of life—victory became the source of fame and the test of opinion. The consequence is easily inferred, for it was inevitable. Opinion thus became the end of all study, and took the place of the love of truth. The instincts of the mind were sophisticated; the subtle, word-splitting Scholastic was the fruit of this anomalous culture.

A few words must here be said on the writings, which were the foundation of this corruption of human reason. The writings of Aristotle were but imperfectly understood by their Arabian translators, and became additionally corrupt in the transfusion of a second medium. Originally obscure from the strictly scientific method of the Greek philosopher, and the total absence of those indirect artifices of style which are commonly used for illustration, an erroneous and fantastic commentary swelled the volume, and was received as the better part of its substance, so that to use the language of a historian,

the students were as much indebted to Averroes as to Aristotle. A philosophy at the same time corrupt, obscure, and peculiarly unadapted to the state of human knowledge at the period, gradually filled the schools. Its effects were in no respect beneficial—a generation unacquainted with the uses of reasoning, and destitute of the first elements of real knowledge on which it must proceed, became smitten with a deep love of its forms. The syllogistic method—which accurately represents the operation of reasoning,* and offers both an excellent discipline to the intellect, and a certain test to the value of inference from ascertained premises—was mistaken for something which it did not pretend to be. It became, in the hands of subtle ignorance, a superstition of the intellect—a sort of verbal magic by which any thing could be proved. The forms of reason were substituted in the place of reason, and words took the place of things: for nearly four hundred years the just progress of the human understanding was retarded by the quibbling and interminable jargon of men like Aquinas and Scotus, and the German doctor Albertus, through whom the European schools became acquainted with the writings of the Stagyræte.†

Thus misunderstood and misapplied, Aristotle, from being first opposed by the policy of the church, soon acquired universal dominion. “And so far from falling under the censure of councils and popes, the Aristotelian and Saracenic philosophy became the main pillars of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. In the year 1366, cardinals were appointed by Urban to settle the manner in which the writings of Aristotle should be studied in the university of Paris: and in the year 1462, Charles VII. ordered the works of Aristotle to be read and publicly explained in that university. Thus the union between the peripatetic philosophy and the Christian religion was confirmed, and Aristotle became not only the interpreter, but even the judge of St Paul.”‡ From this period to the Reformation, the church and the universities resounded with dispute and frothy contentions, long and difficult to specify by clear and intelligible distinction: the Thomist and Scotist, of whom we have mentioned the leading differences—the still more prolonged and vehement controversy of the Nominalists and Realists, which we shall fully state in our memoir of Bishop Berkeley, with half a dozen main shades of opinion, were contested with idle words and not idle hands, in foaming disputation and sanguinary fray.

The reformers in their turn produced a re-action, which, however salutary it must be admitted to have been in arresting the further advance of this state of philosophy, passed into the opposite extreme. Though it introduced a sound exercise of reason, and a return to the legitimate field of facts, yet by the law of opposition, so universally discernible in human opinion, they confounded the instrument with the vitiated use to which it had been applied. With the indiscriminate vigour of immature knowledge, in rejecting the doctrines they cast away all that was even accidentally in contact with them. In condemning the adversary, the house in which he lived, the garb he wore,

* See Whately's *Logic* for a satisfactory explanation on this long unnoticed fact.

† Gillies' *Introduction to Aristotle's Rhetoric*.

‡ Enfield's *Abridgment of Brucker*.

the very ground he trode on, grew criminal in their eyes. Among the many extrinsic adjuncts of Romanism thus condemned, the vast intellectual outwork of the scholastic philosophy could not hope to escape: and the works of Aristotle, unhappily confounded with this tumid and inane exerescence of human reason, were denounced.—“With the light of the gospel,” writes Mr Gillies, “the champions of the Reformation dispelled the pestilent exhalations, and disparted the gorgeous but cloud-built castles with which the schoolmen had surrounded a fortress of adamant: for the genuine philosophy of Aristotle remained entire, unhurt, and alike concealed from the combatants on either side. The reformers, engaged in an infinitely greater undertaking, were not concerned in distinguishing the master from his unworthy scholars, and in separating the gold from the dross.”* The violence of opposition, which was the speedy result of this indiscriminating but perfectly natural (and not unjustifiable) spirit, pursued the Stagyrte to his last retreats, the walls of colleges. The general reader of the present age, will easily indeed recall the reproaches of the light-armed and superficial skirmishers of modern reviews and pamphlets discharged against the university of Oxford, on the score of the assumed worship of Aristotle. His works, only known to some of the leading writers of the very last generation, through the same impure sources from which they were presented to Scotus and his clamorous fraternity, were ignorantly assailed, and as ignorantly defended. The profound and elementary comprehension of Bacon, the perspicacious common sense of the admirable Locke, handed down the same subtle errors to the essentially scholastic intellect of Hume. Kames, Harris, Monboddo, Reid, and Stewart, all combined, in more or less specious inaccuracy and misapprehension; and it seems to have remained for the latest writings which have proceeded from the universities of Dublin and Oxford, to dispel the false medium either by strong remonstrance or clear and demonstrative exposition. To the leading writers who might be noticed at length on this subject, we have given as much notice, as the summary character of our undertaking permits. We shall conclude this notice with an extract from one of the most distinguished writers of the age—an illustrious ornament of our Irish university, whose memoir must hereafter give value and interest to our pages—the late worthy and able prelate, archbishop Magee. “It has been singularly the fate of the Greek philosopher, to be at one time superstitiously venerated, and at another contemptuously ridiculed, without sufficient pains taken, either by his adversaries or his admirers, to understand his meaning. It has been too frequently his misfortune to be judged from the opinions of his followers rather than his own. Even the celebrated Locke is not to be acquitted of this unfair treatment of his illustrious predecessor in the paths of metaphysics; although, perhaps, it is not too much to say of his well known essay, that there is scarcely to be found in it one valuable and important truth concerning the operations of the understanding, which may not be traced in Aristotle’s writings; whilst, at the same time, they exhibit many results of deep thinking, which have

* Preface to Aristotle’s Rhetoric, p. 23.

entirely escaped Locke's perspicacity. Indeed, it may be generally pronounced of those who have, within the two last centuries, been occupied in the investigation of the intellectual powers of man, that had they studied Aristotle more, and (what would have been a necessary consequence) reviled him less, they would have been more successful in their endeavours to extend the sphere of human knowledge.*

This curious transition of human knowledge has led us on to a length of remark which we do not consider due to Scotus; unless, perhaps, it be considered, that the eminence which he attained in the sophistry of his age, must still have been the result of some highly distinguished intellectual powers. They were unhappily wasted gifts. His voluminous works, too long for the narrow period assigned to human study, repose with monumental silence and oblivion on the shelves of learned libraries—the too quiet habitations of the unmolested spider, who builds in their safe obscurity, and emulates their labours with skill as fine and less abused. If in a listless moment the student casts his wandering eye over the ponderous masses of unopened lore which seem to encumber the shelves of neglected school divines, his mind may be crossed by a reflection on the vast toil of thought and earnest stress of passion, the years of study and ambitious hope to gain distinction, which were melted down in the accumulation of those most neglected labours. He may thus be conducted by a widely different track to the same feelings, which the moral poet has expressed in the most simply just and eloquent strain which human pen ever wrote, upon the vanities of this life of wasted faculties and fleeting duration:—

“ Perhaps in this neglected spot is laid,
Some mind once pregnant with celestial fire;
Hauds which the rod of empires might have swayed,
Or waked to ecstasy the living lyre.”

Malachy Mac Aedha.

DIED A. D. 1348.

MALACHY MAC AEDHA, or, as he was otherwise designated, Hugh's Son, was consecrated archbishop of Tuam about the year 1313, having been previously bishop of Elphin. He recovered the see of Enaghduin, which he held for twenty years before his death, his predecessor Birmingham having made fruitless efforts to join it to Tuam.† Malachy was the author of a large volume of miscellaneous writings in Irish, containing a catalogue of the Irish kings, from Neal Nigiolach to Roderick O'Connor, and entitled “The Book of Hugh's Son.” He died at a very advanced age, and was buried at Tuam, in the cathedral church of St Mary's. Ware considers a prophecy, attributed to Tarlathia, as having been written by him.

* Magee on the Attainment.

† Ware

Angus Roe O'Daly.

A. D. 1350.

AMONG other poems written by O'Daly, one of four hundred and forty-eight verses is extant. The first portion of it is devoted to Adam and the patriarchs before the flood, and the remainder to the colonies which settled in Ireland, and possessed the island before the arrival of the Milesians. The time of his death is uncertain.

Giolla Brighide Mac Coinmhíde.

A. D. 1350.

MAC COINMHÍDE, or CONWAY, a poet of Ulster, and a retainer of the house of O'Donell, wrote a variety of poems in honour of that warlike race. A copy of one of them, addressed to Brian, son of Donald O'Donell, prince of Tirconell, is preserved in a very valuable volume of Irish historical poems, collected in the Netherlands, in the year 1656, by the Rev. Nicholas O'Gara. He also wrote in verse, the history of Moain, grandson of Niall of the nine hostages. From Moain are descended the Cineal Muain, one of the chief families of which are the O'Gormlys.

Giolla-na-Naomh O'Huidrin.

DIED A. D. 1420.

GIOLLA-NA-NAOMH O'HUIDRIN, a very learned historian, completed, as was before related, the topographical history in verse, begun by John O'Dugan; adding to it the chief portion descriptive of Leinster and its kings, and the entire of that respecting Munster. This addition consists of seven hundred and eighty verses, and a copy of it is in the handwriting of Cucoigariche O'Clery.

Faelan Mac a Gobhan.

DIED A. D. 1423.

FAELAN MAC A GOBHAN is remarkable for having transcribed a great portion of that voluminous compilation called the Book of the O'Kellys;* for which family it was originally collected from a great variety of authors, and remained in their possession until 1757. It is a large folio, written in vellum, and is at present in the possession of

* See an account of this book in the "Transactions of the Ibero-Celtic Society," a valuable work, which has furnished many facts in the preceding Lives.

Sir William Betham. It contains a poem of two hundred and twenty-eight verses, composed by Faelen himself.* "It gives the names of the wives and daughters of several of the Pagan heroes and deities. This is followed (in the folio) with an account of the wives of the patriarchs, and a synchronism of the Roman emperors, with the monarchs of Ireland, to the emperor Severus, and Art the Solitary, monarch of Ireland, from A. D. 220 to 250, in which latter year he died. After this, (in immediate succession) follows an account of the Jewish high priests and the first Christian bishops, the officers of St Patrick's household, and different members of his family."

"We cannot say," observes our authority, "whether these latter tracts are the original productions of Faelan Mac a Gobhan or not; but by a memorandum at the bottom of the folio, it is said that they were written by Faelan Mac a Gobhan *na scel* (of the histories) for his lord and his friend, bishop Muircheartach O'Kelly. This prelate was bishop of Clonfert from 1378 to 1394, at which time he was translated by pope Boniface IX. to the see of Tuam, over which he presided as archbishop until his death, on the 29th of September, 1447." Faelan Mac a Gobhan died in 1423.

Donogh O'Bolgaidh.

A. D. 1468.

DONAGH O'BOLGAIDH, or BOULGER, was a physician of some eminence, and a voluminous writer of medical treatises, and also a transcriber of the writings of others on the same subject. He wrote treatises on the diseases of the head, and of the other members of the human body, and makes frequent quotations from the Arabian physicians in these works. He also wrote a tract on the medicinal virtues of herbs and minerals; and there remains in his handwriting a translation of Aristotle's treatise "On the Nature of Matter." There is a curious addition to his writings, in the form of a law tract, in which he regulates the fees or rewards to be paid to physicians by the different classes of society.

The exact year of his death is not known.

Cathald Mac Magnus.

DIED A. D. 1498.

CATHALD MAC MAGNUS was author of those annals of Ireland, called "Annals of Bally Mac Magnus," "Scuatensian Annals," and "Annals of Ulster." They commence with the reign of Feredach Fionnfactnach, monarch of Ireland, A. D. 60, and are carried down to the author's own time. They were afterwards continued to the year 1504, by Roderick O'Cassidy, archdeacon of Clogher.†

* Ware.

† Transactions of the Ibero-Celtic Society.

The annals of the *Four Masters* give the character, and relate the death of Cathal, in words of which the following is a literal translation:—

“Mac Magnus of Seanaigh, *i.e.* Cathal Og, son of Cathal, son of Giolla Patrick, son of Matthew, &c., was master of a house of general hospitality, and a public victualler in Seanaidh Mac Magnus; canon of the choir in Ardmach, and in the bishopric of Clogher; parson of Tuiscoin; Deacon of Lough Erne; and deputy of the bishop of Clogher, for fifteen years before his death. He was an encourager and protector of learning and science in his own district; a treasured branch of the canons; a fountain of love and mercy to the poor and unprotected of God's people. It was he who collected and brought together many books of annals, from which he compiled the Annals of Bally Mac Manus, for himself. He died of the small-pox, on the 10th of the calends of April, on a Friday, in particular, in the sixtieth year of his age.”

Manus O'Donell.

DIED A. D. 1532.

MANUS, son of Rodh, of the princely house of O'Donell, was author of a life of St Patrick, often quoted by Colgan. It is uncertain whether he was also the author of some poems, written about the same period, and attributed to a writer of the same name.

Teige O'Coffey.

A. D. 1554.

ABOUT this period, Teige *Mór* O'Coffey composed a poem in praise of Manus, son of Aodh Dubh O'Donell, “who gave the writer a mare of his stud for every rann contained in the poem. It consists of twenty ranns, or eighty verses.”*

Donald Mac Carthy.

DIED A. D. 1565.

DONALD MAC CARTHY, who was created in this year first earl of Clan Carthy, was the author of several poems, chiefly on religious subjects.

* Transactions of the Ibero-Celtic Society.

John O'Maolconaire.

A. D. 1566.

AT the time that Brian na Murtha O'Rourke was chosen chief of his tribe, on the death of his brother Aodh, John O'Maolconaire wrote a poem of an hundred and thirty-six verses, in praise of Brian na Murtha, (of the bulwarks,) beginning "Breifne has obtained a prince worthy of her." This poem is stated, by Mr O'Reilly, who had a copy of it in his own possession, to be written "in the Bearla Feine, or Phœnician dialect of the Irish," and assigns as a reason for his selecting it, that "the dialect of the plebeians was unworthy of his hero."*

Roderick M'Crath.

A. D. 1584.

WHEN Feagh M'Hugh O'Byrne was elected chief of his tribe, Roderick wrote an ode on his inauguration, of one hundred and twenty verses, in Irish, beginning "A warning to assemble the race of Brann!" The Brann here mentioned was Brann the Black, king of Leinster, who died in the year 601, from whom the O'Brainns or O'Byrnes derive their name and lineage.† He also wrote a poem on the family of O'Byrne of Ranelagh, who so long contended against the English. Copies of these poems are in the possession of the family of O'Byrne, of Cabinteely.‡

Dubhtach O'Duigenan.

A. D. 1588.

DUBHTHACH, or DUFFY, wrote two very long poems, containing chronicles of the families of O'Neill and O'Donell for centuries. That addressed to Aodh, or Hugh O'Neill, embraces a period of two hundred and sixteen years; and the poem on the O'Donell family four hundred: the latter is three hundred and sixty-eight verses in length. It is written in Irish, and begins, "Let us pursue the chronicle of *Clann Dalaigh*." The O'Donells are called by the Irish, *Clann Dalaigh*, and Muintin Dalaigh (Daly), from Dalach, their great ancestor, and derive their name of O'Donell from his grandson Donall Mor.§ This poem gives a catalogue of twenty-five kings or princes who governed Tirconnel, from Eigneachan O'Donell in 1199, to Hugh Roe O'Donell in 1600, when this poem was written.

* See on this subject, page 11, vol. i.
† O'Reilly.

‡ Ibid.

§ Ibid.

Edmund Spenser.

BORN A. D. 1553—DIED A. D. 1596.

SPENSER, though he, along with many of our noblest names of this period and the following, can be claimed by Ireland only by a partial interest, has yet an unquestionable claim to be commemorated by the historian of her literary worthies. If England was the country of his birth, we deny her not the claim that ranks him among the highest names of her most glorious age; but we claim a compatriot interest in the poet of Kilcolman: Ireland was the birthplace of his muse.

Like many illustrious persons, who have in those unrecording ages sprung from an humble state by the ascendant qualities of genius, the early part of Spenser's career is little known. It seems to be ascertained that he was born in London, in or about 1553; and it appears, from several passages among his dedications, that he claimed kindred with the noble house of Spenser. The claim is also said to have been recognised; but the recognition is not affirmed by any record of kind offices done, in the course of the poet's long struggles with fortune. The noble by birth will always feel some natural reluctance in admitting such claims, although native nobility of spirit, like conscious innocence, will neither fear nor find reproach where there can be no dishonour. But we apprehend that the noblest house in England would now point back to this coldly received affinity with a far different feeling, and would rejoice if it were to be found among the honourable records of its history, that the noblest of its lineage, in the estimation of time, had some nearer proof of kindred than a doubtful implication of assent. We do not indulge this reflection in the ridiculous spirit of condemnation—the claim may have been uncertain and remote, and circumstances are wholly wanting to warrant any judgment in the case. We merely express the strong suggestion arising from a circumstance, which forces a common and affecting condition of social life upon the heart:—the fact, if such, is but one among those common incidents, thick strewn in the course of every generation. The healthy and elastic sense of tender youth is not more quick to shrink from the revolting aspect of the dead, than the full-blown pride of the world to avoid the humiliating contact of a fallen or struggling relationship: bright and honourable exceptions there are, but such is the spirit of human life: *corruptus vanis rerum*. And we must in justice add, that it is not altogether from the want of beneficence, but from that species of pride which finds it essential to be separated from the humiliations of circumstance. It is still felt by the crowd which is inflated with adventitious dignity, as intensely as it was by the patrician usurers of old Rome, that there is something in the power of fortune which lowers and degrades: *quod ridiculos homines facit*. But we are led from our purpose. Spenser does not seem, at any period of his life, to have been in any way advantaged by family assistance; and the only record we can find, on any certain authority, of his youth, is his entrance as a sizar on the books of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge. Here he graduated in 1576. He is said to have sat for a fellowship

in competition with Andrew, afterwards bishop of Winchester. That he was not successful is scarcely matter of regret: his subsequent career might have been more usefully and calmly secure, but we cannot doubt that after-ages are indebted rather to the vicissitude and striving with the adverse waves and winds of stern reality, which has imparted so much truth and substance to his chief writings. Instead of being permitted to indulge his dreamy spirit in the lettered trifling of the bookish cloister, he was thrown soon upon the exercise of all his senses, and compelled to infuse a large portion of corrective observation and experience with the Gothic phantasmagoria of his lofty and sequestered spirit. Spenser, however, in the instance here mentioned, was practical enough to look rather to the present good; and dreaming little of being starved or buffeted into the admiration of posterity, was as discontented as beaten candidates are very prone to be; and was encouraged, by the countenance of some of his university friends, in the complaint of having met with injustice.

Among his warmest friends was the then celebrated Gabriel Harvey, who is mentioned by Warton as being the inventor of the hexameter imitation of the Latin, and who is the "Hobbinal" of Spenser. By Harvey's advice, Spenser resolved to try his fortune in London. It was an age of literary adventure—the public favour towards poetry stood at a point to which it never again rose until the nineteenth century: but the circumstances of these two periods were wholly different. There was in the Elizabethan age, commonly called the age of poetry, no vast commercial republic of letters, of which the comprehensive and steady organization worked with the uniformity and precision of a factory; manufacturing books to the public demand, as nearly as possible, by the laws of every other produce of human labour, and with the very lowest application of mental power. Sonnet and lampoon, epigram and eulogy, it is true, like the periodical effusions of the annuals and periodicals of our time, were the universal accomplishment and affectation of the day. But few books were printed—there was no "reading public"—and no book-mill as regular as the market, and almost as needful, to pour out its vast exuberance of publications, planned, bespoken, and conducted by the trade, and wrought by operatives of every grade, from the genius and learning of Scott, Southey, and Moore, to the journeyman tinker of Brummagem books, who does his task to order, in a workmanlike way. At that interesting period, it required no small enthusiasm, and the excitement of no little genius, to brave the perils and mortifications of the tuneless avocation. Like the way-faring harper, he had to seek fit audience. He had to meet the indifference of the vast crowd of the uneducated, the unsettled taste, or fastidious insolence of the smattering underbred, the insolence of fashion, and the want of the adventurous trade, then but in its infancy. His one resource was a patron, and it expresses the whole:—

"Toil, envy, want, the patron and the gaol."

Much of this Spenser was destined to experience; but it appears that his first introduction was smoothed by the friendship of the noble and gallant Sidney, to whom he received an introduction from the kindness

of his college friend, Gabriel Harvey. Two different stories are told concerning this introduction, which might be reconciled only by a very considerable change in the order of the incidents of Spenser's early life. According to one account, we should be compelled to assume, that either his introduction to Sidney was later than the time stated, or that he received, in the first instance, a very small portion of his patron's countenance, and was soon forgotten. The story runs thus:—That when Spenser had completed the ninth canto of the first book of the *Fairy Queen*, he repaired to Leicester House, and sent in a copy to Sidney, who, on reading a few stanzas, was so astonished and delighted at the description of Despair, that, turning to his steward, he bade him give fifty pounds to the person who brought these verses: on reading the next stanza, he ordered him to give a hundred. The amazed steward thought fit to make some delay, in hopes that his lord might come to his senses, and estimate the verses more nearly at the current rate of scribbling; but after the next stanza, Sidney raised the sum to two hundred, and forbade any further delay, lest he might be tempted to give away his whole estate. The story must have some ground in reality; but that which it would displace is founded on a larger combination of occurrences, and occupies more space in his history. According to the more received account, Spenser's first movement on leaving college was a visit to his own family in the north of England. There he produced some minor poems, and continued in some uncertainty as to his future course, when his friend Harvey wrote to him from London, where he was himself gaining ground as a poet, strongly urging him to try his fortune in the same adventurous field. Spenser was easily persuaded; and on his arrival was introduced by his friend to Sidney, who, at once recognising his high pretension, took him into his household, and carried him with him to Penhurst, where he made use of his taste and judgment in the compositions on which he was himself engaged. This is the more probable and best sustained account: it has also the merit of offering to the reader's mind a sweet and singular picture of the high communion of the two noblest hearts and loftiest intellects of their age, in the sequestered haunts of contemplation and fancy, while the affections, and the aspirations of ambition were young in both.

In the course of his northern residence, during which some conjecture, with no small likelihood, that he was engaged in tuition, Spenser is said to have fallen in love with the lady whom, under the name of *Rosalind*, he celebrates in his pastorals; which are full of her cruelty and her lover's despair. But as the lady is as much the appendage of poesy as of chivalry, it is very probable that the fierceness of his despair found a full vent in the poem which first raised him to reputation, and took its permanent station in the poetry of England. These compositions were the best introduction to the favour of Sidney.

As is usual with the youthful poet, Spenser appears, during his residence with his patron, to have been engaged in wide speculations as to the adoption of a path worthy of his growing powers. The first was one highly illustrative of the age, but little worthy of the poet. The new enthusiasm for classic antiquity—the imperfection of English style, and the exquisite grace and finish of those great standard works

of Greek and Roman genius, which alone seem equally attractive in every change of language, literature, and climate—most naturally suggested the adoption of the metre of Virgil and Ovid, the favourites of the age—with these, of course, the whole train of Latin harmonies would be attempted. In this curious appropriation, Spenser, with many other writers, was for a time employed; and the conception was not unworthy of the richest genius of the age: its disadvantages could only be discovered by trial.* Fortunately, Spenser, after some time, discovered a track more suited to the character and powers of his native tongue, and adapted with curious felicity to the rich Gothic solemnity of his genius. But of this we shall say more before we have done.

It seems that he soon recovered from an error which would have committed his labours to the waste-paper grave of scholastic theology; and it is thought that he then began the *Fairy Queen*. This we are, however, inclined to consider as a doubtful point. His labours, whatever was their subject, quickly met with an interruption. His patron's influence soon introduced him for a time into other scenes than the civilized and tranquil shades of Penhurst. He was sent over to Ireland with Lord Grey of Wilton, who was appointed to the government of this island in 1580. Spenser was retained as his secretary; and, in scenes of civil strife and barbarism, so uncongenial to the muse, his course is for a time lost to the eye of history. Grey returned to England in two years; but Spenser obtained a grant of three thousand acres in the county of Cork, as a compensation for his service. It is supposed that he at this time had returned to England, where he remained until the death of Sidney, who, the reader is aware, was slain in the Low Countries in 1586. This afflicting incident closed the gate of preferment, and Spenser returned to fulfil the condition of his grant by residing on his estate.

Kilcolman Castle, or rather its ruin, is still to be seen, and is described by most historians of the county of Cork. It had belonged to the earls of Desmond, the former lords of the poet's estate, and of the whole district in which it was contained. The river Awbeg, on which it stood—the "Gentle Mulla" of the poet—rises near Buttevant, and enters the river Blackwater near Bridgetown. It wound with a smooth course through the (then) wooded and romantic solitudes of a widely pastoral district, presenting along its tranquil course numerous diversities of the lone and solemn scenery which fancy loves to people with her creatures of romance. The poet's dwelling was within about four miles of the present village of Doneraile, and looked out over a far expanse of plain, bounded by the distant eastward hills of the county of Waterford. The Rathnoure mountains closed the aspect on the north, the Nagle mountains on the south, and on the west the mountains of Kerry.

"The ruins present the remains of a principal tower, in a castellated building of some extent. The outlines and vestiges of several apartments may still be distinctly traced. The lower of these rooms seems

*The only successful attempt we can recollect at this species of composition, is the Supplic Ode which commences a book of the "Curse of Kehama."

to have been used as a hall or kitchen, and is arched with stone. The stairway of the tower still exists, and leads to the decayed remains of a small chamber. Little can be added concerning this interesting ruin, except that the remaining windows command extensive prospects.*

Here, then, Spenser began to reside in the year 1587, seven years from his first arrival in Ireland. And it has been observed, that the rural and scenic descriptions contained in many of his poems, and especially in the "Fairy Queen," are entirely drawn from the surrounding country: hence the "wild forests," and "wasteful woods," and the whole characteristic sylvan colouring of this poem. Nor would it be possible, without many a bold reach of conjecture, to trace the numerous latent transformations by which the incidents of time and place have become metamorphosed into the visions of poetic combination. Who that reads the opening of the twelfth canto—

" Then, when as cheerless night so covered had
Fair heaven with an universal cloud,
That every wight, dismay with darkness sad,
In silence and in sleep themselves did shroud,
She heard a shrilling trumpet sound aloud,"—

and recollects how faithfully the characteristic incident of Irish insurrection is presented, will fail to remember how often sadly familiar to the poet's ear must have been the "shrilling" horn from the nightly hills? The sudden harmony of "many bagpipes" among the thickest woods, and the "shrieking hubbubs" (an Irish word), can have no prototype in nature but the one. The scenery of the country is directly described in the following lines:—†

" Whylome, when Ireland flourished in fame
Of wealth and goodness, far above the rest
Of all that bear the British island's name,
The gods then used, for pleasure and for rest,
Oft to resort thereto, as seemed them best :
But none of all therein more pleasure found
Than Cynthia, that is sovereign queen profest
Of woods and forests which therein abound,
Sprinkled with wholesom waters, more than most on ground."

The manner in which the fawns, satyrs, and hamadryads, and all the poetical inhabitants of the woods, seem to have infested his imagination in the first portions of the "Fairy Queen," but more especially in Book I. Canto vi., appears to us decisive of the point—that it was here this poem was commenced, although the conception, and perhaps some rough sketching, may have previously existed.

It was while engaged in this retreat in the composition of his immortal work, that he was visited by Raleigh—the incident is described in "Colin Clout's come home again," in which he describes his friend who had just returned from Portugal as the "shepherd of the ocean,"

" I sate as was my trade
Under the foot of Mole, that mountain hore ;

* Brewer.

† The lines are quoted by Brewer.

Keeping my sheep amongst the coolly shade
 Of the green alders by the Mulla's shore,
 There a strange shepherd chanced to find me out ;
 Whether allured with my pipe's delight
 Whose pleasing sound shrilled far about,
 Or thither led by chance, I know not right ;
 Whom when I asked, from what place he came ?
 And how he hight ? himself he did ycleep
 The shepherd of the ocean by name,
 And said he came far from the main sea deep !

This visit was the means of drawing Spenser from his retreat: he read the three first books to his guest, whose enthusiastic spirit was fired with admiration. He conjured the poet to lose no time in its publication, and urged him so warmly to repair at once to London, that Spenser accompanied him, and the three first books were printed in the year 1590. Of his adventures on this occasion, the accounts are neither very abundant nor authentic. It is stated, with the highest probability, being in fact a matter of course, that he was introduced by Raleigh to the Queen, who appointed him Poet Laureate; but it is (with much probability) asserted by some without any pension. It is however affirmed, that the lord-treasurer, Burleigh, whose prudent parsimony exceeded his taste for verse, and his jealousy of court favour either his love of economy or his regard for merit, exerted his powerful influence to intercept the queen's favour. The fact seems ascertained by the complaints of Spenser, which with a pension of £50 would have been quite out of place. A story is told by all biographers, that the queen having read the *Fairy Queen*, ordered a gratuity of one hundred pounds to be paid to the author. Burleigh, to whom this command was addressed, with a well-feigned expression of surprise replied—“What! all this for a song?” “Then give him what is reason,” answered Elizabeth, whose prudence was not less though her taste was more. Burleigh's estimate of “What is reason?” was slight indeed; and when Spenser, after an interval of suspense, discovered that he was likely to be without his expected recompense, he came to a determination to remind the queen of her promise, which he did by these lines:

“ I was promised on a time
 To have reason for my rhyme ;
 From that time, unto this season,
 I received not rhyme nor reason.”

The queen, who thus learned the remissness of Burleigh, peremptorily commanded the payment of her order. The patent for his pension, may perhaps have succeeded this incident. There is another passage of Spenser, which seems to be descriptive of the incident here mentioned:—

“ Full little knowest thou that hast not tried
 What ill it is in suing long to bide :
 To lose good days that might be better spent ;
 To waste long nights in pensive discontent ;
 To speed to-day to be put back to-morrow ;

To feed on hopes to pine with fear and sorrow ;
 To have thy prince's grace, yet want her peers ;
 To have thy asking, yet wait many years ;
 To fret thy soal with crosses and with cares ;
 To eat thy heart with comfortless despairs ;
 To fawn, to crouch, to wait, to ride, to run,
 To spend, to give, to want, to be undone.
 Unhappy wight, born to disastrous end
 That doth his life in so long tendance spend."*

But the favour of courts, proverbially uncertain, and the invidious dislike of intriguing ministers, were in some degree compensated by the friendship and admiration of the higher spirits of the age. If his fortunes did not advance with the rapidity of expectation, he must have at least felt the triumph of his genius. His publisher afforded the certain proof of the success which was most to be desired, by a spirited effort to collect and publish all his other pieces at the time extant.

Not long after this event, Spenser once more sought his poetical retirement on the banks of the Mulla; and with the short interval of a visit to London in the winter of 1591, continued for many years in the assiduous composition of the remaining books of the *Fairy Queen* and other well known works. It was during this period that he formed an attachment to the beautiful daughter of a merchant of Cork. Spenser was now approaching his fortieth year: he was compelled to experience the bitter sweets of a long and of course anxious probation; and often perhaps to be painfully reminded of his youthful attachment to the perfidious and fickle Rosalind. The Irish lady was remarkable for her due sense of the dignity of her sex, and her pride is celebrated by her lover.

" For in those lofty looks is close implied
 Scorn of base things, disdain of foul dishonour ;
 Threatening rash eyes which gaze on her so wide,
 That loose they be who dare to look upon her."†

In another sonnet he celebrates her

" Mild humbless mixt with awful majesty."

And again,

" Was it the works of nature or of art
 Which tempered so the features of her face,
 That pride and meekness mixt by equal part,
 Do both appear to adorn her beauty's grace?"

After a courtship of three years, this proud young beauty relented, and some graceful verses describe the intoxicating delight of her first smiles. He was married in Cork, in 1554, and has left the record of one day's unalloyed happiness in the epithalamium he wrote on the occasion:—

* Mother Hubbard's Tale.

† Sonnets.

“ Behold while she before the altar stands
Hearing the holy priest that to her speaks,
And blesses her with his two happy hands,
How the red roses flush up in her cheeks,
And the pure snow-white lovely vermeil stain,
Like crimson dyed in grain !
That even the angels, which continually
About the sacred altar do remain,
Forget their service, and about her fly,
Oft peeping in her face, which seems more fair
The more they on it stare.
But her sad eyes, still fixed upon the ground,
Are governed with a godly modesty
That suffers not a look to glance away
Which may let in a little thought unsound.
Why blush ye love ! to give to me your hand ?
The pledge of all our band.”

Such was the happy commencement of a brief and troublous interval.

Not long after his marriage, Spenser paid a short visit to London, where he published three more books of the *Fairy Queen*, and presented his “ View of the State of Ireland ” to the queen. The next year he returned home, and for a little longer every thing wore the air of peaceful prosperity: he was happy in his wife, who had made him the father of two fair sons; and his character as a resident proprietor, as well as his reputation as a poet, began to win him golden opinions in the city and surrounding territory. He was recommended also by the crown, to the office of sheriff for Cork. But the rebellion of Tyrone broke upon these goodly prospects, and surrounded every peaceful habitation with restless inquietudes and apprehensions. The inmates of one of Desmond’s castles could not sleep undisturbed by the terrors which left no home secure. Frightful rumours were the daily conversation; the quiet woods which the poet so long had peopled with the fawns, satyrs, and hamadryades in which his fancy loved to revel, teemed with no imaginary groups of wolvisk kernes and ruffian bonaghts fiercely looking out upon his castle and awaiting the night: night was haunted by fearful apprehensions—evil noises mingled in the winds, and the echoing signal was heard among the hills. Hapless is their state who are under the influence of such terrors—inflicting by anticipation the sufferings which may not arrive. But this was not the good fortune of poor Spenser, of whose felicity we more lament the ruin because it was so complete. Blest in the union he had formed, a happy father, a husband much loving and much loved, admired, respected, and after a life of toil possessed of a growing fortune: one fatal hour reversed his fortunate position and sent him a houseless fugitive with his helpless family, again to try his fortune in the uncertain favour of which he had so long experience.

We cannot here offer any precise detail of the dreadful particulars of a disaster, the horror of which is perhaps better to be understood from a single incident than from any description. The poet with his family were compelled to fly with such precipitation, that their youngest infant was left behind. It was perhaps the error of the wretched

parents, inexperienced in popular convulsion, to imagine that a helpless and innocent babe could not be really in any risk; and they conceived that they had provided fully for its safety, by leaving the necessary directions for its journey on the following day, in a manner more accommodated to its tender age. The castle was plundered and burned, and the infant perished in the flames. The family only escaped by the promptness of their flight. They reached London, where they took lodgings in King Street.

Spenser never recovered from the shock of this calamity. Despair and discouragement clouded his breast, and his health sunk rapidly under the combination of grief, want, and the renewal of a painful servitude upon the capricious friendship of the great. We do not believe that he was utterly deserted in this distressing condition, because we do not believe in the utter baseness of mankind it would imply: feeling, generosity, and truth, can have no existence but in fable, if they are not to be found in the ranks of a high and polished aristocracy. But a just estimate of human nature, and a precise experience of the moral workings of society, is sufficient to account for the neglect which neither high worth, nor the possession of many friends, are enough to ward off. The generosity of the world is but an impulse, which its prudence more constant, is ever trying to limit and escape from: when the effort to relieve has been made, it is an easy thing to be satisfied that enough has been done, and to lay the blame of its actual insufficiency on the imprudence of the sufferer. The kindness is for the most part accompanied by counsel, for the most part inconsiderate, because it cannot be otherwise. It cannot be expected that any one will apply to the emergency of another that clear and elaborate scrutiny into the whole combination of their advantages and disadvantages which is necessary for conduct under the pressure of difficulty: counsel is cheap and easy, and all are ready to bestow it; but sound and considerate advice few have at their disposal when they need it for themselves. Our application of these reflections, is but conjectural, and the result of our own long observation of the ways of the world. But it is certain that Spenser had many high and influential friends, and claims of no slight order upon the sympathy of the good and wise, and upon the gratitude of all—the proudest ornaments of the Elizabethan age are Spenser and Shakespeare, with either of whom (different as they are) no other can be named. Poor Spenser with a family—stripped of his estate—with the claim of service and the noble title of genius—was, if not absolutely deserted, allowed to sink into neglect and penury. It is said, and not authoritatively contradicted, that when reduced to the most abject want, lord Essex sent him a sum of money which the poet's pride induced him to refuse. The circumstance is very likely to have received the exaggerations, so commonly attendant upon all incidents which can be distorted into scandal against the upper classes. We have already in another memoir,* had occasion to examine a very similar story. We however think it sufficiently confirms the general inference of his having suffered from want; nor can we entertain any doubt that his spirit must have been shattered and

* *Life of Sheridan.*—*Dublin University Magazine*, June, 1837.

his pride diseased into a morbid irritability by the sufferings and mortifications ever attendant upon such misfortunes.

It is, in the midst of these painful circumstances, cheering to contemplate the fact that his wife—the haughty beauty whom he had wooed for three years, and who adorned and exalted his short interval of worldly happiness—did not wrong the deep love and the immortalizing praises of the poet; but with the attachment and constancy peculiar to her sex, walked with him like a ministering angel in the fiery furnace of affliction and bitterness: confirming her claim in sober history, to the encomium with which poesy has handed down her name.

Spenser only survived his flight from the country of his adoption, “a little more than kin and less than kind,” for five years, and died at his inn in King street, in January, 1598, in the 45th year of his age. The world, which felt that he was to be no longer a burden, but thenceforth an honour, showered upon his heedless grave its most unavailing honours and distinctions. His funeral was conducted with a pomp more suited to his real merits, than to his fortunes. The earl of Essex contributed the cost, and the poets of the day came to shower their verses into his grave. He was buried in Westminster Abbey, next to Chaucer, the only other name that could yet be named with his. His wife is understood to have survived him for some years, but not to have married again. His two sons had descendants, but have left no trace in our history; they found their way to their native country, but did not recover their father's estate. Sylvanus married a Miss Nangle of Moneanymy, in the county of Cork: by her he had Edmund and William Spenser. The other son, Peregrine, left also a son, who was afterwards reinstated by the court of claims, in all that could be ascertained of the Kilcolman estate. He was however afterwards outlawed for his adherence to James II. The property was again recovered to the family by William Spenser, the grandson of Sylvanus, by means of lord Halifax. It has however long passed away, and with it all distinct traces of the family. They are not however the less likely to be still existing: property is the stem of the genealogical tree, of which the leaves and branches cannot long survive the support.

It is a part of our most especial duty to offer something more than the mere history of the *Fairy Queen*, a production of which neither the characteristic style nor the local origin can be separated from the woods and streams of the county of Cork. Milton, whose mind was more deeply imbued with the poetry of Spenser than seems to have been noticed, describes this poem with his usual graphic precision in his divine *Il Penseroso*:—

“ And if ought else great bards beside
In sage and solemn tunes have sung
Of turneys and of trophies hung,
Of forests and enchantments drear,
When more is meant than meets the ear.”

Besides its intrinsic merits as a great masterpiece of English poetry, the *Fairy Queen* is a composition of peculiar interest both to the nati-

quary and the moral historian, on account of the fidelity with which it may be said to reflect the opinions, manners, superstitions, and the whole spirit of the age. The full evidence of this, is only to be collected from a more intimate acquaintance with the numerous neglected writings, and the forgotten and exploded superstitions with which those obscure records are replete.

To attempt even a summary of this would involve us in the discussion of a variety of topics, not easily dismissed within the limits we should wish to preserve. The literature of England and that of our island, yet continued remotely apart from each other both in material and character. The literature of Ireland was, like her language, the relic of a remote civilization, for centuries on the decline and tending to no revival. English literature was just breaking fresh from the shackles, and impediments of a long but retarded progress into a fresh and glorious adolescence—under the head and heart expanding influence of the reformation. The prejudices and superstitions of earlier times rejected from the enlarging dominion of reason were delivered up to the fancy or imagination: from reality they melted into the sombre magnificence of poetry. All that was solemn, terrific, or magnificent—all that was influential over character and feeling—all that had possessed the spirit and given its whole form to the external manners of the previous age—yet held a modified power over the heart of the world, and a venerable charm in its recollections. Such is the law of moral transition—the expansion of the intellect long precedes the real alteration of the moral constitution of the breast. It is on this principle that the ghost and fairy have so long held their place in modern fiction: there is a faith of the imagination, which long outlives the stern exposures of reason. There is not indeed, when we would truly estimate the extent to which the poetry of an age reflects its actual spirit, a more essential consideration than this, that it is not in the knowledge of its books, or by the actions of its leading characters (all that history records), the world is to be truly seen: it is not so in this age of diffusive education, and was not so when knowledge was nearly confined to those, who were engaged in the extension of its bounds. As the German poet, (or his translator) says—

“To us, my friend, the times that are gone by
Are a mysterious book, sealed with seven seals:
That which you call the spirit of ages past
Is but in truth the spirit of some few authors,
In which those ages are beheld reflected
With what distortion strange, Heaven only knows.”

From the surviving lucubrations of the academy or the cloister, in which little of external life can be *felt* (the only knowledge of life,) or from history which is but an abstract of gross results, or a record of facts, connected by the webwork of the writer's art;* there is little to

* We have borrowed the phrase from the same writer, to whom we are indebted for the quotation above.

“History!
Facts dramatised say rather—action—plot—
Sentiment, every thing the writer's own,
As it best fits the webwork of his story.”—*Faustus*, p. 39.

convey the true character of a remote age,—it is to be inferred only from an intense realization of circumstances to be laboriously gleaned from a large collation of remains and records: but the nearest approach must ever be made, by a fair allowance for the representation of the poet, and the record of transmitted customs and superstitions.

The real spirit of the public mind of the age of Elizabeth, was not materially varied from the quaint and simple character of many previous generations—a few loftier pinnacles had emerged into the upward beams of morning light—but the plains and valleys lay in twilight. The fairy people played their feats and gambols on the forest glade—and the bar-ghosts and goblins of midnight were indistinctly visible. The student still endeavoured to draw responses from the stars—or brooded over the furnace and crucible, in the feverish vigil of “hope deferred.” The Gothic pageantry—the chivalric spirit of all the quaint solemnities with which a long lapse of ages of growing civilization had endeavoured to refine and ornament life, held a customary sway over the mind of every class and order, and moulded the age. These features are apparent in a multitude of ancient writers now little known, and may be traced in every record of manners in the Elizabethan age. Amid the splendour of the genius and wisdom of that glorious age, may be discerned the ghastly empiricism which passed for knowledge—the absurd traditions which passed for history—the quaint and scholastic, but often just and lofty ethics, stiffened with a pasteboard panoply of conceits and allegories by the taste for mysticism which is so congenial to the infancy of knowledge, as well as by the seemingly opposite but equally allied tendency to give a palpable form and representation to the invisible and spiritual. Hence indeed the gorgeous masques, moralities and mysteries, with their grotesque and cumbrous machinery of virtues, graces, and mythologic beings, the delight of that generation to which they were fraught with an intense ideal and moral interest, unintelligible to the children of our shrewd age. “In the reign of queen Elizabeth,” says Warton, “a popular ballad was no sooner circulated than it was converted into a moralization.” The moralization passed into a pageantry, which was but a costly improvement on the cap and bells of simpler times. In a coarse and simple age the passions are likely to occupy a prominent place in the productions of taste or fancy. “No doubt,” writes an author of that period, “the cause that books of learning seem so hard, is, because such and so great a scull of amarouse pamphlets have so preoccupied the eyes and ears of men, that a multitude believe there is none other style or phrase worth gramercy. No books so rife or so friendly read, as be these books. But if the setting out of the wanton tricks of a pair of lovers, as for example, let them be called Sir Chaunticleere and Dame Partilote, to tell how their first combination of love began, how their eyes floated, and how they anchored, their beams mingled one with the other’s beauty. Then, of their perplexed thoughts, their throes, their faulies, their dryrie drifts, now interrupted, now unperfitted, their love days, their sugred words, and their sugred joys. Afterwards, how envious fortune, through this chop or that channer, turned their bless to bale, severing two such beautiful faces and dutiful hearts,” &c. We have made so

long an extract because, though much of this ridicule is equally applicable to the love tale of any age, it represents the fiction of the Elizabethan, with the precision of a general formula for practice; and will be found to have a peculiar though much refined and purified application to the *Fairy Queen*.

In a period when the scope of literature was confined and its style unfinished and unfixed; the classical writers of antiquity, then but recently revived, and having the fresh charm of novelty added to their simple unapproachable excellence, were seized upon with avidity and eager enthusiasm. They furnished a range of ideas which mingled with the Gothic associations of ancient English literature, and gave rise to those strange and monstrous mixtures of Christian and mythological personages so frequently to be met in the *Fairy Queen*, as well as other poems of the age.* An amusing example of this may be found, Book I. Cant. IV., where Pluto's daughter is described on a party of pleasure:—

“ And after all upon the wagon beam
Rode Satan with a smarting whip in hand.”

Still more deeply infused into the spirit of the age, were the superstitions of every various kind, whether from the corruptions of religion, or the popular notions of magic, witchcraft, judicial astrology, and alchemy. These absurdities were beginning to be displaced by the growing philosophy of a period of transition, and as they were less entertained as realities, they became more the elementary spirit of the poet. They had not yet evaporated into mere inanity before the full daylight of reason and religious truth, and had just enough of superstitious charm to give them form to the imagination.

The same might be repeated of the magnificent and gorgeous “pomp and circumstance” of chivalry: its feelings and aspirations yet mingled in the upper air of social life. It gave the law to pride and sentiment—it yet continued to elevate and inspire the hero's and the lover's breast; and could not fail to be vitally blended with poetry.

Not to exhaust a topic which would carry us too far for our immediate purpose, such are the characteristic elements of Spenser's great poem. For something he was indebted, (if it can be so termed,) to the poetry of his great patron Sydney, whose strange intermixture of Italian pastoral and Gothic romance, produced a powerful impression on the age. From these materials, was combined the lengthened tissue of romantic tales of adventure, in which religion and superstition—romance and pastoral—knights, witches, sorcerers, tournaments and enchantments, mingle in pretty equal proportions—all blended together into that medium of allegory which was the palpable poetry of the age. While we may look for the high and solemn strain of moral sentiment which is diffused throughout, to the character of the poet's own mind,

* It is curious to notice the misapplication of general facts, as well as rules, by those whose minds range within a narrow scope. The fault here noticed is little known to the generality of readers, because the writers who have committed them are not generally read. But the impression that some such thing has been found fault with, has given rise to a common charge against Milton, who has combined with singular effect and propriety the heathen and scriptural mythologies, by seizing on the real principle of relation between them.

and the general colouring of the descriptions to the scenery of Irish woods; the wild wood path of adventure—which leads or misleads the errant knight or the forlorn lady, till they light on the shepherd's hut, the robber's castle, or the wizard's cell—could nowhere else be found in such living representation.

We shall conclude these remarks with some description of the poem, the materials of which we have endeavoured to enumerate. This portion of our undertaking is done to our hand by the author himself, in a letter to Raleigh:—

To the right noble and valourous, Sir Walter Raleigh, knight, Lord Warden of the Stanneries, and her Majesty's lieutenant of the county of Cornwall.

“Sir,—Knowing how doubtfully all allegories may be construed, and this book of mine, which I have entitled the *Fairy Queen*, being a continued allegory, or dark conceit; I have thought good, as well for avoiding of zealous opinions and misconstructions, as also for your better light in reading thereof, (being so by you commanded,) to discover unto you the general intention and meaning, which in the whole course thereof I have fashioned, without expressing of any particular purposes or by-accidents therein occasioned. The general end therefore of all the book, is to fashion a gentleman or noble person, in vertuous and gentle discipline;—which for that I conceived should be most plausible and pleasing, being coloured with an historical fiction, the which the most part of men delight to read, rather for variety of matter, than for profit of the ensample: I chose the history of king Arthur as most fit for the excellency of his person; being made famous by many men's former works, and also furthest from the danger of envy and suspicion of present time: and in which I have followed all the antique poets historical. First, Homer, who in the persons of Agamemnon and Ulysses hath ensampled a good governor and a vertuous man—the one in his *Iliad* the other in his *Odysseis*; then Virgil, whose like intention was to do in the person of Æneas; after him, Ariosto comprised them both in his Orlando; and lately Tasso dissevered them again, and formed both parts in two persons; namely, that part which they, in philosophy call ethice, or vertues of a private man, coloured in his Rinaldo; the other named politice, in his Godfredo. By ensample of which excellent poets they labour to pourtraict in Arthur, before he was king, the image of a brave knight perfected in the twelve private moral vertues, as Aristotle hath devised; the which is the purpose of these twelve books: which if I find to be well excepted, I may be, perhaps encouraged to frame the other part of politick vertues in his person, after that he came to be king.

“To some, I know this method will seem to be displeasing; which had rather have good discipline plainly in way of precepts, or sermoned at large, as they use, than thus cloudly enwrapped in allegorical devices. But such me seem, should be satisfied with the use of these days, seeing all things accounted by their shows, and nothing esteemed of, that is not delightful and pleasing to common sense, for this cause is Xenophon preferred before Plato; for that the one, in the exquisite depth of his judgment formed a commonwealth, such as it should be;

but the other in the person of Syrus and the Persians fashioned a government, such as might best be; so have I laboured to do in the person of Arthur; whom I conceive, after his long education by Timon (to whom he was by Merlin, delivered to be brought up, so soon as he was born of the lady Igrane,) to have seen in a dream or vision, the fairy queen with whose excellent beauty ravished, he awaking, resolved to seek her out; and so being by Merlin armed, and by Timon thoroughly instructed he went to seek her forth in fairy. In that fairy queen, I mean glory in my general intention; but in my particular, I conceive, the most excellent and glorious person of our sovereign, the queen and her kingdom in fairy-land. And yet in some places else I do otherwise shadow her. For considering she beareth two persons, the one of a most royal queen or empress, the other of a most virtuous and beautiful lady; this latter part, in some places, I do express in Belphebe: fashioning her name according to your own excellent conceit of Cynthia; Phœbe and Cynthia being both names of Diana. So in the person of prince Arthur, I set forth *magnificence* in particular: which virtue, for that (according to Aristotle and the rest) it is the perfection of all the rest, and containeth in it them all; therefore in the whole course, I mention the deeds of Arthur applicable to that virtue, which I write of in that book. But of the twelve other virtues, I make twelve other knights the patrons, for the more variety of the history: of which these three books contain three. The first, of the knights of the red cross, in whom I express holiness; the second, of Sir Gagon, in whom I set forth temperance; the third of Britomantis, a lady knight, in whom I picture chastity. But because the beginning of the whole work seemeth abrupt, and as depending upon other antecedents, it needs that ye know the occasion of these three knights' several adventures. For the method of a poet historical, is not such of an historiographer; for an historiographer discourseth of affairs orderly as they are done, accounting as well the times as the actions: but a poet thrusteth into the midst, even where it most concerneth him; and there recouring to the things forepast, and devining of things to come, maketh a pleasing analysis of all. The beginning therefore of my history, if it were to be told by an historiographer, should be the twelfth book, which is the last; where I devise, that the *Fairy Queen* kept her annual feast twelve days; upon which twelve several days the occasions of the twelve several adventurers happened, which being undertaken by twelve several knights, are in these twelve books severally handled and discoursed.

"The first was this. In the beginning of the feast there presented himself a tall clownish young man; who falling before the queen of the fairies, desired a boon (as the manner then was) which during the feast, she might not refuse: which was, that he might have the achievement of any adventure which, during that feast should happen. That being granted, he rested himself on the floor, unfit, through his rusticity, for a better place. Soon after entred a fair lady in mourning weeds, riding on a white ass with a dwarf behind her leading a warlike steed, that bore the armour of a knight, and his spear in the dwarf's hand, she falling before the queen of the fairies, complained that her father and mother, an ancient king and queen, had been by

an huge dragon, many years shut up in a brazen castle ; who thence suffred them not to issue ; and therefore besought the fairy queen to assign her some one of her knights to take on him the exploit. Presently that clownish person upstarting, desired that adventure : whereat the queen much wondering, and the lady much gainsaying, yet he earnestly importuned his desire. In the end, the lady told him, unless that armour which she brought, would serve him, (that is the armour of a Christian man specified by St Paul, Ephes. v.) that he could not succeed in that enterprise ; which being forthwith put upon him, with due furnitures thereunto, he seemed the goodliest man in all that company, and was well liked of the lady. And eftsoons taking on him knighthood, and mounting on that strange courser, he went forth with her on that adventure ; where beginneth the first book, viz :—

“ A gentle knight was pricking on the plain,” &c.

“ The second day there came in a palmer, bearing an infant, with bloody hands ; whose parents he complained to have been slain by an enchantriss, called Acrasia ; and therefore craved of the fairy queen to appoint him some knight to perform that adventure : which being assigned to Sir Guyon, he presently went forth with that same palmer, which is the beginning of the second book, and the whole subject thereof. The third day there came in a groom, who complained before the fairy queen that a vile enchanter, called Busirane, had in hand a most fair lady, called Amoretta ; whom he kept in most grievous torment, because she would not yield him the pleasure of her body. Whereupon Sir Scudamour, the lover of that lady, presently took on him that adventure. But being unable to perform it by reason of the hard enchantments, after long sorrow, in the end met with Britomantis, who succoured him, and rescued his love.

“ But by occasion hereof, many other adventures are intermeddled, but rather as accidents, than intendments : as the love of Britomart, the overthrow of Marinell, the misery of Florimell, the virtuousness of Belphebe, the lasciviousness of Hellenora, and many the like.

“ This much, sir, I have briefly over-run, to direct your understanding to the well-head of the history ; that from thence gathering the whole intention of the conceit, ye may as in a handful gripe all the discourse : which otherwise may haply seem tedious and confused. So humbly craving the continuance of your favour towards me, and the eternal establishment of your happiness, I humbly take leave,

“ Your most humbly affectionate,

“ EDMUND SPENSER.

“ 23d January, 1589.”

Richard Stanthurst.

DIED A. D. 1618.

THE father of Stanihurst was a lawyer, and the recorder of Dublin. He was also speaker of the Irish House of Commons, and died in 1573, aged 51.

Richard received the first rudiments of education in Dublin, from whence he was sent to Oxford, where he was admitted in 1563, in University college. Having graduated, he entered as a student, first at Furnival's Inn, and then at Lincoln's. He next appears to have returned to Ireland, where he married a daughter of Sir Charles Barnwall, knight, with whom he returned to resume his studies in London; here his wife died in childbirth, at Knightsbridge, 1579. Having changed his religion, he left England, and went to live at Leyden, where his course is not very distinctly traceable, though it is certain that he acquired great reputation among the learned, for his scholarship and his writings. He was uncle to the celebrated Primate Usher, who was the son of his sister, and took great pains to convert his nephew to his own faith. Having entered into holy orders, he became chaplain to the archduke of Austria, and died in the Netherlands in 1618. He left one son who became a Jesuit, and died 1663.

Stanihurst is now chiefly known by his "Descriptio Hiberniæ," a work in the hands of every student of Irish history and antiquity. It is described by Bishop Nicholson as "highly commendable," with the exception of some tedious and frivolous digressions. He translated four books of Virgil, in a style which has entitled him to be distinguished by critics and commentators, with unusual, but not undeserved severity. He seems to have been utterly devoid of all perception of the essential distinction between burlesque and serious poetry. A distinguished modern poet and critic, sums up all that can be said in these words, "As Chaucer has been called the well of English undefiled, so might Stanihurst be called the common sewer of the language. It seems impossible that a man could have written in such a style, without intending to burlesque what he was about, and yet it is certain that Stanihurst intended to write heroic poetry. His version is exceeding rare, and deserves to be reprinted for its incomparable oddity."* To our apprehension, the burlesque of Stanihurst, represents but the extreme of the defects to which there is a universal tendency among the poets of his time; the most free from burlesque, the loftiest in conception, and most harmonious in metre, seem every now and then to have a narrow escape. Stanihurst would have been burlesque at any time; he was no poet, and wrote when the distinction between different departments of literature were little understood; a person having the name of a scholar, wrote English verse for the same reasons that such persons now write Latin verse. But it must be also said, that the sense of the age was very obtuse on the subject of burlesque. More than half their representations of the solemn, terrific, or sublime, were undoubtedly burlesque. But it must be remembered, that nothing is laughable but by association. We give the following, examples from Warton. "He calls Chorebus, one of the Trojan chiefs, a *Bedlamite*; he says that old Priam girded on his sword *Morglay*, the name of a sword in the Gothic romances; that Dido would have been glad to have been brought to bed even of a cockney, a *Dandi-prate Hophthumb*; and that Jupiter, in kissing his daughter, *bussed his*

* Southey.

pretty prating parrot." Of his verse, the following specimen may suffice:—

"With tentative listening each wight was settled in hearkening,
Their father Aneas chronicled from loftie bed hautie;
You bid me, O princess, to sacrifice a festered old sore,
How that the Trojans were prest by the Grecian armie."

The reader will have noticed, that the verse is a wretched imitation of the Latin hexameter. This was the fashion of his day, it was introduced by Gabriel Harvey, and adopted by Sidney, Spenser, and all the poets of the day, but soon rejected. Harvey enumerates Stanihurst, with Spenser, Sidney, and other celebrated writers, as commendably employed, and enriching their native tongue, and sounds his own glory as the inventor of the English hexameter.

Stanihurst's works are the following:—*Harmonica, seu Catena Dialectica in Porphyrium*; *De rebus in Hibernia Gestis*; *Descriptio Hiberniæ*, inserted in *Holinshed's Chronicle*; *De Vatæ et Patricii Hiberniæ Apostoli*; *Hebdomada Mariana*; *Hebdomada Eucharistica*; *Brevis præmonitis pro futura concertatione cum Jacobo Userio*; *The principles of the Roman Catholic Religion*; *The four first books of Virgil's Æneid*, in English hexameter, published with versions of the four first Psalms in Iambic metre.

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

TO FOURTH PERIOD,

EXTENDING

FROM QUEEN ELIZABETH'S DEATH TO THE ACCESSION OF
GEORGE III.

WITH

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES

OF

Distinguished Irishmen

WHO FLOURISHED DURING THAT PERIOD.

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

TO

FOURTH PERIOD.

Prefatory remarks—Retrospect—Old State of Property—Character of James I.—State of the Country on his Accession—Plantation of Ulster—Parliaments in Ireland—Causes of the Rebellion of 1641—Final Conquest in 1689—Religion—Commerce—Arts—Letters, &c.

As we advance in our task, each successive period, offers a more expanded field of character and circumstance; the events attain greater detail, and the actors become more numerous. As civil rule assumes a more distinct organization, and begins more and more to assert itself over the vast and destructive anarchy of so many centuries of continued revolution, the influence of individual character and position diminishes, and we are less necessitated to occupy our page with memoirs of persons, only distinguished by the accidents of position. We may cease to be guided by the herald's book, and to record with little variation the successions and fortunes of men, only illustrious by the privilege of descent. Yet, during the next long division of our work, we are but little released from the disadvantageous condition, of having little biographical detail: the species of literature, which collects and preserves the details of individual life, had not yet been developed; and as the times are better known, still the agents are more obscure. We must still, therefore, continue to present biography in a form little to be distinguished from history.

Such a condition, imposes the necessity of being less circumstantial, than we should otherwise think desirable in this introductory essay. We shall therefore be content, to offer a broad outline of the course of events, so as in some measure, to enable our reader to preserve a distinct conception of the order which must seem lost in the detail and divided method of our general plan. But more especially, to anticipate and guard against those popular misconceptions, which are the main impediment to an impartial history of Ireland.

Though we may observe the undoubted signs of civil progress still advancing, with occasional retardations through the whole period, yet, it must be admitted, that this progress is slow beyond all historical precedent, and that our history presents rather a fertile field, for the illustration of the causes which retard national advance, than an instance within the common analogy of social progress. Of this peculiar fact, it must be a portion of our duty to explain the causes—

a task so fraught with difficulties, that we should willingly avoid it. This difficulty does not indeed consist in the subtilty or latent nature of the causes, but in the generally questionable character of these causes. Party spirit—in other nations, operating for the most part in subservience to the ordinary action of civil and social elements, and breaking at remote intervals, into those storms that purify the air—seems to have found in Ireland, a perpetual focus for the concentration of its calamitous elements. No sanatory interval of repose from discontents, dissensions, plots, rebellions, rash aggressions, and the summary justice of arms, allowed the growth of national prosperity to spring up to maturity, and gather resisting force. No sense of prudence or duty tempered the waves, and little political virtue governed the helm; an aristocracy, whose undefined rights and privileges were incompatible with any system of order or civil polity, were alternately tyrants and victims. A populace in a state of slavery and savage ignorance, the sport of the opposite winds of arbitrary oppressions, and still more hapless resistances. And though the main policy of the English government was beneficent, it was neutralized throughout by feebleness, and by the counteraction of its own instruments and agencies—so that the greatest sum of evils was extracted from the most useful, just and necessary measures.

To prove and to describe the character and progress of such a state of things, may appear to demand no nice hand, the outline is strongly marked, and the facts too abundant and notorious. But in the course of these ensuing ages, may be traced the beginnings of those very causes, which have ever since, continued to disturb the peace of this island; and the consequence is, that it becomes more and more difficult to separate our statements from the entanglement of modern politics. We have indeed already noticed this difficulty, and forewarned the reader, that it would at this stage become necessary to enter more fully into its consideration.* We nevertheless trust, that this will not occupy much of our space; and that the few remarks we shall offer, will not be thought a digression from the direct pursuit of our historical office. Our explanation must be the establishment of an essential but partly overlooked distinction.

The events of the reigns of the Stuart family, have sufficient connexion with the political parties of the present day, to be identified with them, by the indiscriminate zeal of party. With the general consequences of this confusion, we are not here concerned; but as we must state these facts, it is evident, that we shall almost at every future step, be compelled to make statements, as well as comments, which must be contrary to the notions of all who look on the facts of history simply with relation to their own special doctrines; an error by no means confined to the ignorant or deceitful, or to the advocates of a question, or to one side. For, first, there is in the course of human affairs a general analogy, the ground of all reasoning; secondly, there is a natural and general disposition, to understand the past only through the medium of the present, and to notice resemblances in the events of which the distinctions are latent; thirdly, it is the general character

* *Life of Shane O'Neale.*

of party, to cause a bias of the judgment; fourthly, the party writer is additionally influenced by the eager temper of advocacy, which sees according to its purpose, and excludes all such considerations as tend to spoil a case. Thus a set of private documents will be called historical by one party, while another set, equally unauthoritative, will give equal support to the statements of another. The pamphleteer or the orator, will in all the hurry of his avocation, in which a *popular* effect is all he seeks, sit down to consult the history which he has never studied: with a prejudiced spirit, he will glance from point to point, and fact to fact, seizing with an eclectic affinity, just what according to his creed strikes him as just. His readers and hearers who take his word for the facts, and think as he prescribes, cannot conceive the remotest possibility of the manifold errors which are thus propagated.

But among the many causes which have tended to give permanency to Irish dissension, there is one, which of all others we are the most reluctant to notice, more than very generally: it is the incessant tissue of misrepresentation, consequent upon the long strife of parties in this country. This has been, indeed, an inevitable evil; the warfare of interests, passions, and prejudices, consists in misrepresentation. And once men have recourse to the missiles of faction, it is not in human nature to be thoroughly impartial in statement—nor is it to be expected, that the rank and file of the combatants will suffer defeat for want of all the varied resources by which opinion is to be swayed. If this evil were confined to public orators and journalists, it might be less permanent in its effects; their statements are made on the impulse and for the purpose of the moment, and with it pass away: no one ever thinks of attributing any authority to a rhetorician. But it is the misfortune of Ireland, that with a few bright exceptions history is expressly written to serve the prejudice of the hour. Great learning and comprehensive research have been perverted for the most useless, trifling, and mischievous ends. But we chiefly complain of those writers who undertake to write history, with the discontents of generations swelling in their breasts, and sit down to *journalize* upon the events of distant ages, to fix and render permanent the animosities which time in its healing progress bears away, and to imbitter the strife or the suffering of the present day, by the addition of those calamities which have disturbed the past. All illusions are to be deprecated: but the most pernicious are those which impose on the multitude. If such, indeed, were the realities of our history, it were better consigned to oblivion. We should here add that, generally speaking, it is not of positive falsehood we complain, but of misconstructions, and of comprehensive omissions of all that gives its entire character to a transaction. The facts are true, but yet the statement is false. The conduct of whole parties of public men is made worse than ever public men, under any circumstances were, or could have been, unless in a few extreme cases. To this strong complaint we must add, that in Ireland it is hard to avoid these errors, on account of the causes we have already stated at length. Party prejudice is exacting, and will not be content to have its grounds made questionable or explained away; it is impossible to be fair, with-

out collision with some angry prejudice. It is, nevertheless, to be desired that the already sufficiently irritating politics of the day, should be allowed to rest on their own proper basis of principle and fact. The history of Ireland may be admitted, like all history, to abound with precedent, but it is hard and unsafe ground, and full of perilous exaggerations and distortions.

Taking as we profess to do, a view of Irish history, in many respects unfavourable to every party, it is our claim to call the attention of our candid and perspicacious readers, to the important fact, that in the occurrences we are to relate, there exists no precise analogy with those which appear to represent them in the present day. The relative position of ranks, parties, and creeds, has widely shifted; new claims have arisen, and old ones become long extinct; other wants and expectations have grown up, and other classes have sprung up and advanced their banners under ancient names; justice and injustice have for the most part changed sides, and the contending parties who occupy the field, have unknowingly, adopted new and different grounds of contest, from those whom they imagine themselves to represent. It is on this general fact that we desire to take our stand, and advance it distinctly here, as the ground of our pretence to neutrality. Taking the factions of the 17th century as we find them, and delivering our impressions as they arise, whether just or erroneous, we begin by the assertion, that the parties we shall thus exhibit are not now in existence; and that any decision to which we may be led, pronounces nothing on the parties of the present time. It might be sufficient to have stated a fact, which it is the course of our regular duty to exemplify. But before we proceed, we cannot forbear from reminding our friendly reader, of the just and catholic application of that historical analogy of the abuse of which we have said enough. It is the unvarying principle by which every age and climate, the whole current of human affairs, and every direction of human conduct, however varied by circumstance, must, when rigidly analyzed, present the same motives. The objects, the relative positions, the states of opinion and knowledge, and the form and degree of civilization, may be at the remotest extremes apart, but the moving springs of human action will be still reducible within the same narrow limits. That the historian can accurately perform this solution, is another proposition, which would be empirical to assert: but the fact is a principle, and may be always assumed as a safe guide. In this view, we do not mean to exclude the existence of patriotism and public virtue, in any degree of exaltation or purity that may be insisted upon; for among our views of man, we neither exclude the nobler feelings, or the more elevated social virtues; we believe that some are endowed with noble moral virtues, in the same manner that a few are distinguished by intellect beyond the ordinary lot. But these we are disposed to regard as exceptions, and by no means admit the common pretensions which gloss the currents of life, to be the real measure of the views of parties. Our creed is governed by the tenet that there is a constant and invariable tendency to abuse in all the movements, institutions, and forces of society, however constituted. Monarchy will tend to despotism—corporated institutions to monopoly—popular privilege to social disorder. An

aristocracy would compress and confine the forces of the empire within limits unconstitutionally narrow; the people would pull down authority and arrogate that destructive ascendancy by which the freedom of each becomes crushed under the collective tyranny of all. It is only by means of those safeguards and limitations, which separate the public duties and private interests of men, that these tendencies, all the result of a common nature, are converted by a slow social process, which is the nearly spontaneous progress of civilization, into the machinery of peace, order, and prosperity. The social polity of a civilized nation, is itself a comprehensive system of moral machinery; acting by many latent as well as perceptible provisions, for the correction of evil impulses and the development of good.

Viewing it then, as the tendency of every public body, invested with any discretionary force, to carry that force to the most extreme abuse, which opposite circumstances admit; we shall not be found to vindicate either the usurpations of the few, or the insubordinations of the many; or to labour to vindicate the integrity or fairness of any whose deeds are not such as to be their own justification. But for the same reasons we shall be moderate in our strictures upon the follies and errors of those, whose derelictions bear no mark to distinguish them from the vast community in which we are inclined to set them down.

There is indeed nothing would more tend to reduce within salutary limits, the overflowing of that insane and irrational animosity, with which the opposed in politics look on each other, as the acquisition of a just view of the origin, character, and causes of their differences; of the real influences which modify and govern them; and of the nature of the questions and facts of which the beginnings are clouded in the past, though their pressure in some form, acts in the present state of things. It would occur to Irishmen, that the wrongs and retaliations of seven hundred years, complicated beyond all unravelling, reciprocal beyond crimination, altered and annulled beyond reasonable prolongation; cannot now be entertained with any chance of adjustment on any other basis, than the perpetually shifting and oscillatory quicksand of force and fraud. The actors of the past history of Ireland, have by their human infirmities, aggravated by the incidents of position, left questions which the next thousand years will be insufficient to settle; because in point of fact, they have no foundation in real existence. Such claims and complaints, as in any way rest upon a non-existent state of things, upon the crimes and passions of former generations, or upon the shiftings and transitions caused by the common changes of national state, are only effective to exclude the peace and submission to the laws of order, which must precede the very beginnings of prosperity. Widely different are the laws of progress. The results of human crime and error pass away, and order resumes its natural power—laws begin to renew their sway, commerce restores or produces the balance of prosperity, the prostrate and the depraved rise into a new position in the altered system, and all become one; for by the natural tendency of society, the root becomes incorporated with the whole; the wrongs real or imaginary of a few pass, for in the current of human affairs individuals are soon merged with all that concerns them.

It might also mitigate the rancour of party animosity, if the fact were more generally understood, that much the greater part of those evils which are reciprocally made the topics of invective and reproach, were actually the necessary results of the chains of circumstance and position in which the several classes of agents were bound, as well as of the principles on which they could not cease to act, without the compromise of real or imagined laws of duty. To this class of agencies, we must refer much of the conduct of the two great leading parties into which all others now began to merge. The English government, and the hierarchy of the church of Rome, each of which had its principles of obligation wholly contradictory to the other. Again, in tracing the failures of English measures, and the occasional harshness of the policy of the crown, we must say, that on the strictest scrutiny, it will appear, that government could not but have taken the steps which have been so ignorantly questioned. Admitting the evil working, it will be found that it was but an escape from some worse evil; an effect inherent in a disordered constitution of things. The best course to be pursued was but a choice of evils, but the object, to give a first impulse to civilization, was effected. If in this great revolution in the condition of Ireland, mistakes were made, they should not be set down as injuries. Justice, at least, would demand a fair and thorough inquiry, to ascertain that the evils thus imputed, are not more justly attributable to other causes.

Retrospect.—For the determination of these questions, we conceive that there can be no means so good, as to endeavour to place throughout before the reader, the actual state of things under which the events of our history have taken place, and to refer the whole to its true light and line of distance in the perspective of history. To this method we must resort repeatedly as we advance: but we shall commence with a summary but faithful view of the state of the country preceding the changes we have next to relate in order. We are arrived at a great and sudden transition in the condition of the island, and a few sentences must be devoted to clearing the way: though the task would need a volume. In any attempt to estimate, statistically, the precise condition of the Irish people before the period of James, as well as long after, the difficulties are very great—the statements of the ancient authorities are conjectural, and those of the more recent, upon uncertain data. Some main facts, however, are well ascertained, and afford reasonable limits to conjecture. According to the general account of all authority, the country was entirely pastoral to the death of Elizabeth, with the exception of the English pale. It was even thus in a great measure waste, the woods and bogs occupying a great proportion of the whole. The effect was the necessary consequence of a thin population, and this in a state of primitive rudeness and poverty. Indeed, one main reason why this does not appear to the full extent, is that in the ancient accounts of this period, the mere people are not at all contemplated: the Irish, of the writers of the middle period, are the chiefs and their immediate connexions. Sir William Petty, estimates the population at three hundred thousand, in the latter end of the 12th century; Morrison makes them more than double this amount at the accession of king James. If we were to

compute from the former of these estimates, and take the Irish land at 18,700 square miles, it would give a population of 16 to the square mile, a rate which may be increased by the large allowances to be made for waste districts. According to the second, we should have $36\frac{2}{3}$ persons, nearly, for the same spaces, but from this a very large deduction should be made for the English pale, and for the much increased population of towns, so that on the whole, we should have a general mean rate of population, not much increased for the rural districts. To furnish the reader with a more distinct idea of this rate, we may take the population of the present day at eight millions, which would give 428 nearly, for the same space, being more than eleven times greater than the former. This comparatively small population, was nevertheless, dense enough for the productive state of a pastoral country. Agriculture, which alone enables the soil to maintain a dense and increasing population, was not only neglected, but proscribed by the policy of the chiefs, who were fully aware of the changes it must gradually effect in the condition of the people. They were yet more sensible to the immediate effect in increasing the value of labour, and diminishing the range of their chases and pastures. Their policy was rather near-sighted, but such is the policy of more enlightened ages: by this means the progress of civilization was stayed, the increase of wealth and strength retarded, until the possession of the lands they kept waste, and the service of the people whom they enslaved, was wrested from their hands.

State of Property.—This unhappy condition of the people, was aggravated, as well as rendered permanent, by the state of property, which had the disadvantages of the feudal state: it was not like it, a system from which the order, connexion, and strength of society was preserved, when it had in itself no other combining law: but like it, it confined wealth and authority to the possession of a few. It also provided for continual craft, intrigue, assassination, usurpation, and provincial war; the main pursuit of chiefs, and entire occupation of the people. The chief had but a life interest in his territory—his revenue was exaction—his lands were parcelled out among his kinsmen, captains, and upper servants, on the condition of service—and certain returns in such produce as the lands afforded. But the succession entirely depended on the strength to secure it, and the people can only be said not to have passed with the soil, because they had no interest in it. In each of the lesser divisions of territory, every proprietor was armed with the pretensions of a chief, and levied the same exactions on those who lived under him, and claimed the same privileges of war and peace with his neighbours. All extra expenditure of hospitality or war, was levied by an equal tax on the whole territory subject to the chiefs, whether great or small: and thus another great restraint against disorder was wanting; there was no occasion to count the cost. The main object of existence was the increase of military strength, and it is obvious, that for this end the repression of all advances of the people, was not only a consequence, but a needful and evident policy. Under these circumstances, the island was, with the exception of its towns, and of the English pale, a waste of war and contention. Its lands uncultured, and its inhabitants barbarous and

poor; and only not slaves because they were not arisen to the level of which slavery is an evil: the state in which property, arts, and fixed habitations begin. But we shall have to resume this important topic.

Of the greater chiefs, who thus enslaved and disordered the country, there were about 90, of whom 60 were Irish, and 30 of English descent. We shall here insert the enumeration of these, from a document published by the State Paper Committee.

“Who lyste make surmyse to the king for the reformation of his lande of Ireland, yt is necessary to shewe hym the state of all the noble folke of the same, as well of the kinges subjectes and Englyshe rebelles, as of Iryshe enymyes. And fyrst of all, to make His Grace understande that ther byn more then 60 countreyes, called regyons, in Ireland, inhabytyd with the kinges Irishe enymyes. Some region as bygge as a shyre, and some a lytyll lesse; where reygneith more than 60 chyef capytaynes, whereof some callyth themselves kynges, some kynges peyres, in ther langage, some prynceis, some dukes, some arche-dukes, that lyveth onely by the swerde, and obeyeth to no other temperall person, but onely to himselfe that is stronge; and every of the said capytaynes makeyth warre and peace for hymselfe, and holdeith by swerde and hathe imperiall juryisdiction within his rome, and obeyeth to noo other person, Englyshe ne Irishe, except only to suche persones, as may subdue hym by the swerde: of whiche regions, and capytaines of the same, the names folowyth immediate.

Here after insuyth the names of the chief Iryshe countreys and regions of Wolster, (Ulster) and chief capytaines of the same.

First, the great O'Neil, chief captain of the nation within the country of, and region of Tyreown. (Tyrone.)

O'Donel, chief captain of his nation within the region and country of Tyreconnell, near Donegal.

O'Neil, of Tre-ugh-O'Neill, or Claneboy, in the south-west of Antrim, and north of Down, and chief captain of the same.

O'Cahan, of Kenoght, in Derry, between Lough Foyle and the Ban, and chief captain of the same.

O'Dogherty, of Inishowen, between Loughs Swilley and Foyle, chief captain of his nation.

Maguire, of Fermanagh, chief captain of his nation.

Magennis, of Upper Iveagh, in Down, chief captain of his nation.

O'Hanlon, of Orior, in Armagh, chief captain of his nation.

McMahon possessed the Irish part of Uriel, now part of the county of Monaghan. Chief captain of his nation.

Here after insuyth the names of the chief Iryshe regions and countreys of Laynster, (Leinster) and the chief captains of the same.

McMorough (called also Kavanagh), of Idrone, in the west part of Carlow.

O'Byrne's country was in that part of the county of Wicklow, between Wicklow-head and Arklow.

O'Morough held the east part of the county of Wexford, between Enniscorthy and the coast, formerly called the barony of Deeps.

O'Thole's country was formerly called the barony of Castle Kevan,

and comprised that part of Wicklow, which lies between Talbotstown, Newcastle, and Ballincar.

O'Nolan inhabited the south-west point of Wexford.

M'Gilpatrick, afterwards called Fitzpatrick, of Upper Ossory, in the Queen's county.

O'More of Leix, which was by the Irish statute, 3d and 4th Philip and Mary, constituted part of one of the new counties thereby erected, called Queen's county.

O'Dempsy, of Glinmalirly, near Portneehinch, in the north part of the Queen's county.

O'Connor of Offaley, which was, by the above mentioned statute, converted into King's county.

O'Doyne, of Oregan, in the barony of Tinneehinch, in Queen's county.

All of these were chief captains of their nation.

Here after foloweth the names of the chief Irish regions, and countreys of Mownster, (Munster) and chief captains of the same.

Fyrste of the Iryshe regions, and capytaines of Desmond.

M'Carthy More, (or the great M'Carthy) of Desmond, in the county of Kerry, between Dingle Bay and Kenmare river.

Cormok M'Teague (likewise a M'Carthy,) of Muskerry, in the county of Cork.

O'Donaghue of Lough Lene, (Killarney), in the county of Kerry.

O'Sullivan of Beare, in the county of Cork, between Kenmare River and Bantry Bay.

O'Conor of Traghticonnor, the north part of Kerry.

M'Carthy Reagh, of Carbery, in the county of Cork.

O'Driscoll of Baltimore, in the south part of Cork.

There was one O'Mahon of Fonsheraghe (now roaring water,) and another of Kinalmeaky, both in Carbery.

O'Brien, of Toybrien, in the barony of Ibrikin, in the county of Clare.

O'Kennedy of Lower Ormond, west of Lough Deirgeart, in the north part of Tipperary.

O'Carroll, of Ely, now the barony of Eglishe, in the south part of King's county.

O'Meagher of Ikerin, now a barony in the north-east angle of Tipperary.

M'Mahon of Corkvaskin, the south-west extremity of Clare, now the barony of Moyferta.

O'Conor of Corcumroe, in the west part of Clare.

O'Loughlin of Burrin, in the north-west of Clare.

O'Grady, who possessed that part of Clare, now called the barony of Bunratty.

O'Brien of Arra, east of the Shannon, in the county of Tipperary.

O'Mulryan, or Ryan of O'wney, south of Arra.

O'Dwyer of Kilnamanna, south of O'wney.

M'Brien of Coonagh, in Limerick.

Here after insuyth the names of the chief Iryshe regions and countreys of Conaght, and chief captains of the same.

O'Connor Roo, of Maghery Conough, near Lough Cane, in Roscommon.

O'Kelly, who dwelt in the barony of Kilconnell in Galway.

O'Madden, at Portumna, in the barony of Longford in Galway.

O'Ferral, of Annaly, comprising great part of the county of Longford.

O'Reilly possessed the east Brenny, extending over great part of the county of Cavan.

O'Rourke possessed the west Brenny, being the south part of Leitrim.

M'Donough of Tiraghrill, in the south-east of Sligo.

M'Dermid of Mylurge, extending from Boyle to Lough Allen in Roscommon.

O'Gara, of Coolavin, the south point of Sligo.

O'Flaherty, of Borin, in Moyeullin, in the county of Galway.

O'Malley of Morisk, in the south-west of Mayo.

O'Harra of Maherlene, now Leney, in Sligo.

O'Dowdy of Tyrevagh in the county of Sligo.

O'Donaghue of Corran, in the same county.

M'Manus O'Connor (commonly called O'Connor of Sligo), of Carbery, in the north part of Sligo.

Here folowyth the names of the chief Irysh regions and countreys of the county of Meathe, and the chief captains of the same:—

O'Mulloughlin of Clonlonan, in Westmeath.

M'Geoghean, who dwelt on the west side of Lough Ennel, in the barony of Moycashel, in Weastmeath.

O'Mulmoy, or O'Mulloy of Fircal, in King's County.

Also there is more than thirty greate captaines of the Englishe noble folk, that folowyth the same Irysh ordre, and kepeith the same rule, and every of them makeith warre and pease for hymself, without any lycence of the king, or of any other temporall person, saive to hym that is strongeyst, and of suche that may subdue them by the swerde. Ther names folowyth immedyat:—

The Erlle of Desmounde, lord of the county of Kerry.

Fitzgerald, called the knight of Kerry.

Fitzmaurice, whose territory was in the modern barony of Clanmaurice.

Sir Thomas Desmond, knight.

Sir John of Desmond, knight.

Sir Gerot of Desmond, knight.

The lord Barrye, of Barrymore and Buttevant, county of Cork.

The lord Roache of Fermoy, county of Cork.

The young lord Barrye, Barry Oge, of Kinnelea, county of Cork.

The lord Courcey, of the barony of Courceys, south of Barry Oge's country.

The lord Cogan, who held part of the barony of the Barretts.

The lord Barret, who held another part of the same barony.

The white knight, (Fitzgerald,) whose country lay in the baronies of Clanwilliam, Condons, and Clangibbon, in the counties of Tipperary and Cork.

The knight of the Valley or Glen, (Fitzgerald,) had a territory

on the south of the Shannon, in Limerick, from the confines of Kerry to near the River Deel.

Sir Gerald of Desmond's sons of the county of Waterford.

The powers of the county of Waterford.

Sir William Bourke, knight of the Co. of Limerick, barony of Clanwilliam.

Sir Pyers Butler, knight, and all the captains of the Butlers of the county of Kilkenny, and of the county of Fyddert, Fethard, in the south-east of Tipperary.

Here folowyth the names of Englishe greate rebelles in Conaght:—

The lord Bourke, M^cWilliam Oughtier, of Mayo.

The Lord Bourke, M^cWilliam Eighter, of Clanricard, which comprised the baronies of Longford, Leitrim, and Galway.

The lord Bermyngham of Athenry.

Sir Myles Stannton's sons of Clonmorris, in Mayo.

Sir Jordan Dester's sons; M^cJordan, Baron Dester, was seated in the barony of Gallen, in Mayo.

The lord Nangle, M^cCostello, Baron Nangle—eastern side of the barony of Costello, in Mayo.

Sir Walter Barrett's sons of Tyrawley, in the north-east of Mayo.

Here folowyth the names of the great Englishe rebelles of Wolster (Ulster):—

Sir Rowland Savage, knight of Lecale, in the county of Down.

Fitzhowlyn of Tuscarde, same county.

Fitz John Byssede, of the Glynnnes, now the barony of Glenarm, in Antrim.

Hereafter folowyth the names of the Englyshe Capytaynes of the county of Meath, that obey not the Kinges lawe:—

The Dyllons.

The Daltonns.

The Tyrrelles

The Dedalamoris.

Out of these factions and jarring elements it is impossible, without the aid of some impracticable theory, founded on assumptions which no one has a right to take for *data*, to assign any process of things, by which order, wealth, and civil liberty could spring up. There is, in fact, no single medium of national advance that cannot be clearly and unanswerably shown to have been directly resisted by some overwhelming action of a contrary force. Internal tranquillity, industry, subjection to law, stability of property: all these are diametrically opposed to this state of divided and jarring jurisdictions—this pandemonium of little barbarian thronedoms and principalities, the prizes of craft and violence: won by armed insurrections, and maintained by despotic exactions.

But this is only the skeleton of a system of perpetual anarchy and wrong. Most of its workings were not inferior in pernicious efficacy to the main system from which they grew. These fierce and ambitious little kings, not only exerted in their diminutive jurisdictions, a tyranny benumbing to all the growing and advancing qualities of human nature; more effective to repress these energies in proportion to the narrow compass in which they were exerted: with a consistent policy,

which is curious to observe in rulers themselves so little advanced, they widely proscribed and kept away the approach of every external influence which might in any way tend to disenthral the people from their tyranny. No one will suspect the church of the middle ages, to have erred on the side of freedom; or to have been the voluntary instrument of enlightening the spirit, or raising the condition of the people. But the church was civilization itself compared with the barbarous subjugation of this ancient topharchy, under which the people were allowed a wild and pernicious license, (which now conceals the truth from loose reasoners,) a license to go every way but the road to improvement;—to rob, murder, and lead a life of uncontrolled, lawless, and debasing idleness, but not to take a single step in contravention to the policy that was to keep away civilization, the dethroner of little tyrannies. The church had in the very darkest phase of the middle ages, influences of a tendency opposed to this. Though not the advocate certainly of civil freedom, it possessed, at the worst of times, humanizing influences. It contained the seeds of knowledge, and the elements of moral growth: and the improvement of wealth and industry were its direct interests. What was nearer still to the influential, it had a strong moral power over the popular passions, and exercised an influence, in a very high degree opposed to the usurping and impoverishing sway of the chiefs. These two great powers were directly at variance. The one found its interest in the depression, the other in the elevation of the people. The nobles (if the term may be applied,) held their barbarian authority by the feebleness of law, the absence of any public sense, the ignorance, poverty, and turbulent spirit of the people. The church could only hope to rise from the condition of extreme subservience and continual humiliation in which it lay, by the strength of the people. To a certain point, (in the limitation of this assertion, we are not here concerned), their interests were identified.

Of this condition of things it was the direct consequence, that there was a fierce and implacable animosity against the church, easily traced in every part of the history of the period through which we have now passed. The chiefs were not more fierce and greedy in their schemes and violences against each other than in their sacrilegious inroads upon the rights and possessions of the church. And as it was for many dark centuries entirely within their power, so it was only by the most unbounded subserviency that it could escape sharing the fate of the people. One remarkable illustration of all this, may, indeed, be found in the curious combination of sacrilege and irreverence, with the pretence of a religious zeal, which characterizes the earl of Tyrone and his allies in the rebellions of Elizabeth's reign.

Lastly, (for we are here confining our statement to main circumstances) let us cast one glance on the entire scene of things thus constituted.

The country, circumscribed by a vast prevalence of forest and bog—thinly peopled—subject to constant wars, tumults, and insurrections—a tyrant aristocracy—a prostrate, persecuted and inefficacious church—laws which were not administered against the strong, and which so far as any civil efficacy was concerned were but nominal. Such was the Irish part of Ireland; including in the term, all but the pale and

a few towns, which happily preserved the embers of civil life, in the midst of this scene of storm and disorder. During the long period of turbulence and neglect which intervened between Henry II. and Henry VII., the pale had contracted its bounds to a small circumference immediately surrounding Dublin; and maintained a difficult existence, by paying large tributes to its surrounding enemies. The amount of these is ascertained for the beginning of the sixteenth century.

A very full and authoritative report on the state of Ireland, written about 1515, rates the total sum paid in tribute by the English counties, at the period when it was written, at £720, a considerable sum if multiplied by the rate of value for that time. Perhaps it would be too little to take it twenty-fold the present value of the same sum, when all the necessary conditions of value are taken into account—the scarcity of money—the cheapness of commodities—and the comparative simplicity of human wants. To estimate the narrow compass in which the elements of a better order of things lay confined, is easier.

Though the territories in the actual possession of English settlers comprised throughout an ample proportion of the country, yet the domain of the English jurisdiction was by no means commensurate with this. We have already enumerated the powerful and wealthy chiefs of English race, who were enabled, by the position of their territories, to obtain a barbarous independence, and the power of absolute monarchs, by disclaiming the control of English law, and with their followers and families degenerating into the state of the surrounding septs. These, while by the natural law which regulates the moral influences of humanity, they must have in some small degree communicated their manners to the surrounding wilds, yet by the more traceable action of the same laws, they lost more than they imparted, and became to all purposes Irish chiefs and swelled the amount of counteractions to the advance of civilization.* But in addition to these already named, the English inhabitants of the half of the counties of the pale, were become Irish in language, dress, manners, and laws. While it is also to be observed, that in the five half counties which are enumerated as being subject to the English law in 1515, the native Irish were entirely obedient to the law, and to a great extent conformable to the customs of the pale: the great advantages of which were fully understood by those who were the main sufferers by the want of all legal protection under the native system. These districts were the half counties of Meath, Louth, Dublin, Kildare, and Wexford. We have gone back so far, not only on account of the satisfactory evidence of the document from which this last statement is derived, but because the state of things is less equivocal, while the tendencies are the same with those of a later period, when political intrigue begins to cast its mystifying lights on every statement of fact.

Through the intervening century, the towns, in every rising country the centres of every forward movement, and improving process, had

* We should apologize for our uniform use of this phrase; but the intelligent reader will observe, that it contains the principle of our entire exposition.

not advanced. Their influence, adverse to slavery, had been justly appreciated by the fears of the chiefs, through every period from the days of Sitric and Ivar, to the rebellions of Desmond and Tyrone. In those days when the operation of political causes was far more simple, the social operation of towns was more universally understood, though differently appreciated. They were in every country the direct and immediate means of raising the condition of the lower classes—of creating industry, wealth, and independence of spirit. In England they had been main instruments in the hands of the monarchs in depressing the aristocracy, and in Ireland their influence was felt: for it was plain and direct as it was necessary in its operation. The towns subsisted by order, industry, and the maintenance of civil authority, and had the production of wealth for their immediate object. They were the *foci* of intelligence as well as of every stray gleam of independent spirit. In them the rights which the aristocracy were disposed to set at nought were canvassed, and anxiously guarded; to secure property, and keep clear the communications of trade, were among their main objects: while their superior intelligence prompted a dexterous use of means to gain friends and resist enemies. Thus diffusing around them a dawn of social light, elsewhere not to be found, they were looked on with an eye of rivalry, suspicion, aristocratic contempt, and marauding cupidity. They were also the almost sure resources by which the advances gained in civil wars, or rebellions, were maintained by the regular forces of civilized warfare. First built and occupied by the Danes, they next became for a long period of seven hundred years, the repositories of whatever could subsist of English power and progress.

Of these many had been built through that long interval: but owing to the strong counteraction of the numerous causes here noticed, few had made any decided advance. Their existence was a long struggle with their surrounding enemies, whom they endeavoured to conciliate by bribery and subserviency. In the beginning of the period now to be considered, Dublin, Galway, Waterford, Limerick, with perhaps Cork, may be enumerated as the cities to which these remarks are applicable: Drogheda, Kilkenny, Carrickfergus, &c., less conveniently situated for commerce, and more subject to the action of the surrounding elements of confusion—may yet all be considered as more or less operating to diffuse the tone of civilization, and spread the knowledge and desire of those advantages, which are the end and aim of industry.

Under such circumstances, it seems evident, that the state of Ireland was not favourable to the advance of her prosperity. From many disastrous causes, in operation from the beginning of the Danish invasions, she had degenerated instead of advancing: and had she not degenerated, her political constitution was one belonging rather to an ancient and obsolete state of the world, than to the times into which she was advancing. That the English government was in duty obliged to remedy this anomalous condition needs not to be argued: that the most imperative principle of self-preservation demanded it is as plain to reason. An uncivilized country, having no place in the growing system of European powers, was, as king James significantly called it, “a backdoor” for the enemies of England. And such the king of

England was, by the strictest national equity allowed, and by the most imperative official obligation bound not to suffer to exist. We do not conceive these demonstrable first principles need expansion. Inconsistent rights have no existence. Spain or France would have occupied and regulated the country, with far less regard to justice, as having far less community of interest; but their occupation would have been mainly for the depression of England, and could only continue till the indomitable energy of that kingdom should have succeeded in ejecting her enemies, for it is only in her moments of weakness, that the enemies of England can find a safe footing in Ireland. And in this hypothetical case, what must have been the consequence? We shall venture to say it—the very eradication of every thing that bears the Irish name. With this impression we look back with feelings of complacency on this great crisis in the destinies of Ireland. We do not for a moment close our eyes to the real and inevitable disasters by which it was accompanied; nor to the crimes of some, and the errors of others, with which its record is partially tarnished. We think error inseparable from human policy, malversation inseparable from human agency, and bigotry inseparable from human zeal. But we are also bound to say, that misrepresentation has done more mischief to Ireland than all of these together.

During the long interval between the commencement of the former period and that of the present, from Henry II., to James, one change of considerable importance had slowly taken effect in the views of the three main parties, into which we may divide the nation—the prelates, the aristocracy, and the government. Of these the church had uniformly favoured, and the aristocracy (as a party) been opposed to the government. Each had their distinct reasons, arising from their several compositions: but their motive was common—the desire of ascendancy. The church, at open variance with the barons, was also divided in itself: that portion of it which was commensurate with the English pale, adhering to English authority, and to that of the pope; while on the other hand, the native portion admitted neither the one nor the other. During this state of affairs it had been the interest of the Irish prelates to support the government, on which rested the whole security and strength of their order and the stability of their possessions and privileges. Accordingly, in the rebellions which had preceded the reign of Elizabeth, the aristocracy (there was no people in the recent sense of the term) was, so far as such opposition could avail, opposed by the higher clergy; and religion was never heard of as a cause of malcontent. As the reader of this work is aware, a very remarkable change in all these respects sprung up in the reign of Elizabeth, and showed itself in the civil wars of Tyrone and Desmond. This change had been working into effect from the Reformation, but was retarded by the feebleness of the prelates of the Irish church, who, long accustomed to rely for support on the government, possessed no influence over the pale or the native septs, and little authority over the priesthood. Thus this change was gradual, from causes merely political; it was also gradual, because a long time elapsed before their position was thoroughly comprehended by the ecclesiastical party. Neither the full effects of the Reformation,

nor the permanency of the basis on which it stood, were recognised: and for a long time all seemed willing to accede to its external rituals, and unite in the adoption of its liturgy. This statement will be best illustrated by taking the latest period to which it continues to apply, a step which carries us forward into the following reign. As the necessary brevity to be observed in this retrospective portion of our statement, prevents our having much recourse to authority, we shall here offer this fact in the words of Carte. In his notice of the act of uniformity, this writer proceeds to say, "Nor was it considered as such at first: for in the beginning of queen Elizabeth's reign, the papists universally throughout England observed it, and went to their parish churches where the English liturgy was constantly used. They continued doing so for eleven years, till pope Pius V. (who had before in a letter to the queen, offered to allow this liturgy as not repugnant to truth,) issued out his famous bull, by which he excommunicated her, and absolved her subjects from their allegiance; which inciting them to rebellion, was actually attended by one in the north. Upon this extravagant act of the papal power, Cornwallis, Bedingfield, Silyard and some few others withdrew from the public churches, but still the Roman catholics, in general, continued to repair to them, till after the twentieth year of that queen, when Campian and other Jesuits being sent into England, laboured all they could to engage them not to resort thither for worship. Pope Gregory XIII. following his predecessor's steps, renewed his bull, and excommunicated the queen again; and father Parsons published a treatise entitled *De Sacris alienis non Adeundis*, endeavouring to prove it unlawful to go to a schismatical worship, and to join in the use of a lawful liturgy, with persons that were not of the papal communion. This doctrine was not immediately received, the book of that Jesuit was answered by some of the secular priests of the church of Rome; and the matter was argued in various tracts, wrote, *pro* and *con.*, on this subject till the end of Elizabeth's reign."*

The division of spirit and interest naturally attendant on a change, which like the Reformation divided and embittered the churchmen, and the increasing exactions of government from the obedience of those who had adhered to Rome, naturally roused them into opposition; the conscience too became engaged to the fullest extent to which it can be assumed to regulate the councils of a body of men: but most of all, it became visible, that their remaining hope of existence, as a community, under the continuance of the growth of the English influence, must quickly terminate. Thus at length were the ecclesiastics of the Roman communion, fully awakened to that struggle, of which the full consequences are to appear in the reigns of the Stuarts. The first combination of these new elements of political action was imperfect, but productive of vast effect. The rebel chiefs, whether native or Anglo-Irish, reconciled by a common cause with the ecclesiastical party, at once seized on the evident advantage offered by this new union: they set up the pretence of religion as the cause of their discontents and as the password of insurrection, and thus for the first

* Carte's Life of Ormonde, p. 32.

time were enabled to give their insurrectionary movements the aspect of a national cause, and the colouring of right and justice. Hitherto their turbulence was instigated by causes merely personal; at times they were stirred by ambitious projects, at times roused by flagrant wrongs; often again by mutual resentments. Now a sanctity and a virtue lent its influence to their stormy and discontented spirits, and the deep-rooted policy arising from their clear perception of their own immediate interests, gained the unwonted and formidable power of organization. Tyrone fought to resist the influence under which his principality was fast sinking into the expansion of another frame of polity; but thousands sought his banner under the notion, that they followed the champion of their altars. To this summary of the past, one further notice remains to be added. Had the matter rested in the operation of these elements alone, we can have no hesitation in affirming that the blighting disasters of the following period must have been wholly prevented. The decisive advantages gained by the arms of Mountjoy and Carew, the rapid growth of the English interests in a period of tranquillity, and the suppression while it might be effected without violation of conscience, of party and religious difference, must have soon introduced the sanatory operation of those civil causes which belong to order, and are a portion of human nature when subjected to the process of civilization. But another element of power, more intense than the arms of parties, or the power of government, was infused into the waters of Irish bitterness. It was not to be anticipated that the see of Rome was to remain a neutral spectator of the conflict. The objects and views of Rome need no discussion here; but it belongs to our historical commentary to state that, from the moment of a combination so auspicious as that of the Irish, and the ecclesiastics of the Roman communion, the popes, were not remiss in contributing their utmost to a cause, which they regarded as the cause of the papacy. The Jesuits were at once set at work, to foment or heal divisions as need required—to give unity to opposition, to mine and countermine with their wonted zeal, assiduity and talent. Against the vast moral influence of such an instrument, there is, perhaps, in the whole compass of social elements no provision. In the organization of the Jesuits, there was obtained, a similar power to that of a system of machinery by which forces small in themselves are increased, by the concentration of their directions, to some vast product of their separate agencies. A discipline, which, severing the intellectual development from the moral, sifting the mind from its animal frailty, and condensing it into a single organ, to be moved at the will of a single mind, and carry on with untiring perseverance, vigour, and vigilance, a single, consistent and well-digested policy, in a country where there was no resisting mass of intelligence or knowledge. Such was the new deeply working-power which was thenceforward to commence its gradually accumulating control in the long revolutions of Ireland.

Character of James I.—The most decisive step in advance, which occurs in the whole course of our anomalous history, is due to the wisdom of James. A monarch not less remarkable for his high intellectual endowments than for the very prominent weakness and inca-

pacities which have obtained a more than due share of notice. We are far from denying the truth of the several strictures of those writers who have attempted the sketch of his character, but we are disposed to think that though the features generally given are not incorrectly drawn, the likeness has been but imperfectly caught. Scott, in one of those inimitable master-pieces, which have placed him and for many generations will continue to place him at the head of all who attempt moral delineation, has given the moral likeness of this monarch with his usual fidelity and force. But the understanding of James, has always been underrated, in order to bring it into keeping with the general impression which his infirmities have left behind. A prejudice sanctioned by history, and rendered specious by broad facts, is always hard to cope with, and cannot perhaps be controverted without some risk. Much of the reputation of an individual, must ever arise from the circumstances under which he appears, or by which the estimate of his mind is formed. The greatest mathematician of our own times was found to have a remarkable incapacity for business:—had circumstances placed him for life in some office of minute and numerous details, it is probable that this defect alone would have attracted the notice of men. The rare gifts of the power of generalizing and of comprehensive and subtle analysis, may by rare good fortune happen to coexist with those more common and generally available but lesser faculties which constitute prudence and common sense in the management of ordinary affairs: but the union must be rare, not only because the faculties are in some measure opposed, but because their exercise is apt to lead to different mental habits. And with this, the additional fact is to be allowed for, that the most available qualities in life are not intellectual, but moral. The man who is wise in thought, who can understand or investigate difficulties, and cast a comprehensive and accurate eye over the combination of affairs, may go out from his study and be a fool or a knave: because, though men use their reason in study, they act from impulse and habit.

King James was, with the exceptions to be made in conformity with these observations, what Sully pronounced “the wisest fool in Christendom,” or what Scott has more elaborately described, “deeply learned without possessing useful knowledge; sagacious in many individual cases, without having real wisdom; fond of his power, and desirous to maintain and augment it, yet willing to resign the direction of that and of himself, to the most unworthy favourites; a big and bold asserter of his rights in words, yet one who tamely saw them trampled on in deeds; a lover of negotiations, in which he was always outwitted; and a fearer of war where conquest might have been easy. He was fond of his dignity, while he was perpetually degrading it by undue familiarity; capable of much public labour, yet often neglecting it for the meanest amusement; a wit, though a pedant; and a scholar, though fond of the conversation of the ignorant and uneducated. Even his timidity of temper was not uniform, and there were moments of his life, and those critical in which he showed the spirit of his ancestors. He was laborious in trifles, and a trifler where serious labour was required; devout in his sentiments, and yet too often profane in his language; just and beneficent by nature, he yet gave way to the ini-

quities and oppression of others. He was penurious respecting money which he had to give from his own hand, yet inconsiderately and unboundedly profuse of that which he did not see. In a word, those good qualities which displayed themselves in particular cases and occasions, were not of a nature sufficiently firm and comprehensive to regulate his general conduct."

Indolence, love of pleasure, strong physical propensities, and much timidity neutralized the very considerable sagacity, observation, and natural beneficence of James—under all those circumstances in which they could have any influence. They made him variable, irresolute, and the slave of firmer minds. His defects were not intellectual but moral. Accordingly under circumstances, abstracted from his besetting weaknesses and the influence of favouritism, it may be uniformly observed, that he has left many proofs of statesman-like wisdom. Among these, Ireland offers a very favourable illustration.

State of the country on the accession of king James.—From the brief retrospect in the preceding pages the reader will have anticipated the main circumstances, which must have regulated the policy of king James. His accession was indeed attended by some favourable circumstances, arising from both the position of affairs and the feelings of the country. The people were generally impressed with favourable expectations from a monarch in whom the ancient line of Milesius was considered to be restored.* He was the son also of a mother who was universally regarded as a martyr to the church of Rome. The rebellion of Shane O'Neale, had been the means of exciting a very strong sense of religious enthusiasm among the people, and this had been much increased by the rebellion of Hugh, earl of Tyrone. These wars had their rise in the ambition, the discontent, the real grievances, and the refractory spirit of the Irish chiefs. These workings had been additionally developed by the intrigues of official agents, and underplots of parties unconnected with government. The pretext of religious motives having been adopted, by chiefs whose conduct exposed their sacrilegious disregard of every sacred thing, was zealously and efficaciously encouraged by the church of Rome, and was the means of gradually diffusing a strong and permanent spirit among the people. The Protestantism of those, whom they had been taught for the long course of two generations, to regard as tyrants and oppressors, augmented the religious animosity thus raised; and excited a deep-seated hostility nursed by every art of their leaders, nourished too by the injustice and folly of their opponents, until it obtained a diffusive existence in the very nature of the people, and became a plant of indigenous growth. Then however this national disease slumbered for a moment: in part because the spirit of the nation had been stunned by the fierce retribution which was drawn down on all by the madness of a few; and partly from the hopeful expectations of the new reign.

On the part of James, there seems every reason to infer the wisest and soundest intentions. He had nevertheless many difficulties to

* See Vol. I. p. 41.

encounter. The very constitution (if we may apply the term) of the country abounded with irreconcilable conditions; and as it then stood, was incapable of being corrected into any regular polity capable of improvement, unless by changes too comprehensive to be effected without opposition, offence, and (considering the necessary corruption of all human agency,) much pernicious abuse. The Irish people, although among the earliest civilized of the races of Europe, had, from a variety of causes, hung back in the twilight of antiquity, till their antique institutions were become barbarism. From the first inroads of the Danes, their state had been one of mouldering dilapidation. And when it became a question how their fallen and abject condition was to be retrieved—how they could be rendered capable of forming a portion of the modern world, and released from the position, abject for themselves, perilous for England, of being a mere position of approach for foreign intrigue—when a question so vital both to England and Ireland arose, it was quite evident that there was but one course practicable. This was full of difficulties and objections; the disease was a malorganization of every one of the vital parts. The existing disposition of property, the laws of inheritance, the distribution of power and influence, the civil jurisdiction, the ecclesiastical disunion, the prejudices, ways of life, and manners of the nation, were all as unfavourable to improvement, to regular government, to trade, as they were to national tranquillity or freedom. The nation had been half conquered, and had been floundering on like a wounded bird, that can neither fly nor walk, escape or resist; and was become full of conflicting and heterogeneous elements. Two races were prejudiced against each other, two laws conflicted for predominance, two powers struggled for mastery, two religions cursed each other.

Thus the country presented one wide anomaly in the system (if we may so call it) of the civilized world. Though like other countries, it had undergone a harassing repetition of those evils which were the ancient instruments of civilization;—invasion, conquest, and colonization: in this country alone they had all been neutralized by some untoward working. The evils alone remained; the storm that elsewhere awakened new elements into action, and brought more wholesome affinities into combination, here but left a wide spread waste of desolation, and the smouldering fires of contention and hate. No common spirit existed—no sense of general interest prompted either just concession, or rightly directed resistance. The nation was divided into parties, and every party had an interest of its own irreconcilable with all the rest. The people were but the slaves of the soil—the chiefs of two races were opposed to each other, to the government, and to the church; the church was cleft into three and often into four parties, among which there was a long struggle for ascendancy. The reformed clergy; the regulars and seculars of the church of Rome, which latter were the clergy of the pale; and those of the Irish church who had been chiefly upheld by the Irish chiefs. These last-mentioned divisions had in a great measure ceased; the reformation had cemented them, and the accession of the native chiefs had placed in their hands a vast preponderance which they never afterwards lost. Still all these

parties had their several policies which they kept exclusively in view. The true interests of Ireland were only thought of, and that but loosely and generally by the English monarchs, who alone were concerned in its advance as a nation; but their good-will was long neutralized by a foul medium which lay between this island and the good intentions of England: those who looked to profit by her disorders; they were largely supported by those, (nearly all,) who desired to perpetuate the degradation in which their power subsisted.

Thus Ireland was a scene of party, faction and intrigue: only united in the opposition to all advance. There was no combined or pervading system of government, but a combination of causes, essentially incompatible with any rational form of polity. There were irregular and opposing jurisdictions, and an unconstitutional state of property.

Policy of king James.—The first act of the new reign, which demands especial notice, was an act of indemnity for all offences previous to the king's accession. This was accompanied by another just and wise measure, by which the people were declared exempt from the tyranny of their chiefs, and thenceforward placed under the protection of the king and the laws. On the following year, the government was committed to the able hands of Chichester, whose vigour, activity, and wisdom were best adapted to the state of the country and the designs of the king. Chichester pursued the policy then adopted, with ability and success. The ancient laws of property, only suited to a very primitive form of society, and in later times the main obstacle to civilization, were abolished. Tanistry and gavelkind were set aside by a judgment of the King's Bench. The administration of justice was, for the first time, rendered efficient, and extended over districts hitherto inaccessible to law. The judges went their circuits, for the first time, in Connaught and Ulster; and the Munster circuit, which, under the degenerate race of the Southern Geraldines, had been discontinued for two centuries. The effects of this vigorous and decisive beginning, though in some measure counteracted by various after-workings, were rapid and memorable. They are described by an eye-witness: "First, the common people were taught, by the justices of the assize, that they were free to the kings of England, and not slaves and vassals to their pretended lords: That the *cuttings*, *cosheries*, *sessings*, and other extortions of the lords, were unlawful, and that they should not any more submit themselves thereunto, since they were now under the protection of so just and mighty a prince, as both would and could protect them from all wrongs and oppressions. They gave a willing ear unto these lessons; and, thereupon, the greatness and power of these Irish lords over the people, suddenly fell and vanished, when their oppressions and extortions were taken away, which did maintain their greatness; insomuch, as divers of them, who formerly made themselves owners of all (by force), were now, by the law, reduced to this point: that, wanting means to defray their ordinary charges, they resorted ordinarily to the lord-deputy, and made petition that, by license and warrant of the state, they might take some aid and contribution from their people; as well to discharge their former debts, as for competent maintenance in time to come. But some of them being impatient of this diminution, fled out of the

realm to foreign countries ; whereupon, we may well observe, that, *as extortion did banish the old English freeholder, who could not live but under the law ; so the law did banish the Irish lord, who could not live but by extortion.*

“ Again, these circuits of justice did (upon the end of the war) more terrify the loose and idle persons, than the execution of the martial law, though it were more quick and sudden ; and, in a short time after, did so clear the kingdom of thieves and other capital offenders, as I dare affirm, that for the space of five years last past, there have not been found so many malefactors worthy of death, in all the six circuits of this realm, (which is now divided into thirty-two shires at large), as in one circuit of six shires ; namely, the western circuit in England ; for the truth is, that in time of peace, the Irish are more fearful to offend the law than the English, or any other nation whatsoever.

“ Again, whereas the greatest advantage that the Irish had of us in all our rebellions, was *our ignorance of their countries, their persons, and their actions.* Since the law and her ministers have had a passage among them, all their places of fastness have been discovered and laid open ; all their passes cleared ; and notice taken of every person that is able to do either good or hurt. It is known, not only how they live, and what they do, but it is foreseen what they purpose or intend to do ; insomuch, as Tyrone hath been heard to complain, that he had so many eyes watching over him, as he could not drink a full carouse of sack, but the state was advertised thereof, within a few hours after.”* Sir John Davies, with Sir E. Pelham (chief baron), were the first judges of assize who went into Tyrone and Tyrconnel. In another passage of the same work, he also mentions the popular joy at their presence and declarations :—“ The Irishry who, in former times, were left under the tyranny of their lords and chiefs, were received into his majesty’s immediate protection. Our visitation of the shires, however distasteful to the Irish lords, was sweet, and most welcome to the common people ; they were now taught that they were free subjects to the king, and not slaves and vassals to their pretended lords, whose extortions were unlawful, and that they should not any more submit thereunto. They gave a willing ear unto these lessons ; and so the greatness and power of these Irish lords over the people suddenly fell and vanished.”†

The general beneficence of such a step, is as obvious as its motive is unimpeachable. But it must, on mature inspection, be questioned whether the risks attendant on such a sudden and extreme change, were sufficiently understood. The people were not advanced to that stage of moral advance, which fitted them for freedom. It should have been seen that independence cannot, without risk, precede the elements of social order. It was not the question, whether or not the people have a claim to independence ? the question should have been, can they *stand by themselves* ? Are they advanced in wealth, knowledge, and a common sense of the most elementary laws of right and wrong ? If not, they cannot be rendered independent.

* Davies’ Historical Relations, p. 115.

† Ibid. p. 114.

It is contrary to the laws of social order, if it could be effected; but its strongest objection is, that it *cannot be effected*; for it is contrary to human nature. The question is, under any case which may arise, what subjection is the safest, and most consistent with the national prosperity and the constitution of the body politic? The Irish people wanted centuries of that moral and social growth which is the result of time and the working of institutions. Their liberation from bondage was impossible; but the domination of their landlords, however individually galling, was safe; its character was not permanent—it could never amount to a systematic working of vast and anti-constitutional influence—a vicious *imperium in imperio*—and was liable to diminish with the advance of those moral and commercial causes which have in other countries fitted the populace for the blessing of freedom, and then made them free.

The bond of ancient servitude was for ever broken; but the people were unconscious of the full advantages then placed within their reach. Fully sensible only of their exoneration from the galling and oppressive exaction of their chiefs, they yet had no idea of independence. They were slaves by the inbred instinct of ages, and they were satisfied with a change of masters. The church—the only party thoroughly awake to prospective views, and ever wise beyond the age—obtained the benefit of this deliverance. For ages, as we have already had occasion to observe, a contest for authority had been carried on between the ancient aristocracy and the church, in which the latter had ever been the weaker party, on account of the absolute power by which the people were bound to the will of their chiefs. Later events had allied the contending parties against England, in a common cause, in which each party was governed by motives of its own. The recent prostration of the chiefs had, however, opened new prospects to their politic and wary allies. A vast structure of rival power was about to be shaken to the dust, and in its fall, the foresighted and sagacious hierarchy, whose vigilance never slumbered, under any circumstances, saw and availed itself of the favourable juncture, to secure an advantage no more to be wrested from its grasp.

But the most important step of all, was one which could alone give a salutary impulse to the country. Laws are insufficient; nor can new habits be imparted by regulations, or induced by mere communication. The infusion of a healthy action, by the diffusion of example and the display of advantages, was essential, as a first effectual step. For this purpose, the sagacious understanding of James at once perceived the plain single course to be pursued: and it was adopted with the decision necessary to carry through a strong measure, against which many prejudices and interests would be likely to start up.

A circumstance, on which opposite opinions have been expressed, facilitated the most important benefit which Ireland ever received. On the 19th May, 1607, a letter was dropped in the council-room in the castle of Dublin: it was addressed to the clerk of the council, Sir William Usher, and communicated the information that a new conspiracy was about to break out; that several gentlemen had conspired to seize possession of the castle and other places of military strength, and to assassinate the lord-deputy; the chiefs through all the provinces

had entered into the plot; and that promises of support had been received from Rome and Spain. The object was represented to be, a hope of obtaining more favourable terms of government and religion. The writer promised to counteract the conspirators, but refused to betray any one. Rumour had circulated parallel reports, in which the names of several chiefs were implicated. The report circulated, and excited alarm, both among those who were liable to be the sufferers from rebellion, and those who felt themselves open to suspicion. A little previous to the occurrence here noticed, a friend or servant of Tyrone's had (as we have already stated,) taken part against him in a suit about some lands with the primate. Tyrone having discovered the conferences between the primate and O'Cahan—and at the same time hearing of the rumoured information, very probably connected both circumstances, and inferred that the conferences had reference to some disaffected proceedings of his own. O'Cahan was his confidential agent, and had himself been named, by report, as involved in the supposed conspiracy. Tyrone was summoned before the privy council to answer the primate's complaint. His fears were alarmed, and he fled the country. The alarm extended to O'Donell, and he also fled. This proceeding was confirmatory to the informations already received, and threw suspicion upon many who still remained in the country. Nor did any declaration from Tyrone or O'Donell attempt to remove the criminatory inference from themselves or their countrymen. The government was decided in its stern, but prudent and necessary course. We now dwell more explicitly on these particulars, because having, since writing the memoir of Tyrone, met with many notices on the subject, in which the prejudice of the writers has carried them too far in their judgment, we think it right to say, that there are no decisive facts to weigh against the decision of King James's government. The direct inference from all the circumstances which can afford any ground to infer from, are clearly such as to confirm the belief of the conspiracy mentioned in the letter. The character of Tyrone; the history of the late reign; the existing disposition of large classes of the people, discontented both on account of religious restraints and the vigorous measures which were altering the government of the country. Numbers were dissatisfied at the laws by which the descent of property was altered to their prejudice; and even those whose condition had been ameliorated, were not thoroughly sensible of the benefit. To induce rebellion was the ostensible hope of many; and that alone would suggest that it was not far off. The flight of Tyrone and O'Donell was a strong confirmation: they had so often been indulgently treated, that they cannot reasonably be assumed to have taken to a course so precipitate from fear alone. They were not accused by name, and had chiefly to apprehend the deprivation of a large portion of the property which they now abandoned altogether. Flight was an unprecedented step, and not likely to be taken by bold men from a mere terror of death, unless a cause was to be maintained by the security of its leaders, or the consciousness of guilt reduced their fate to a certainty in the eye of fear. Besides, when Cecil is to be accused of a most infamous artifice, we think it just to ask for proof.

We see no reason to clear Tyrone at the expense of a far more reputable character. Both were crafty and hollow; but the charges are *unequal* and unequally supported. *Rebellion was no crime in the eyes of Tyrone*; but the *assumed* plot against him is far below the level of court perfidy:—it involves the lowest moral depravity, and demands the highest proof when affirmed of a gentleman. On the other hand, it might be advanced with some speciousness, that the recent occurrence of the gunpowder plot must have acted, both to rouse the suspicions of the government, and to excite, on very strong ground, the fears of all who might feel themselves liable to suspicions, exasperated by such an occurrence. One consideration, however, more than others, should weigh with those who inveigh against the attainder of Tyrone and O'Donell. It is affirmed by the Roman catholic historians of that day, among others by Bishop Burke, that their attainder was chiefly effected through the efforts of the clergy who flocked to Dublin on the meeting of Parliament. Such a step on the part of the clergy must be interpreted as an admission of the guilt of the parties; though it must indeed be admitted that their attainder was of the utmost importance to the clergy, with whom their recent alliance had been no more than a truce for the furtherance of common interests. And the event which thus for ever deposed the little toparchy of Ireland from their hereditary tyranny, could not fail to leave a desirable accession of influence and authority to those who were, from that time forth, to date a new era of their condition in Ireland.

But it ill becomes the historian to endeavour, by strained and trifling perversions, to lessen the honour of a great and fortunate measure, of which the evil has passed and the good remains. The offences of remote and barbarous periods are not to be weighed by the legal and constitutional tests of these enlightened times; all the larger revolutions on which modern states are built, were founded on the plenary license of periods without law. Let us for a moment dwell on the general merits of this measure.

Of all the untoward circumstances which were opposed to an improvable settlement of the country, the most insurmountable was the state of property. The descendants of a race of kings and chiefs still continued to hold large tracks of their ancient territories, with the despotic rights which descended with them. This despotism had, instead of being diminished by subsequent revolutions, rather increased, from the deterioration of the people and the neglect of ancient restraints in the Brehon law. Their property, also, had been begun to be regarded more and more as of private right: and thus, while they had ostensibly lost the pretension to regal power, they virtually retained all the pernicious tyranny of small provincial toparchs. It was impossible that they should not be repugnant to any change, the effect of which must be to level their ancient authorities into the equality of civil order. The English barons had also long perceived and endeavoured to secure for themselves the privileges of their Irish neighbours. They eagerly adopted the character, dress and language—the laws and customs of their neighbours—because they obtained with them their licentious privileges and lawless powers. To make laws—to

establish a constitution of civil government for this insubordinate aristocracy—another disposition of power and property became essential. Such changes were fortunately favoured by the calamities of the age; but looking upon them at this remote period are liable to be misunderstood, both by reason of the numerous mis-statements of party writers, and also because property itself, and the laws by which it is affected, have undergone a change. Where there is a settled form of constitutional government, an established and matured frame of civil order, and where the rights of persons and things are secured by equal and just laws, the fundamental basis of individual rights cannot be touched without the utmost danger as well as injustice. In the present state of society, there is a general sense which guards and watches over every infringement of property, and which renders it a matter of some difficulty to weigh with fairness any seeming violation of a constitutional principle, in times and under circumstances in which this principle had truly no application. Referred to the forfeitures of the O'Neills, O'Donnells, and Desmonds, it is a prejudice founded on oversights and sophisms, which never would have occurred, had it not been for the violence and lengthened duration of faction in this unhappy land. Oft repeated and long continued rebellions had been almost uniformly met with reconciliations and restorations to favour and property, which had not the desired effect—were not due to justice—could not have been awarded under a more advanced state of civilization, and would have been virtual repeals of the fundamental laws of any settled constitution. The mercies and indulgencies of Queen Elizabeth we do not condemn, but merely observe that they were only allowable from the absence of fixed laws. The Tyrones and Desmonds were either rebels or independent toparchs: if rebels, life as well as property was due to the law by which all law exists a day; if petty toparchs, at war with the British settlements, they were, by the law of nations (as then understood,) at the mercy of the conquerors, and could not, on any principle, be allowed to continue as a permanent obstacle to civil order. In justification of these victims to the state of the age, as well as their own delusions, we have said much, and shall say more hereafter; but we can no more question the right than doubt the expediency of the only measure which was adapted to put the country (for the first time) in a state of advance. Indeed, these truths are so plain to unprejudiced common sense, that such of our readers as are not much versed in the numerous political histories of Ireland, may feel it unnecessary to have laid an undue stress on so plain a point. Yet it is on such elementary points that our history most needs to be rectified. The same events are to be traced throughout the history of nations; conquests, rebellions, revolutions—in each of which the essential results are the same, laws must be preceded by the dispositions of arbitrary power. But the time has long passed away in which these changes are held in the recollection of civilized nations, or named by educated individuals in the tone of aggrievance. Such complaints belong to persons and times which have no present existence, and can now be only classed with the aggressions of the Norman and the grievance of the Saxon. Such changes were an indispensable part of the great instrumentality used by Providence, by which all

change is ordered for the best, in combining and cementing into the effective and permanent masses of an enlightened and well-ordered polity, the contentious and mutually oppressing clans and provincial tyrannies, the heptarchs and the petty chieftains, by which uncivilized countries were plundered and misruled. When the descendant of Caractacus, of Egbert, or Canute, of the Briton, the Saxon or the Dane, shall lay claim to the rich and fertile districts of merry England; when the posterity of the larger part of that splendid proprietary, the feudal lords of England shall stand forth to claim dominion and authority over the cultivated lands, and the enfranchised tenantry, whom their Saxon and Norman ancestors oppressed, and seek redress for wrongs which lie buried in the dust of centuries; then may the tombs and cairns of antiquity render up these obsolete claims, which, in this hapless land, have been similarly determined by the imperative circumstances of national revolution; but posthumously kept alive among the inferior classes, by the vindictive memory of often repeated wrongs, and of sufferings which have been magnified and distorted into such. The existing rights of all classes throughout the world are founded on one common and well-understood principle, unbroken prescription, which it is the first duty of law and national polity to maintain. It is the gravitating principle of society, and only to be terminated by those changes which amount to its temporary dissolution. Such terminations, it may be added, lead to no restorations; the chancery of blood which presides over such great contests, however such a visionary equivalent might have place among its legal fictions, is sufficiently known: its judges are conquerors, its officials armed and sanguinary legions, and its awards are governed by interest, fear, ambition and cupidity—might, not right. We have been somewhat unconsciously led into those reflections, not merely by the considerations before us, but by the fact that they bear relation to the popular errors of the time. Among the respectable gentry of Ireland there happily exists no such barbaric discontents; enlightened cultivation, and a correct estimate of the foundations of right and the first principles of national polity, have set these feelings at rest among those best entitled to entertain them.

Under such imperative circumstances, the attention of the king was directed to the plantation of new settlements on the forfeited estates, and to the most expedient means by which it might be advantageously effected. Besides the obvious benefits of a civilized population, it was now beginning to be understood that the large grants to individuals, by which the Geraldines and De Burghs had been raised into oppressive, rebellious, and usurping toparchs, were quite inconsistent with civil subordination or the authority of government. Out of these views arose the policy and the main errors of the government of James, which may, notwithstanding these errors, be described as wise and beneficent so far as its design was followed up.

Plantation of Ulster.—The first fruits of this policy was the plantation of Ulster, and a comprehensive settlement of the tenures of Irish property. Several commissions were issued for the latter purpose: those who held property by the ancient Irish tenure of Tanistry, were invited to surrender their estates and receive them back by

grant from the crown. As the estate held under the law of Tanistry was the most unsatisfactory in all respects, being, in fact, a life estate, which reverted to the community of an extensive kindred, and as likely at least to go to the proprietor's enemy as to his descendant, this invitation was readily and generally acceded to. Property thus secured was placed on its true basis, by which the destructive principle of an undefined and elective right was obviated, and the individual pledged to order by the security of a permanent interest.

The late rebellion had spread itself through many parts of Ireland, and thus an ample proportion of the land was placed by forfeiture at the disposal of the crown. In the counties of Limerick, Kerry, Cork, Tipperary, and Waterford, upwards of 574,000 acres had already been disposed of by Queen Elizabeth. In the county of Cork, the successful prudence of the Earl of Cork had already proved the beneficial effects which were to be expected from well settled plantation. In Ulster, above 500,000 acres were forfeited in the counties of Derry, Donegal, Tyrone, Fermanagh, Cavan, and Armagh. The war, as it had here been most strenuously, equally, and perseveringly maintained, had inflicted the widest and most complete destruction. In every quarter, rapine and wanton violence had spread depopulation. The peaceful inhabitants had been swept away by the extortions of the soldier and the plunder of the Bonaght; the miscreants of every party which seize the occasion of civil war to fling aside restraint, infested the woods and mountain passes, and followed on the track of war, to glean its relics and complete its mischiefs. The means of cultivation had been destroyed, and the hands to cultivate were few. Under such circumstances, every consideration favoured the royal project, and none in any way opposed it: it was both just and expedient.

The king commenced by inviting general attention to the subject, and received many projects for the effectuation of the settlement. Among others, one from Bacon, which is included in his writings, but was necessarily deficient in the result of experience and local knowledge. After a full deliberation, the outline of a plantation was adopted, and committed to Sir Arthur Chichester, whose thorough knowledge of the country to be planted was rendered available by the moral and intellectual qualifications of a statesman. "He was," writes Carte, "a man of great capacity, judgment, firmness, experience, and prudence; he had served several years under Henry IV. of France, and had distinguished himself in the wars of Ireland by his fortitude and military skill, and had done eminent service in the reduction of the rebels: he had distinguished himself as much in the arts of peace; wise in taking his party, resolute in executing it, master of his own temper, dexterous and able to manage all the variety of humours that he had to deal with." This able statesman caused surveys to be made, and drew up a full and particular representation of the whole, and of each district of the country to be settled; he described in detail the military, commercial, or rural advantages of each district or remarkable position. He examined strictly into the rights of existing claimants, and even estimated the general expectations, characters, and tempers of the ancient chiefs and inhabitants, so that all provision might be secured for a satisfactory and just disposition of these lands. Three

classes of planters were by his recommendation to be provided for—the old Irish chiefs, servitors of the crown, and English and Scotch undertakers. Avoiding the errors of former settlements, it was, according to this provident and comprehensive plan, determined to distribute to these several classes in small allotments, on such conditions as to guard against the old abuses. The highest was to be 2000 acres, the second 1500, and the third 1000. The first were to be obliged to build a castle and a strong court-yard enclosing it, within four years; they were to keep 600 acres in demense; to settle upon the remaining portion four fee-farmers, having each 120 acres; six leaseholders on 100 acres, with eight families more on the remainder. Within three years from the possession of this portion, it was also prescribed that they should have 48 able men of English or Scotch descent on the estate. The second class was to build a house and enclose a bawn on each estate; and the third to enclose a bawn. Of these, the first class were to hold of the king, in capite; the second, by knight's service; and the third, in common socage. They were all to be bound to five years' residence, or the appointment of such agents as might be approved by the government. It was also enacted, that no one of the granters under this settlement should alienate their lands without a royal license, or set them at uncertain rents, or for any time less than three lives, or twenty-one years. The tenants were to build houses and live together in villages, an arrangement favourable to mutual defence, but productive, perhaps, of many evils at a later period of Irish history. The new grantees had also several nominal privileges, then of importance, though now either obsolete or pernicious, conferred upon them; they were allowed to erect manors, and to hold courts-baron—rights of which now only a few instances remain to disgrace the national jurisdiction, and exhibit (in common with the courts of conscience) the foulest and most anomalous departure from the principles of the administrative department of justice that is known in English law.*

The native Irish who received lands under this settlement, were exempted from most of the conditions imposed on the English; while these were compelled to people their lands with a British tenantry, the Irish grantee was allowed to let to natives; an arrangement in some measure detrimental, but not in fairness to be avoided. The Irish were also exempted from the obligation of building castles and fortified places, or from arming their tenantry—an exemption of which the policy is obvious. They were, however restrained from the barbarous customs till then incidental to Irish proprietors and their tenants. They were obliged to set their lands for certain rents and for certain terms of years; all denominations of Irish dependency and exaction were prohibited; English methods of cultivation were imposed, and the custom of wandering with their cattle from place to place for

* A seneschal's court is composed of a seneschal, who is compensated by a fee from the plaintiff in the suit, and of a jury of small tradesmen, who adjudicate for each other in the species of petty and vexatious cases almost always brought by themselves. It is thus not uncommon to hear one of the jurors called up to state his own complaint.

pasture, forbidden. They were also enjoined to dwell together in villages like the English tenantry. Under these conditions, the lands disposable in Ulster were distributed among one hundred and four English and Scotch, and two hundred and eighty-six native undertakers, who all covenanted and agreed, by their bonds, to perform all these conditions. It had been experienced in the former plantation under Queen Elizabeth, that great evils, amounting, in fact, to the failure of all the objects of the measure, had resulted from the intermixture of the English and natives. The Irish, who were naturally reluctant to give up their own ways of cultivation and management of property, did not thrive in the same rapid course as their British neighbours, and became discontented, disorderly, and insubordinate to the settled jurisdiction. The British, on their part, rather looking on their immediate personal advantage and disadvantage, than upon the ultimate policy of the settlement, soon found attractions as well as irregular advantages in falling into the less constrained and orderly habits of their neighbours. If honest industry becomes insecure, and is defrauded of its direct and immediate objects, the commencement of demoralization is not long retarded in any stage of social advance. It was at this time determined to prevent the recurrence of such disadvantages, by separating the two races. We are far from approving of the abstract policy of such an expedient; but considering all circumstances, it was necessary to success, though perhaps not reconcilable to longer views; but all measures of governments must needs be adapted to the time *that is present*; the attempt to legislate for the future is the most dangerous of all kinds of quackery, and far beyond the bounded range of human intellect.* The soundest measure is only beneficial according to the steadiness and honesty with which its operation is conducted. It was the defect of the policy of the Irish government of that period, that it was never thoroughly to be carried out in its details.

The Irish undertakers were, much to their own advantage, located on the plains and situations of easy access; their allotment was thus the most fertile for agriculture. The British, on the contrary, were disposed of rather with regard to their safety, and for the preservation of their manners, customs, and language: their lands were therefore in the more boggy and mountainous tracts, and far less profitable.

* We think it necessary to guard our meaning. There is a wide difference between speculative provisions for states of the social system, which may never arise; and law-making for the moment with an ignorant or rash disregard to probability. One of the main obstacles to all speculative policy, arises from the shortness of the wisest human views: the operation of any law is to be decided by a multitude of small contingencies, of which the sum will amount to a change of the state of things. Every social incident of any appreciable magnitude, impresses various latent but sure-working influences through the whole system. There is no calculus of variations for human courses and the laws which govern progress. And it is for this reason that legislation must be content to *follow*, not precede the growth of society. The wisdom of the statesman consists in a just and prudent estimate of the numerous and conflicting claims of *his own time*, with a sober preservation of the sound induction, derived from a comprehensive study of those natural laws to be seen in the common course of things. But state craft has its millenarians too, and it is therefore that we wish to be correctly understood.

They were at the same time restrained from intermarriage with the Irish, and a regulation more inconsistent with the further objects of the settlement, is not easily conceived. Providentially indeed, among the many pernicious abuses which defeated the beneficence of the English government, these feeble restraints could never be maintained.

Such was the settlement of Ulster, which, whatever exceptions may be made, was the wisest and most fortunate measure of British policy in Ireland. A measure from which, by a connexion of circumstances, too simple to be otherwise explained, may be traced the superior civilization and prosperity of that country.

The improvement of the new plantation under the able superintendence of Chichester, was rapid and decisive. Notwithstanding the numerous defalcations and abuses inseparable from all great and thorough-working measures, the whole results confirmed the wisdom of what had been effectively, though not with unexceptionable precision, carried into operation. Numerous undertakers observed their stipulated engagements, and thriving farms soon covered the face of the country, castles with their villages and respectable yeomanly tenants gave it an orderly and civilized appearance: several towns were built, and obtained the privilege of fairs and markets. Thus commenced on the most secure basis, the structure of a civilized, industrious, and commercial country. To complete this fair beginning, the king erected some of these towns into corporations, with the right of sending members to parliament.

Plowden, a historian of considerable learning and research, but of views singularly confined, and writing manifestly under the strong influence of national feeling, quotes from Cox, the apportionment of the forfeited lands, for the express purpose of giving some idea of the small share of the lands secured or regranted to the former possessors or even occupiers. But the quotation does not support his proposition; the distribution is as follows:—

"To the Londoners and other undertakers,	209,800	acres.
The Bishops' Mensal Lands,	3,413	"
The Bishops' Termon and Eirenachs,	72,780	"
College,	5,600	"
Free Schools,	2,700	"
Incumbents for Glebe,	18,000	"
Old Glebes,	1,208	"
Deans and Prebends,	1,473	"
Servitors and Natives,	116,330	"
Restored to Maguire,	5,980	"
Restored to several Irish,	1,548	"
Impropriations and Abbey Lands,	21,552	"
Old Patentees and Forts,	38,214	"

Now, on reading this document, two considerations arise; first, as to the proportion of the whole sum of acres, out of which any grant could be reasonably or equitably expected in favour of individuals. Secondly, that arising from a just recognition of the very first principle of the entire measure. On the principle enough has been said, all

the beneficial results of such a measure must have mainly depended on the essential condition, by which a comparatively advanced population should be interfused throughout the kingdom, and by which some application of capital should be secured. Such were the means adopted for the civilization of the country: they were indispensably necessary, and their success is traceable on the map of Ireland. But it is, we trust, needless to insist further upon this. To look to the fact. If the reader will take the trouble to examine the items of the above statement of Sir Richard Cox, it will appear, that first 137,167 acres must be deducted as anciently appurtenant to the institutions to which they are allotted in the distribution—leaving a gross sum of 374,289 for distribution. Now, of this it will be observed, that 123,768, being very nearly one-third, is allotted or restored to the natives; while of the remaining 250,521, there is an allotment of 27,773 for public institutions of the more necessary or useful kind, and 209,800 to the city of London. The remainder is 12,948 acres for distribution to English grantees from the crown. Thus, omitting the odd hundreds, the grants to the English compared with those to the Irish, are only as 12 to 123, a proportion less than one-tenth.

Among these allotments, there was none which at the moment appeared to offer such decided promise of future advantages, as to the city of London. The king in one of his letters expressed his satisfaction in an arrangement which appeared to secure the co-operation of that wealthy and even then influential corporation; he rejoiced in the supposition, that when "his enemies should hear, that the famous city of London had a footing therein, they would be terrified from looking into Ireland, the backdoor to England and Scotland."* The London grants were in the county of Londonderry: they engaged to build the cities of Derry and Coleraine, and to lay out £20,000 on the plantation. In consideration of these terms, engagements were entered into in 1609; they were incorporated by a charter bearing date 29th January, 1613, by the title of governors and assistants of the new plantation of Ulster. We should here, however, do the justice to state, that this step had been efficiently prepared by the valour and wisdom of Sir Henry Dockwra, who first selected the site, and began the fortification of Derry. Of this, the following notice is selected from the full statements of the memoir of Londonderry, in the Ordnance survey of the parish of Templemore: "September 12, a grant was made to Sir Henry Dockwra, knt., governor of Lough Foyle, and privy councillor, to hold two markets, on Wednesday and Saturday, and a fair for six days (*viz.*, on the vigil day and morrow of St Lawrence, 9th, 10th, and 11th of August), and for three days following, at Derrie, every year, with horse races, there to be held during the same markets and fairs, together with the issues, profits, and emoluments, belonging and appertaining to the said markets and fairs," (1 Jac. I. 2 pars fol. 33.)† We shall have to return to this topic in the following memoirs.

* Letter to Sir T. Philips, quoted by Leland.

† Ordnance Survey. The above extract is taken from a first impression (of we believe 100 copies only) which was printed for the inspection of the statistical sec-

In this arrangement, provision was carefully made for the church, and all lands to which they could prefer a claim, were given up and appropriated to their original design. During the late rebellion, the churches had been destroyed or plundered, and religious service had fallen into neglect. To remedy this evil, the most effective arrangements were made. The churches were repaired, clergymen were appointed with a due provision for their maintenance. "To provide for the inferior clergy, the bishops were obliged to resign all their impropriations, and to relinquish the tithes paid to them out of parishes, to the respective incumbents, for which ample recompense was made out of the king's lands—every proportion allotted to undertakers was made a parish, with a parochial church to each. The incumbents, besides their tithes and duties, had glebe lands assigned to them, of sixty, ninety, or one hundred and twenty acres, according to the extent of their parishes. To provide for a succession of worthy pastors, free schools were endowed in the principal towns, and considerable grants of lands conferred on the university of Dublin, together with the advowson of six parochial churches, three of the largest, and three of the smallest in each county." By this well arranged and comprehensive provision, both the moral and spiritual welfare of the whole country was provided for, to the full extent, which circumstances admitted.

The working of this great measure was unquestionably productive, and this in a very high degree, of the benefits it was designed to produce, and effected a gradual, and slow, but sure progress, from a state of barbarism incompatible with progress, towards the civilized condition of other surrounding countries. Still it must be admitted, that this very process, like all others which are introduced under similar conditions, was accompanied by workings of an opposite character, and which appear to warrant inferences different from those which we have here indicated. It is the misfortune of all civil changes, however salutary, and of all measures, however wisely or beneficently designed, that they cannot be carried into effect without a multitude of under agencies, and without thus calling into operation all the baser passions of the human heart. Such is, indeed, the fertile scope for the partial representations of faction. The advocate of laws, institutions, and authorities, may point out the delusion, folly, or fanaticism of the popular movements of all times; the popular historian, or orator, will find a theme as fertile in the venality,

tion of the Scientific Association in 1831, when this body held its meeting in Dublin. A full and enlarged edition of this inestimable work has since been published by Messrs Hodges and Smith. It falls especially within our province to observe, that such a publication, if continued, with the same exemplary caution, intelligence, and industry, with which it has been thus commenced, must be regarded as among the most important incidents for the advantage of Ireland, that have yet occurred. It is equally to be commended for the fulness, accurate and accessible arrangement of its copious and momentous details, and for the unquestionable character of its authorities. We have indeed much lamented that, from the necessarily slow advance of that great work, we have not been able to derive from it those inestimable advantages which it may at some future time present to the historian of this country.

jobbing, and intrigue of public servants, however, or by whatever authority they chance to be organized. The only invariable exception must be looked for in those situations, of which the organization excludes self-interest: as for instance, in the judicial character. Such is the principle which must confirm and soften our view of the subsequent consequences of the policy of king James's government. Of its general beneficence, and sound wisdom, we cannot admit a doubt. Of those decisive advantages, of which it was the origin, we can be still more confident; but it is painful to the historian to witness the small intrigues which made it the means of much injustice—and the mixture of fanaticism, cunning, and ignorance, which partly retarded, and partly destroyed its better workings: and produced in months a greater sum of wickedness and mischief, than the venality and oppression of centuries, have ever or could have ever caused. We cannot, indeed, quit the parallel into which we have been accidentally led, without observing this farther lesson, which has forced itself upon us in the contemplation of the same facts, in this and other countries, and in different ages of time. The crimes of individual malversation and corruption are not permanent, while the outbreaks of popular faction have that unhappy characteristic of reaction, arising from extreme, which gives to revolution its periodical property. So long as the progress of civilization continues (and its permanence is demonstrable), the tendency to equalization goes on by a spontaneous operation of the social elements. The crimes of individuals, by which individuals are afflicted, pass away with the time, and leave no real effect on the system. But the people are moved by prejudices, and act by passions—their objects are unattainable, and their course neither rightly directed nor amenable to right direction: should they fail in trampling down civil order, they are necessarily trampled down themselves; should they succeed, the ignorance and infatuation, the collapse of their passions, and their total want of any permanent principle of concentration, except under the aggregating influences of some fanaticism, almost at once subject them to some aggravated imposition of tyrannical rule. The only reply to this inference, which could affect its reason, must be the assertion, that the intrigues which work with the weapons of popular folly, are more honest than those which abuse the powers of civil authority. This may be asserted on the hustings, or in party debate, but will not be dreamed of in the closet.

The free circulation of justice; the establishment of fairs, markets, and corporate institutions; the liberation of the people from the oppressive rights of the chiefs; the constitutional distribution of territory; the fixing individual possessions on a secure principle of tenure; and the communication of a national unity to the country, by which for the first time it became a nation—all these were vast changes for the better. But we have to notice the crimes, corruptions, and disorderly movements which neutralized these blessings to a great extent.

In the execution of the plan of government two principal abuses prevailed. The grantees did not carry into effect the conditions of their grants; and the most iniquitous wrongs were perpetrated under the pretext of authority. The commissioners perverted their office to their private emolument, or in subservience to their personal friend-

ships and animosities. False, unfair allocations, and unauthorized usurpations of property were practised without constraint. The frauds of office were maintained by those misrepresentations which always impose on cabinets compelled to rely on their ministerial agents. Of this latter grievance, a very aggravated example will appear among the following notices: here we must limit ourselves to an extract from *Carte's Ormond*—"Hence several persons were turned out of large estates of profitable land, and had only a small pittance, less than a fourth part, assigned them for it in barren ground. Twenty-five O'Ferrals were dispossessed of their all, and nothing allotted them for compensation; and in certain places the resentment of the old possessors was raised the higher, because the lands taken from them were given to others who had none before, and even to some that had been rebels and traitors. Neither the actors nor sufferers in these grievances were confined to one religion. Selfishness and corruption are vices founded in human nature, and often too strong for any religion to correct; and hard as was the case of Owney MacTortly O'Ferral of Caermagh in the barony of Moudoe, (whose fidelity to the crown and good services in war against the rebels were certified in vain by Sir Lawrence Esmond, a privy counsellor) yet he had not greater reason for his complaints against Sir William Parsons, who was master surveyor and one of the commissioners for this plantation, than he had for the like against Sir Christopher Nugent, a lawyer and an obstinate recusant, who possessed himself of a great part of the lands that were taken from him. Avarice and lust of rapine make no distinctions of persons on whom they are to prey; so that we may the less wonder at the treatment of Tirlogh O'Ferral, who, though his lands, after all deductions were made, did, according to the king's directions, entitle him to a freehold, yet was stripped of all, without one acre being assigned him in lieu thereof, notwithstanding that he was the only Protestant of his name."*

Such wrongs were the more grievous, as it was unquestionably the intent of government to act in a spirit both of clemency and justice—and every provision for both was made in the instructions of those employed in these arrangements. But a more serious because more general evil was the imperfect execution of their covenants by the planters, which had more than any other cause the effect of retarding and diminishing the advantages of the plantation.

Of the grantees, many altogether neglected the fulfilment of their engagement, and few observed them, to the extent which was essential to the full success of the measure. It was soon found more advantageous to set the lands to Irish than to English tenants: they required fewer advantages, and could therefore be content with a lower share of the return, or in other words, they could afford to pay a higher rent, and to give their labour for lower wages. They were less independent in their habits, and accustomed to submit without a murmur to their burdens and exactions: they had been slaves, and when set free, they were long unconscious of the freedom of which they had no apprehension. Many were glad to sell their allotments, which were

* *Carte's Ormond.*

readily bought up by those who knew how to convert them to profit. The estates of many were farmed by inferior agents and undertakers, who dropped out of consideration every engagement, and wrung the tenants for an exorbitant profit. Many too, had through favouritism, obtained grants beyond their means,—and many found other investments more certain and profitable. It must also be admitted that in a country, which had never yet been reduced within the ordinary limits of social security, it demanded much of the adventurous spirit of that age, to risk capital to any amount. There were too many dangerous spirits in the atmosphere—and rumours, apprehensions, and dangerous possibilities, on which the historian may ill calculate with a mind at ease, floated from tongue to tongue in the common gossip, and ruffled the security of life. It is not where an ancient order, deposed from its privileges, stood round in formal acquiescence but real dissatisfaction; and though they found it safest to give way, still far from silent on their present wrongs and future redress,—it is not where, the hereditary spirit of turbulence was yet asserting its existence and menacing outbreak from its embers, that the spirit of security and quiet commercial pursuits could be hoped to live. The foresight of commercial enterprise must have hesitated to build its costly structures of investment and labour, for the tempest and the whirlwind which could still be seen remotely gathering in the cloudy terror of the old sanguinary mountain recess—to scatter and overwhelm in its fury. Indeed of all the ills to which this wretched island has been the subject—the insecurity arising from the same unsettled temper, has ever been by far the worst; while the miserable populace are hurried from illusion to illusion, suffering and discontented, but ignorant of the causes of their miseries; looking for objects which can bring no relief, and remembering injuries which they never suffered; spurning at law, and submitting to various tyrannies of an undefined but unresisted force. But we must resist the temptation of generalization unhappily so apparent. With all its disadvantages, the plantation of Ulster was productive of a larger sum of good than has resulted from any subsequent measure for the advantage of Ireland. Much as it was impeded by the workings of perverted self-interest, and interrupted by the neutralizing forces, which have still defeated the operation of all good to Ireland—it gave an impulse to the social progress of the north, which never wholly ceased to operate, and which now may be estimated by its integral result. In an incredibly short space of time the face of the country was changed. Castles, villages, and cultivated fields occupied the site of savage fastnesses and tracts of desolate forest, the haunts of misery and lurking-places of murder and robbery. Cities arose and became the centres of new wealth and of growing civilization.

Whatever cases of partial wrong may be detected in all this great and salutary operation, a general view exhibits the full measure of just consideration for the natives. In three several facts, may this assertion be verified: among the grantees, they formed the most numerous proportion; they received their allocations of the better lands; and they were preferred to an extent rather excessive, as tenants.

The king was pleased with the rapid and striking success of his

plantation, and was desirous to extend his success over the whole island. Commissions of inquiry ascertained the extent of the lands claimed by the crown in other parts of the country. Sixty-six thousand acres between the river of Arklow and the Slane, were found to belong to the crown. Of these a judicious distribution was planned, sixteen thousand five hundred acres of sea-coast, were laid out for an English colony—the remaining forty-nine thousand five hundred were to be granted to the Irish holders of the land, under regulations similar to those already described. Similarly large tracts of land anciently wrested by force from English settlers, during the ascendancy of the septa between the reigns of Edward II. and Henry VIII., or forfeited by rebellion, were declared to be vested in the crown. These reclaimed districts, to the amount of three hundred and eighty thousand acres were in the same manner granted to a few English and numerous Irish settlers. There was a general acquiescence in these arrangements—as on the whole justice was felt to be preserved. But the abuses from official and administrative derelictions and malversations, increased with the extent of their operations—and not only unfair and illegal allotments were made and large appropriations to their dividers and their creatures, but an abuse of a more lingering and injurious influence grew up. A base crew of crown agents and discoverers of defective titles began to advance their suborned informations, and diffuse terror and suspense among the old possessors of estates. They were put to the proof of titles which could have no proof, but the immemorial possession which cannot be assailed without shaking all title: the pipe rolls were searched to discover the original rents, and the tower ransacked for ancient grants: some were dispossessed, and some compelled to accept of new titles under advanced rents to the crown. This untoward industry was too amply compensated not to become formidable and dangerous. The grounds of resumption were numerous: in many cases no grant could be proved—and numerous grants had been annulled by a resumption too large and unjust to be carried through. From these and such oppressive expedients a spirit of general discontent was raised, which many circumstances afterwards contributed to increase and keep alive. The forfeitures had not excited a murmur, for they were not of a nature to create general alarm—their principle was definite, and their justice recognised. But a scrutiny into ancient titles was calculated to unsettle the foundations of property, even if it had been carried on with regard to any definite principle, and with the strictest abstinence from private malversation; as it was, it went far to counterbalance the present advantages to be looked for from the recent measures. These impediments were increased by numerous other grounds of discontent and political oversights of government, as well as by other causes which existed in the constitution of society itself. The connexion of many of these with the party conflicts and prejudices which still continue to produce the same effects, must prevent our dwelling upon them strongly or fully in these pages. The recent measures had all contributed to increase the real power of the hierarchy of the Roman church in Ireland; and it did not diminish the growth of their authority that those of that persuasion were insulted by oppressive laws, which were not so

far enforced as to operate as a real constraint. As Leland tells us, "an ecclesiastical hierarchy, with a regular subordination of orders, officers, and persons, was established through the kingdom by the Papal power; their jurisdiction exercised with as much regularity, and their decrees executed with as full authority, as if the Pope were actually in possession of the realm."* The measures of James had been effected without the intervention of military force, and the varied irritations which menaced the public peace, the foreign influences which kept up a continual excitement, the factions which harassed each other, and retarded the measures of the government, were the more formidable from the want of any control that could awe the disorderly or resist invasions which were continually apprehended. The illusory promises of Spain still continued to encourage the disaffected; and the emissaries and suborned retainers of that court were scattered in every quarter of the land. These evils were aggravated by the remedy attempted by the king: alarmed by the numerous class of persons who had no visible means of support, and were likely to be engaged in the first outbreak which might happen, he gave a license for their enlistment into the Spanish service. Numbers were thus combined and trained to arms who only wanted this organization to render them formidable. The Irish refugees, whom the result of Tyrone's rebellion had exiled, came back commissioned to raise their levies: and the country was soon filled with an army which diffused fear into every quarter, and which, at a less fortunate moment, might have led to a fresh outbreak of rebellion. But the people were, in the main, favourably disposed to a government from which they had obtained large benefits, and to laws from which they hoped still further advantages: the experience of civil conflict was also too recent: rebellion, for the most part, recurs but once in the same generation, and only when a fresh race becomes ready to rush into horrors and suffering, of which it has no experience. It was, nevertheless, with much difficulty, that this dangerous army was sent off to its destination, and the present danger averted.

If we take a general view of the constitutional arrangements which were commenced, and chiefly carried into law, in the reign of James, their wisdom and their beneficial tendency will be obvious enough. Their salutary influences, were, however, to no small extent defeated by the two causes which long continued to be fatal to Ireland—the selfishness and injustice of those who pursued their own interests at the sacrifice of the country; and by the factions which were the result of inevitable causes. Both the justice and the necessity of laws which were designed to control and counteract the interference of a foreign power in the concerns of the kingdom, are too plain to be made the subject of disquisition. We cannot condemn the struggles of the Roman clergy, whose church is their country, for the preference of its aggrandizement to all other concerns: we cannot condemn the government for the most strenuous and direct resistance. But it must be allowed, on a full and impartial consideration, that the strife between these two great antagonist powers, was unequal in conduct as well as strength. The English government appear to have committed the

* Leland, Vol. II. p. 475.

grievous error of vastly underrating the resources of their formidable adversary; and adopted measures which were neither rightly directed nor efficiently carried into operation. Severe restrictions, which were not demanded by policy, were not enforced further than was sufficient to irritate and to create alarm. A harsh, peremptory, and uniform enforcement of the penalties against recusants might have effected their purpose: their general relaxation and disuse, gave the appearance of oppression and injustice to their application in special cases. The means designed to suppress anti-constitutional opinions, had thus the direct effect to foment, increase, and organise a party: for opposition is the breath of party, and it is a general truth, that penal enactments must either wholly crush, or give new strength to such workings. Yet nothing that had ever previously occurred could have apprized the English cabinet of the certain workings of such an attempt; yet they who could call to mind the early ill effects of the dissensions caused by the attempts to create political disabilities in the "*Irish by birth*," of the former period of our history, might have anticipated more permanent and fiercer exacerbations of popular feeling, now that the English pale had been extended over the island, and that the party to be exasperated constituted the main portion of his majesty's Irish subjects. From that first parliament of the thirteenth year of James, in which the spirit of a party was confronted in an embodied form in the metropolis, this malignant process set fully in and began its portentous growth.

But the ground for unmixed approbation is large—the country was divided—the circuits of justice distributed—the ancient laws were for ever abrogated—the laws of England established—and the tenures of property, which by an unfortunate facility, were adapted for the preservation of powers incompatible with civilization, abolished. In a word, the praise of Sir John Davis seems in a high degree justified, when writing of the reign of James, "in whose time, as there hath been a concurrence of many great felicities, so this among others may be reckoned in the first rank, that all the defects of the government of Ireland spoken of before, have been fully supplied in the first nine years of his reign; in which time there hath been more done in this work of reformation of this kingdom, than in the 440 years which are past since the conquest was first attempted."

Parliament.—We cannot, consistently with the neutral position which we are endeavouring to maintain, enter on the history of the first parliament of our present period, without first clearly, as our limits will allow, explaining our general view on the subject of the ancient parliaments of the kingdom. The subject may indeed serve as a useful, because perhaps the least offensive, application of the principles already stated in this essay. The high and uncompromising tone of all existing parties renders even the language of impartial statement unwelcome; for party stands upon extreme views and unqualified assertions of general maxims. The parliament of Ireland is no more, and may be more anatomically dealt with.

It is a sophism, not confined to party writers, but pervading history, that refers the after-workings of human agency, to the wisdom and virtue, or to the wickedness and folly of the agents concerned; and

it is the consequence of another still simpler error, which judges of the conduct of remote ages by principles, which are but the development of after events. The most candid writers, whose good sense and impartiality preserve them from direct and explicit misstatements of this class, yet in the very language they use, betray the clinging tendency to those fundamental errors. No single instance of this can be better selected, than the application of the term constitutional and unconstitutional, to the despotic measures and insubordinate resistances of ancient English and Irish history. The word has no sense thus applied: it means *the social organization of a people*, whatever it may be; and can only be used with relation to the recognised principles of the *existing* order of society to which it is applied. At present it applies to the organization and principles of the British polity, as established in 1688. In the reigns of the Plantagenets and Tudors it was altogether different, and *constitutional* must mean something wholly different. The struggles between opposing interests, as they gradually sprung up, have been *ultimately* productive of the happiest effects; but these effects have, by reflection, disguised or distorted the spirit in which they originated. The struggles against existing powers were often the result of extremity, and oftener still of the natural tendency to insubordination and susceptibility of excitement: however we may now rejoice in their total results, we cannot call them either constitutional or patriotic, for as to the first they were mostly the contrary, and, as to the latter, we doubt the meaning of the word, as commonly used. We neither can admit opposition to "the powers that be" to be necessarily constitutional, nor can we allow the contrary term to be applied to the efforts of ancient monarchs or communities, to maintain their established rights, even when a more enlightened philosophy can now discern their incompatibility with the more enlarged interests of mankind.

These reflections have a peculiar application to the history of parliaments, and above all to the parliaments of Ireland. And this will be more apparent by keeping in view the two main aspects in which this member of civil polity is to be viewed: first, as an organ of constitutional *transition and development*; and next, as *representing* the classes of which the state is composed. In these two senses, we shall make some remarks on Irish parliaments. Considered in the first light; viz:—as organs of change, we must emphatically observe, that the whole of the observations made in the last paragraphs apply in their fullest sense. Even in England—where there were actual principles to be asserted, actual rights to be maintained, and interests to be promoted—the struggles of parliaments were either the ordinary result of a forced reaction, or of a mere struggle for power. But *there* there was a constitution, there was political life and the elements of civil progress, which action and reaction fosters in its advance—a process so indomitable that it converts all things to growth. But in Ireland, the operation of this organ was far different: there was not only no civil growth, but the first elements were wanting; there was only a graft from England, but it did not take; the life was not diffused; there was no incorporation. The ill-tended and sickly shoot was allowed to degenerate and take its type from the wild stem into which it had been

irregularly forced: the known reproach (if such it be) "*Hibernis ipsis Hiberniores*" describes it best. It was not from the political capacities of a degenerate little colony struggling for existence at times, and at times to extend or maintain powers consistent with no form of government, that parliamentary wisdom, virtue, or efficacy, in any way not pernicious was to be looked for. Secondly, if we have recourse to the principle of *representation*, the force of our application is stronger yet. The principle admits of the widest flux of social transition through every opposite stage; and the question as to what class, or what interests were to be represented presents itself to the common sense of any person whose political passions do not interfere with his judgment. It is in its representative capacity assuredly, that most of the good and evil of parliaments is to be found—although, it must be allowed, that their agencies have been often remote enough from any recognition of the principle. But in Ireland, the principle of representation could not have any decidedly constitutional existence till the very time at which we are arrived. An aggregate of striving factions cannot be represented in any organ of regular, uniform, or sane operation.

As a constitutional member of the state the introduction of parliaments in Ireland would have been premature at any time before the seventeenth century, were it not for another important consideration—that in the adoption of a form of polity for a nation, which was in a great measure of English growth, and to be incorporated with England at some future stage of existence. But it must not be lost sight of that there cannot fairly be claimed for the Irish parliaments of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a constitutional authority and independence, which was altogether unknown till after the civil wars in England; and but a theory, until the revolution which placed king William on the throne.

The sense of the age is, however, best seen in its history. It is evident from the facts what Irish parliaments were. They are not to be regarded by other lights than those by which they appreciated themselves. It may, indeed, be admitted, that Irish parliaments, as first instituted by Henry II., and as continued under the successive reigns to the tenth year of Henry VII., were free to an extent unknown in England; yet that this freedom might most justly be termed licentiousness, and rather proceeded from the general neglect and confusion of Irish affairs, than from any expediency in the thing, or particular spirit of Irish parliaments, is plain enough from all their previous history. The fact is directly contrary: it was found that the independence of the Irish parliament was not maintained by its own acts, unless when actually in a state of direct rebellion, but only operated to place it in the power of the lords-deputy to rule as they pleased, and dispose of the interests of the kingdom, (which no one ever thought of,) as best suited their private ends. Such was the actual origin of Poyning's law, which for the first time, gave a salutary and indeed needful control to the English council: and brought into action the only disinterested authority for the protection of the welfare and improvement of Ireland.

From the preamble of an act passed in the reign of Henry IV., it is

inferred by Leland, that the parliaments were called and held by the lords-deputy at will. The same is to be inferred from the statute 2 Elizabeth, in which is stated, that before the act of Poynings, liberty was given to the governors to call parliaments at their pleasure. This right was exercised in every period, without being questioned by any party, or controlled by any intervention of authority. It is quite evident, how completely it placed the parliament at the disposal of the deputy; especially if it be considered, that from the great inconvenience of attending, it was in his power to select his members at will. Every class of the people were the sufferers: the parliament were used either to sanction extortions, to serve the purposes of faction, or to oppress individuals. The barons, whose attendance was more commonly forced to place them in the deputy's power than for any other end, were exposed to the dangers from leaving their homes unguarded. The meetings of parliament were, in fact, nothing very different from those well known courts and commissions by which the monarchs of England to so late a period exercised a power above the laws of England. Against this great source of abuse there was a long discontent which grew in extent and earnestness, with the intelligence and property of the people; redress was sought and granted, for it could not well be denied. But the corrupt influences to which the parliament was a main support, were not to be set aside by statutes; and there was a real necessity for some such instrument of rule, in a country not quite mature enough to be governed by the mere control of law. Thus, though at different times laws were made restricting the meetings and powers of parliament, these laws were uniformly dropped in oblivion. Other abuses grew up, which threw absurdity upon the very name of parliament, as applied to these irregular assemblies, which became altogether reduced to instruments of tyranny and faction. The laws of one meeting were repealed in the next, as opposite parties or rival families succeeded each other in a transient ascendancy. Nor in the long interval between the statute 34 Henry VI. and Poynings' law, can we see any principles but those of castle dictation represented in the Irish parliaments.

It was in vain that the wisest monarchs who sat upon the British throne, and the best intentioned statesmen who attempted to compose the troubled waters of Irish anarchy, for centuries endeavoured to arrest, neutralize, or convert to good this corrupt and disorderly engine of misrule, that some statutes limited the sessions, and others reduced the power of imposing subsidies upon the commons: the factious nobles, unchecked by any efficient control, were reckless of statutes, which could not be enforced without an army; and the idle restraint soon dropped into quiet oblivion. Lords-deputy could at best convert the abuse to the ends of government, and maintain their own authority by a compromise, in which the interests of the people were sacrificed to those of the turbulent, intriguing, and unruly lords of the pale. The parliament was but a post of vantage for the alternate missiles of opposite parties in the game of faction. At length the evil arose to its extreme height—the factions of York and Lancaster made this mockery of a parliament ridiculous—by multiplication every party had its parliament which made statutes and defied all law for itself.

Such were the growing disorders which long continued to gather power, until the English pale was nearly swallowed up in the surrounding sea of barbarism; while the Geraldines and Butlers, regardless of all other interests, contended for pre-eminence.

While the feebleness of the English monarchs, or the difficulties of their home affairs, left Ireland exposed to neglect, these evils arose to an alarming height; and it is quite apparent, that there was no saving strength in the government to ward off the extremity of a ruinous lapse into barbarism. The prosperous vigour of that alert and vigilant prince, Edward IV., gave the first decided check to this ruinous descent.

From this, a succession of prosperous reigns was destined to restore the prosperity of the pale; the interests of the country, and the main obstacles, which, till then, had retarded its advance, began to be in some degree understood on both sides of the Channel. And if abuse and disorder still, but too successfully, continued to maintain their station, yet many well-aimed and not wholly unsuccessful efforts were made to suppress and counteract them. The appointment of Sir Edward Poynings in 1494, was the result of an express and well understood design to bring down the crest of every faction, and reduce the turbulent and refractory barons to the state of subjects; and as parliament had now for a long time been the arena of their contentions, it was there their power was to be checked. A general reform of abuses was to suppress the oppressions of ministerial agents, and to raise the condition of the people; but the crowning measure of this administration was the great and essential reform, which corrected the constitutional defects of the parliament. For this purpose, after a full and careful scrutiny into the state and history of the country, after hearing every representation, and thoroughly investigating every complaint, he summoned that celebrated parliament at Drogheda, which was the first step towards the erection of a legislative assembly in any way deserving of the name in Ireland, and which, by its wise enactments, left many permanent benefits to the country. Among these, one demands our especial notice—the law for the regulation of future parliaments. We insert the important limitations for the benefit of the reader:—"Item, At the request of the commons of the land of Ireland, be it ordained, enacted, and established, that at the next parliament that there shall be holden by the king's commandment and licence, wherein among other things the king's government intendeth to have a general resumption of his whole revenues, since the last day of the reign of king Edward II., no parliament be holden hereafter in the said land, but at such seasons as the king's lieutenant and council there first do certify the king under the great seal of that land, the causes and considerations, and all such acts as them seemeth should pass in the same parliament, and such causes, &c. &c., affirmed by the king and his council to be good and expedient for that land, and his licence thereupon, as well in affirmation of the said causes and acts, as to summon the said parliament under his great seal of England had and obtained: that done, a parliament to be had and holden after the form and effect afore rehearsed. And if any parliament be holden in that

land hereafter contrary to the form and provision aforesaid, it be deemed void, and of none effect in law."

By these provisions it is evident, that two main evils were guarded against; the obtrusive influence of the barons, and the tyrannical usurpations of the local government. It was a matter of minor importance from what source, or in what spirit legislation might be conceived, so long as it was to pass the scrutiny of a vigilant and disinterested council. There was not of course, and will never be, any infallible security in the best constituted legislature against unwise and unjust laws; but assuredly, by this enactment, the best safeguard which the age afforded, was brought to bear—an instrument, immature for good, was secured from evil—its infant steps were guided, and it learned its functions under the needful support of a fostering control.

The purpose for which we have noticed these facts of our parliamentary history, does not demand that we should pursue that history throughout the period in which we shall frequently have to meet these facts in detail as they occur. Our only present object having been to guard the understanding of our candid readers, against the fallacious estimate which recent historical writers seem to have entertained of the importance of our ancient parliaments; we may here generally observe on the history of Poyning's law, that the nobles of Ireland long continued to retain too much influence to be set aside by the clause of an enactment. It became a matter first of courtesy and then of right, to call in the advice and obtain the sanction of the nobles for the laws to be transmitted to England: the statute was but loosely worded, and one convenient evasion followed another, until abuses rose which it was the business of further enactments and declarations to correct. Sometimes the balance of encroachment preponderated for the lords, sometimes for the crown, and latterly for the commons, according to the varying vicissitudes of the successive reigns between Henry VII., and Charles II. The declaratory act, however, of Philip and Mary, is to be regarded as having fixed the law, and given to the Irish parliament the form which it preserved during this period.

As this subject approaches one of those numerous Irish questions on which much controversy has prevailed, we cannot, before proceeding further, too strongly recall to our reader that the reflections we have here offered, are in no way connected with the further question, once so violently agitated, as to the dependence of the Irish parliament upon that of England. On this question, now happily of no practical importance, we believe that there is no disagreement; and we shall notice it more directly hereafter among the literary memoirs of the following period. Our object in this introduction has been only to illustrate some principles, of which the application has been too little observed.

The parliaments of Ireland from the beginning and throughout, independent of the parliaments of England, were found by certain experience, to be unmeet instruments for legislation, without the intervention of far other more disinterested, wiser, and more effective powers: they could only be available for any good end, so far as they could be governed by a discretion more just, temperate, and beneficially directed, according to the then existing interests of the entire country. It was

necessary that the parliament which represented no *constitutional* interest of any kind should be reclaimed from its subordination to factious and private aims, and made available for the purposes of government; there was but one way; and to establish this was the real intent of the law we have so far noticed here.

Such was the legal constitution of the Irish parliament, when James's first parliament was convened, under circumstances which gave to the measure, in some degree, the character of a new and hazardous experiment. The constituency was altered—the dominant factions were remotely different—a new and vast power had been introduced—a popular spirit had also been called into life; the hands by which this vast change had been effected, were unconscious of the new and vast elements they had thrown into the caldron. The period was one of new and vast importance. Ireland had, for the first time, received the elements of constitutional formation. The first dim twilight of civil order and national equalization began to glimmer above the eastern steep. The laws and institutions of England were established as those of Ireland, to the full extent that was within the limits of possibility; nor was there thenceforward any drawback upon the advance of the country, but those which originated in its own inherent constitution. These were, however, large enough to be all but fatal, and are such as to suggest the suspicion that the policy of James was premature; and that a long period of legislative and administrative government, should have preceded the use, and prepared the way for this great national change. The parliament was convened, with all the evils, and without any of the merits of a representative body: its election and its meeting were the violent effort and disgraceful contention of two parties, neither of which entertained any sense of the higher importance of the occasion, or any consideration of the interests of the nation thus newly launched into a stormy existence. Whatever, indeed, may be contended in favour of the general policy of introducing the institutions of a free and civilized state, into a country absolutely constituted of contentious elements, and yet in the very infancy of political development; it can hardly be denied with any sincerity, that the juncture was adverse in the extreme to the convention of an assembly of parties which could only come together to clash. The government, however, only looked to the general allaying of discontents, both by the public exposure of unreasonable complaints, and the redress of just ones; and probably considered that a parliamentary sanction could alone justify, and give permanence to the dispositions they had made, and still contemplated. All parties looked forward with earnest hopes or fears to the event; since the last previous parliament, twenty-seven years before, circumstances had also occurred to increase the effective strength of such an assembly. The addition of seventeen counties, and of numerous boroughs, and the extension of the English jurisdiction to the whole of Ireland, had imparted the character which it had hitherto wanted, of a national representation. That such was the design of the government was publicly made known, and the country was invited to make known its complaints, and all persons were allowed to submit their views for the public good and the improvement of the country. No sect or party was excluded, or no grievance was sup-

pressed by any injunction of authority. But it is hardly to be supposed that the real state of public feeling was known. Such, indeed, is ever the fatal obstacle to governments, surrounded as they are, and ever were, by the flatteries and misrepresentations of party. Of course, every faction had its own notions of the interest of the country, and was prepared to strive for the assertion of its own illusions and interests. The Roman Catholic party, by far the most considerable in the country, was, and not without ground, apprehensive of the designs of government. They inferred some intention of some new measures of a penal nature against themselves. Already subject to penalties which were gratuitously harsh, because, both in their conception and execution, they fell far short of any purpose, but to awaken resentment, it was but natural to expect stronger and more effective enactments. Their party was to some extent called into existence, by the measures which government had found reason to employ, but never had the severity or firmness to carry into effect. Under the alarming apprehensions thus excited, they had recourse to the most strenuous exertions to secure the balance of the elections in their favour. Six Roman Catholic peers, Gormanston, Slane, Killeen Trimleston, Dunsany, and Lowth, addressed a remonstrance to king James. They complained that the laws designed to be enacted, had not been previously communicated to the Irish peers; they expressed the general fear communicated by the creation of so many new boroughs, which seemed to indicate some meditated exertion of government influence, unlikely to be acceptable to the existing constituency; they represented the unfavourable impressions likely to be made at home and abroad, by such arbitrary courses; and prayed that the creation of new boroughs should be deferred till the course of extended wealth should serve to call for such privileges. This remonstrance, unfortunately, received no notice from the king. We are far from thinking that the desired concessions were expedient, for the preponderance of a popular party could not have been in any respect salutary; but a more conciliatory mode of proceeding would have had the most beneficial influence. But the remonstrance was little suited to the arbitrary spirit of the time, and it was considered in itself as an act of contumacious opposition. The government sent its agents into every province, and neglected no means, then in use, to obtain the desired majority. The clergy of the church of Rome were not absent from their post; they represented the sacredness of the cause, and denounced the censures of the church. The people were also persuaded that Tyrone was preparing his return with an efficient army, which must secure their triumph. These influences, supported by every other resource by which popular spirit is roused or coerced, secured the election of a considerable party, who were pledged to the single object of defeating the government, and entirely frustrating its measures.

The popular party made their entrance into Dublin, with a demonstration of wealth and strength that announced their triumph and awakened alarm. Their retinues were, in many instances, not less than two hundred followers, and the aggregate must have amounted to a large body. As, however, it was their purpose to raise difficulties of every kind, they affected the apprehension of danger from the

castle having been selected as the place for their meetings, and affected to entertain fears from the presence of the castle guard, and the vicinity of the powder magazine. The triumphant sensations of this party were much abated, and its animosity inbittered by the discovery, that the other party had been not less successful in the elections: it now appeared that the Protestant members present,* amounted to one hundred and twenty-five, while the Roman Catholics were but one hundred and one. The house of peers was composed of sixteen barons, twenty-five Protestant bishops, five viscounts, and four earls.

The first steps of the popular party answered their expectations, and promised a full and final interruption to the measures of the government. But their conduct was by far too rash and intemperate, and brought a speedy reaction, which terminated in the peaceable and orderly prosecution of the measures designed by the government.

On the 18th of May they met by appointment of the lord-deputy Chichester, and on their admission to the chamber were fortunately disarmed. Admission was also providentially refused to the numerous intruders, who came prepared to take whatever part they could in the proceedings. When assembled, the lord-deputy directed them to elect a speaker. This was the point seized upon for the trial of strength, or rather for the purpose of raising confusion. The popular party began by objecting, that several of the members present could have no right to vote, as their election had been illegal: on this point there began a confused and stormy altercation: the objections were but specious, and need not be recited. It was at length assented to, that the election of a speaker should precede all other questions: and then commenced another scene of still fiercer tumult. The candidates proposed were, Sir John Davis, the attorney-general, and Sir John Everard, a most respectable gentleman, who had been chief-justice, but, declining to take the oaths required by government, had retired upon a liberal pension. After much clamour on both sides, Sir Oliver St John reminded the house, that the custom on a division, was for the affirmative party to leave the chamber, and the negative to remain; he therefore proposed, that those who supported Davis, should follow himself to the lobby. They had no sooner retired, than one of the other party got up and made a speech, urging the most exciting motives of their party, in language to which a respectable Roman Catholic prelate has given the sanction of a report. "They are gone, ill betide them; and they have left us, as it is our right to be, in possession of this house. Wherefore seeing that we have prospered thus far, we ought thankfully to pursue the course which God seems to have pointed out, by setting up here that holy faith, for which, if necessary, we should be ready to die. We are encouraged in this by the example of our fathers and kinsmen, who, fighting for the Catholic faith, obtained an honourable death and a glorious immortality. Should it be our lot so to perish, we shall be at least their equals in renown; but if we avoid their indiscretions, higher fame and happier fortune will attend us. Nor is there reason to apprehend that in so doing we shall trespass aught against the

* Six members are mentioned as absent.

king's majesty; seeing that the same should be his especial care, and that nothing more is necessary, either for his soul's salvation or for the righteous ruling of his kingdom. Come then, let us maintain that religion for which it is honourable to fight and seemly to die, and to exalt which is the highest glory of man. First of all, let us choose for ourselves a speaker and a leader."*

The impulse was caught and obeyed—the party proceeded to elect Everard, and to place him in the chair. The other party when they entered, insisted upon his leaving the chair; they were answered, that in leaving the room they had abandoned their right of election. This quibble could have no weight; Everard was desired to leave the chair: he sat still. The other party resolved to maintain the election of the majority, placed Sir John Davis in Everard's lap, and a scene of the most disgraceful and turbulent contention followed. Everard still refusing to leave the chair, was forced from it by the Treasurer, the Master of the Ordnance and others, while Sir Daniel O'Brien, and Sir William Buck, strove to keep him in his seat. After a short struggle, Sir John Davies was put in possession, and the whole of the popular party withdrew. The proceedings which followed must be as briefly told: the seceding members were repeatedly summoned to attend, but continued obstinate against all solicitation or remonstrance. They formed an association to obtain redress for their assumed grievances: these entirely related to the place, and present constitution of the parliament, and to the validity of the elections; they protested against all legislative acts, which should be carried during their own secession, and strongly intimated threats of insurrectionary resistance. To resist this menace, the force of government was as nothing—the seceders commanded, even in their own train, a force more than equal to any the lord-deputy could oppose to them, and there wanted but a word to raise the country into rebellion. Chichester prudently averted the storm, which he was unprepared to resist, by a prorogation.

The scene of contest was thus removed to the English court. Thither the parties now prepared to carry their complaints; the seceders had desired permission to send their deputies, and received in return, a peremptory summons to answer before the king for their irregular conduct. Eight of the seceding peers, with sixteen commoners, and a numerous train of lawyers, were deputed, to plead their cause and to enforce the objects of their party. The cost of this deputation was to be defrayed by a tax of five shillings on every gentleman, two shillings for a yeoman, and fourpence for a peasant. Against this tax Chichester directed a proclamation, which had the desired effect of preventing its collection.

Meanwhile, the delegates had reached London, and had been received by king James with every demonstration of frank kindness and condescension. This was consonant both with his natural love of justice, and his disposition both to exercise and display his attainments. It was his object to draw out the opinions of these men who were to be considered as fairly representing the spirit and designs of their party, and in his attempt to execute this design, he found an ample

* Phelan, from Burke's *Hibernia Dominicana*.

opportunity for the exercise of his best faculties. In repeated conferences, wherein he artfully suppressed all appearance of a determinate purpose, he led the far less wily Irishmen into the expression of their opinions on every subject. All caution was gradually set aside by the seeming frankness and real art of the king, until they were betrayed at length by his apparent ease and unconsciousness of design, to the maintenance of tenets which prudence at least should have suppressed. Among other questions, he asked, "whether the heresy of a prince, otherwise sovereign and absolute, forfeited his title and justified the pope's interference against him?"* Some felt their ground and were silent; but some, heated perhaps by the course of a conversation which was adapted to warm their party feelings, answered, that in their opinion it did. The consequence was not precisely that which might have been expected from his previous deportment, the king forgot his own purpose—overlooking the real importance of such an admission—his personal resentment asserted itself. Luttrell and Talbot, whose language had been most peremptory, and who had allowed themselves to be betrayed by the heat of argument into an indecorous display of warmth, were committed one to the Tower and the other to the Fleet prison. Talbot was fined £10,000 by the Star Chamber. At the same time some private letters of Sir P. Barnwell, containing language to the same effect, had been intercepted, and were submitted to the council. He was, in consequence, compelled to retract his opinions, by a written form dictated by the council.† These intervening incidents were calculated to throw some light upon the complaints of the delegates, but it is most probable that the help of such a comment was unnecessary.

The report was brought in, and on the 21st of April, the king gave judgment before the council, and in presence of all the complainants. We may here complete our summary of this transaction, with some extracts from James's speech:—

"These gentlemen will not deny that I have lent them my own ear, and have showed both patience and a desire to understand their cause at full: it resteth now that we make a good conclusion, after so long a debate.

* * * * *

"I promised to these noblemen and gentlemen of the recusant party of parliament, justice with favour; let them see whether I have performed my promise. Sure I am, but for performance of promise, I should not have given such a patient hearing, nor made such a curious search into the causes of their complaints, neither should I make such a conclusion as I am now like to make of this business.

"In the search (though I doubted not of the honour and justice of the lord-deputy's government) yet I dealt not with him as with my servant—not as with one the most unreprouvable governor that ever was in that kingdom (as some of yourselves have acknowledged him to be to myself) but as with a party. But after the commissioners

* Phelan.

† Ibid.

had heard all that could be alleged, I found him, indeed, a faithful servant by their certificate, which was *conclusio in causa*.

* * * * *

“Now, if I should do you justice, I should take you at your word, lay together your offer in your letters, and the articles which my attorney laid open to you; then shall you see your case.

“For you made offer, that if you failed to prove any one point of that which was contained in your complaint, you would renounce my favour in all: *yet have you scarce proved one word true*; but on the other side, almost every point hath been proved contrary.

“Of fourteen returns, whereof you complain, but two have been proved false; and in the government nothing hath been proved faulty, except you would have the kingdom of Ireland like the kingdom of heaven.

* * * * *

“To the first, an unusual favour was offered you by my deputy; for he sent for you, and advised you to consider what laws were fit to be propounded for that commonwealth, and offered to concur with you. Your answer should have been humble thanks on your knees; but you neglected that favour, and answered by your agent, in the name of the rest, *That you would first be made acquainted with such bills, as the deputy and council there had resolved to transmit*.

* * * * *

“Then I sent commissions to examine, as well the by, as main business which you first presented to be the cause of your appealing to me; but instead of thanks for that favour, there came yet more new complaints, which because the council here have already answered, I will not speak of.

“Now, if you look back to your own miscarriage and my lenity, you shall find that your carriage hath been most undutiful and unreasonable, and in the next degree to treason, and that you have nothing to fly to but to my grace.

“The lower house, here, in England, doth stand upon its privileges as much as any council in Christendom, yet if such a difference had risen there, they would have gone on with my service, notwithstanding, and not have broken up their assembly upon it: you complain of fourteen false returns, are there not many more complained of in this parliament, yet they do not forsake the house for it.

* * * * *

“Now for your complaints touching parliament matters, I find no more amiss in that parliament, than in the best parliament in the world. Escapes, and faults of sheriffs, there may be, yet not them proved, or if it had been proved, no cause to stay the parliament; all might have been set right by an ordinary course of tryal, to which I must refer them. But you complain of the new boroughs, therein I would fain feel your pulse, for yet I find not where the shoe wrings.

“For first you question the power of the king, whether he may lawfully make them? And then you question the wisdom of the king and his council, in that you say, there are too many made. It was never before heard, that any good subject did dispute the king's

power in this point. What is it to you whether I make many or few boroughs; my council may consider the fitness, if I require; but what if I made forty noblemen, and four hundred boroughs, the more the merrier, the fewer the better cheer.

"But this complaint, as you made it, was preposterous; for in contending for a committee before you agreed of a speaker, did put the plough before the horse, so as it went untowardly like your Irish ploughs. But because the eye of the master maketh the horse fat, I have used my own eyes in taking a view of those boroughs, and have taken a list of them all. God is my judge, I find the new boroughs except one or two, to be as good as the old; comparing Irish boroughs new, with Irish boroughs old, (for I will not speak of the boroughs of other countries,) and yet, besides the necessity of making them, like to encrease and grow better daily; besides, I find but few erected in each county, and in many counties but one borough only, and those erected in fit places, near forts or passages for the safety of the country: methinks you, that seek the good of that kingdom, should be glad of it.

"I have caused London, also, to erect boroughs there, and when they are thoroughly planted will be a great security to that part of the kingdom; therefore you quarrel with that which may bring peace to the country. For the persons returned out of these boroughs, you complain they have no residence; if you had said they had no interest, it had been somewhat, but most interest in the kingdom, *et qui habent interesse*, are like to be as careful as you for the weal thereof.

"I seek not *mendicata suffragia*, such boroughs as have been made, since the summons are wiped away at one word for this time; I have tried that and done you fair play, but you that are of a contrary religion, must not look to be the only law-makers; you that are but half subjects, should have but half privilege; you that have an eye to me one way, and to the pope another way—the pope is your father in *spiritualibus*, and I in *temporalibus* only, and so have your bodies torn one way, and your souls drawn another; you that send your children to the seminaries of treason, strive henceforth to become full subjects, that you may have *cor unam*, and *viam unam*, and then I shall respect you alike; but your Irish priests teach you such grounds of doctrine, as you cannot follow them with a safe conscience, but you must cast off your loyalty to your king.

"Touching the grievances whereof you have complained, I am loath to spend breath on them, if you charge the inferior ministers of the country, all countries are subject to such grievances; but if you charge the deputy and state *nihil probatur*, indeed I hear not from you, but from others, there is one thing grievous to the country, that notwithstanding composition established in the provinces, the governors there do send out their purveyors, who take up their achates, and other provision upon the country, if this had been complained of to the deputy or to me, it had been reformed: the deputy himself at Dublin, doth not grieve the country with any such burden.

"Another thing there is that grieveth the people, which is that in the country, where there is half peace and half war; the sheriffs and soldiers in their passage do commit many extortions.

"For these grievances I myself will call the deputy unto me, and set down such orders in this time of vacation, as these abuses shall be redressed and clear taken away. And if any such disorder be suffered hereafter, it shall be only for fault of complaining: and because the meaner sort will perhaps fear to complain, I would have such gentlemen of the country, as are of best credit, to present complaints, which they may do in such manner as the parties who prefer the complaints may not be known.

"There is a double cause, why I should be careful of the welfare of that people. First, as king of England, by reason of the long possession the crown of England hath had of that land; and also as king of Scotland: for the ancient kings of Scotland are descended of the kings of Ireland; so as I have an old title as king of Scotland, therefore you shall not doubt to be relieved when you complain so as you will proceed without clamour.

"Moreover my care hath been, that no acts should be preferred that should be grievous to that people; and to that end I perused them all except one, that I saw not till of late, that is now out of door; for I protest I have been more careful for the bills to be past in that parliament, then in the parliament of England.

"Lastly, for imputations that may seem to touch the deputy, I have found nothing done by him but what is fit for an honourable gentleman to do in his place, which he hath discharged as well as any deputy did, and divers of you have confessed so to me; and I find your complaints against him and the state, to be but causeless expostulations.

"To conclude, my sentence is, that in the matter of parliament, you have carried yourselves tumultuarily and undutifully; and that your proceedings have been rude, disorderly, and inexcusable, and worthy of severe punishment; which by reason of your submission I do forbear, but not remit, till I see your dutiful carriage in this parliament, where by your obedience to the deputy and state, and your future good behaviour, you may redeem your bye-past miscarriage, and then you may deserve not only pardon but favour and cherishing."

The delegates were dismissed with this characteristic reprimand. Sir A. Chichester's triumph was completed by the fulness and publicity of their exposure: he received in addition a peerage, and the grant of the estates of Sir Cahir O'Doherty. Returning home, he now without delay, called together the parliament. All parties were by this convinced, some of the danger, some of the impolicy of further opposition to government, and became emulous in their subserviency. The parliament met with this favourable disposition, and the following enactments passed without any remarkable opposition.

"An act of recognition, reciting that Ireland, which before his majesty's access to the crown, had been subject to continual *rebellions, rapines, and oppressions*, was by his majesty's most gracious government reduced to better order; and that he has established his government in the hearts of his people, by the proclamation of oblivion, and suppressing petitions for trespasses done in the war between subject and subject, at his first coming, by his special charters of pardon, by name freely granted to many thousands; by remitting many great

debts, arrears of rent, and forfeitures, and by strengthening defective titles, and regranting the lands to them on surrenders; by erecting court-houses, and enlarging the number of the judges; and by setting a civil plantation in the forfeited parts of *Ulster*, (formerly the nest of rebellion,) to the great security of the commonwealth.

2d. An act that all crimes committed on the sea, within the jurisdiction of the admiralty, shall be tried in any county, according to the rules of the common law, by commission to the admiral or his deputy, and three or four more, or any four of them.

3d. An act for taking away benefit of clergy in certain cases.

4th. An act for attainder of the earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell, Sir Cahir O'Dogherty, and several others.

5th. An act to repeal some former acts prohibiting trade or commerce, with the Irish enemies, or to marry or foster with them, and commanding to seize them as spies.

6th. An act of repeal of a former statute against bringing in, retaining, or marrying with Scots.

7th. An act for repairing and mending highways and causeways, &c.

8th. An act for avoiding private and secret outlawrys.

9th. An act of oblivion and general pardon.

10th. An act for one subsidy, which amounted to no more than £26,042, and yet the Irish complained of it as a heavy tax, though they did not pay above two-thirds of it at most.

And so the parliament was by proclamation dissolved in October, 1615.

The long series of civil workings which followed the demise of James I., and during the reign of his successor, demand a wider scope than we can here afford. The period is more involved in the difficulties caused by conflicting statements, than any other, perhaps within the whole range of history. The concurrent truth of opposite statements is not unlikely to be the most just conclusion, as the two main classes of writers who are opposed to each other, rather vary by the suppression of true facts than by advancing falsehoods. It may, however, even thus appear to those, who look fairly on all that must be admitted, that the most comprehensive view is likely to be also the most distinct: for whatever importance may be attributed to any class of alleged facts, it cannot fail to be observed that a few great, prominent, and governing influences were necessarily at work; and lead to inferences independent of all partial, transient, or local causes. There is, also, nothing plainer to the reflecting student of history than the distinction of Polybius which is cited by Temple, between the *causæ suasive* and the *causæ justificæ*—the motives and the justifications of action. There is no course of political conduct which has ever been pursued, which has not been urged upon the public mind, upon some equitable ground of principle; or has any public crime been ever perpetrated which has not been justified by reasons and causes not unfounded in reality, and by facts which, when looked on superficially, will afford a seeming excuse. To apprehend this general principle is easy enough; but it is another thing to follow it out in the wide-spread mazes of detail we have now before us.

The historians of 1641 are divided into two opposite classes, who

disagree more or less in all their statements. But it is, however, worthy of notice, that this disagreement cannot be said to reach farther back than comparatively recent times. The views of political parties change, and statements are boldly put forth by the leading men of one generation, which their successors in the next find necessary to explain away or contradict. Under such circumstances, the fairest and most satisfactory course to be pursued, in a work which aims to avoid all controversial views, will be to give the most explicit statement to the allegations on every side, so far as they have any just or specious pretence to a foundation in fact. Such is the course we shall follow when we come to the details of this eventful period. We must here confine ourselves to some general observations.

A multitude of causes, not easily disentangled from each other, contributed from the very beginning of the settlement of king James, as already described, to cause discontent and disaffection. If the general condition of the kingdom was improved, many were deprived of real or imaginary rights; of many the prospects were depressed, and none who conceived themselves in any way the losers, whether rightfully or otherwise, were likely to acquiesce contentedly in the new order of things. Among these classes, if they must be admitted to have been numerous who had ground for just complaint, it can be seen that there were far more whose grievances were either pretended or fanciful. But there were many whose conduct was actuated by the mere love of disorder and thirst for spoil and slaughter—many whom the zeal of party inflamed—and many who, combined by a deeper and further-sighted will and energy, acted from a sense of stern and uncompromising duty, which was directly opposed to the policy, and government of England.

All of these, though differently actuated, and widely different in the scale of moral or intellectual estimation, were inevitably combined by the strong connexion of a common purpose and a common enemy; and as the course of a few years brought together and matured for them a system of concerted action, they assumed the form which all such aggregations will ever assume. The views of the most enlightened or influential of the sections of which they consist will give a specious and consistent stamp to their entire conduct: they become one in pretence. All that is glaringly unjust, all that admits of no high construction is suppressed and merges in the pretended claim and complaint of conscience or justice.

From the grievances justly complained of, there is also a very considerable deduction to be made for the absolute necessity of a strong and peremptory maintenance of the law against the numerous oppositions and difficulties arising from an unsettled state of things. Rather an undue stress is laid upon arbitrary decisions which not unfrequently appeared to set the law aside. They were quite consonant with the constitutional knowledge of the age; and if they were not, the operation of law as then subsisting, was inadequate to the condition of the country. These injustices, which must be among the results of arbitrary power when transfused through subordinate jurisdictions, have met enough of our notice. The extortions of an undisciplined, irregular, and ill-paid soldiery committed to the command of the proprietors of castles and territories, could not fail to excite a very justifiable discontent, and to

swell the murmur of complaint; the same must be said of the severities and of the corrupt administration of ecclesiastical courts. There was also a preference, to some extent mistaken, in favour of new persons, to the neglect of a large, influential, and necessarily proud and aspiring aristocracy of the country, and a spirit of bitterness was thus excited and nourished, which tended to raise opposition, when all opposition must have swelled the mass which fermented slowly, but surely, into the fierce amalgam of rebellion.

But in the frank admission of the numerous causes of complaint which existed, and tended to give a pretext and colouring to this rebellion, it would be an absurd illusion, for a moment to attribute to them an effect which mere discontents and grievances could not have produced. To organize a nation, in the feeling of a common cause, whether for good or evil, just or unjust, demands something more than the murmurs of factious grievance, or the irregular ebullitions of popular malcontent. A profounder and more pervading machinery of organized and organizing intelligence, method, and unity of purpose, are demanded to call up the stormy energies of a nation. A more expanded survey of the events of the reign of Charles I. will exhibit the visible operation of two several trains of circumstance tending to a common result. The civil agencies which we have partially observed, were trivial and transient in effect, compared with the cross current, to the tumultuous rush of whose course they were in due time to add the impetus of their power. The court of Rome, which had at no time acquiesced in so large a blank in the map of her ecclesiastic dominion, was on the watch with a sleepless eye that lost no moment of advantage: she was cemented in the bond of common creed and mutual interest with the discontented at home and abroad: the sons of the O'Neils and the O'Moores had grown up in the credit and discipline of foreign courts and armies, and were waiting for the ripeness of the time. And to this all, both of good or evil, were destined to lead the way.

Through the interval between the plantations of James I. and the rebellion, a very complex combination of causes was at work. The process of civil growth was intermixed with disorderly workings of various efficacy. A vast and sudden revolution of estate, which totally altered the condition of the people, could not with the same celerity change their moral state: the adjustment between the institutions and the people was necessarily imperfect. The people were not civilized to the level they had attained; the lords did not understand their precise rights or their subordinate obligations, and clung to ancient privileges. The government, however zealous for the good of the country, did not itself comprehend the progress and direction of the civil movements which were the great characteristic of that period: wise in their main designs, their intelligence was confined within narrow limits, and the result was not always either fortunate or just. To coerce the rude masses, they found it necessary to exercise powers inconsistent with the rights of the civilized aristocracy of the English pale: and in their most just resistance to the interference of a foreign influence, they mistook the means, and enormous evils were the result. Thus were measures of needful control mixed inseparably with acts of an oppressive tendency; and as the popular ideas of right were in that

period rather undefined, real oppressions were accompanied by numerous acts of seeming injustice. So that, like some cases of family litigation, reciprocal aggravations and mutual misunderstandings form a tissue of vexations not to be unravelled by any human skill. It was, indeed, evident, that the control of some impartial and peremptory hand was wanting to subdue the troubled elements which were at work, when king Charles I. succeeded to a revolutionary throne. His position was one replete with vast and untried dangers; the commoners of England had grown to adolescence, while he held them by the bonds of childhood. Not perhaps inferior in wisdom or virtue to the ablest monarchs of his period, he had neither wisdom, firmness, nor political virtue equal to the new emergency of his situation. In the emergency of his position in England, he regarded Ireland in no other relation than as it might be subservient to the difficulties of his new and critical position. With regard to this country, the policy pursued in the first years of his reign, inclined to relaxation: while it was adapted to conciliate the fears and discontents which troubled the nation, it had also the effect of awakening false hopes, and exciting the insolence of faction. Those whom it was only designed to relieve or to conciliate, with that unmeasured impulse so natural to Irish enthusiasm, felt all concession as the triumph of their party, and conducted themselves with arrogant overbearing and exacting defiance.

To this large and powerful party, the weakness and necessity of Charles compelled him to sell the true interests of the country, and the duties of his crown: without effectually conciliating their loyalty or satisfying their growing spirit of requisition, he gave discontent to their opponents; and two powerful parties grew up amid the perfidious tranquillity of a peace purchased and maintained by expedients and compromises as flimsy as the patching of a threadbare cloak.

The difficulties of the king increased, and with them the feebleness and impolicy of his government in Ireland. The discontents and animosities of which we have explained the grounds, increased, and the power of the civil authority grew less and less, when by a conjuncture of circumstances, unnecessary to detail here, Wentworth was sent over as lord-deputy. The course he adopted was one very singular for its vigour, sagacity, and efficacy: we cannot describe it so well as in the following extract from a profound and impartial writer:—"With a deep insight into the causes of Irish calamity, with a considerable address and undaunted resolution: with a spirit inaccessible to all factious or fanatical impulses, and an impartiality, the result at once of native benevolence and principled austerity; this great man, while he opposed himself to the wishes of every party, laboured indefatigably for the common welfare. Devotion to a master who was not worthy of such a servant—compassionate mercy towards the mass of the people, and severity to the local despots, whether Protestant or Roman Catholics, who had not yet learned to acknowledge either authority above them, or liberty below—these were the uniform characters of his arduous administration."* Too sagacious to stand on forms which become

* Phelan.

nugatory, when they are only the cover of intrigue and the hollow artifice of disaffection—too firm and resolute to enter into the entangled pretexts of lurking faction, Wentworth saw, and for a time acted upon the principle, that the disorders of the island were not within the scope of mere constitutional remedies; and that what was really wanting was the prompt and total suppression of those factions (and of the grounds on which they contended) by which the country was impeded in its advance. He saw, and he was, perhaps, the first who saw, that civil liberty had preceded civil order; and that it was essential to repress factions that used the powers and rights of men with the discretion of children.

But this praise has unfortunately a striking reverse: the strong will of Strafford sunk between the pressure of opposite emergencies. With all the stern singleness of policy which can be discerned in the main features of his conduct: he suffered himself to be entangled in the difficulties arising from a twofold purpose; while he clearly discriminated and desired to remedy the evils which retarded the advances of national prosperity, he was overruled at every step by a still more prevailing zeal for the interests of his master. Hence it became desirable to strengthen the hands of that party, whose interest could most easily be identified with those of the crown. But another cause operated to impell him further still in the same course: in his earliest attempts to assume a lofty and discretionary control over every existing authority, he was not suffered to proceed many steps before he came in contact with a power more firm and uncontrollable than any resistance he could bring to bear against it. The iron ramparts of the church of Rome had been by this time reared to an elevation too commanding, and fixed on a foundation too broad and deep, to be shaken by the will of Strafford. It had become a moral power and a law of nature, identified with the strength of the masses of the people. It could not be shaken by any force which he possessed. Of this power then, which he could not master, he was compelled to avail himself. The leaders of this party were not slow to perceive their advantage: they had but to declare loudly for the favourite objects of Strafford, the cause of Charles; while their leaders manifested a firmness of will equal to his own. The consequence soon becomes apparent in the history of that period. Strafford unhesitatingly adopted the party which constrained his politics and favoured his loyalty: and from that moment adopted that course which soon after became so fatal to Ireland. He constrained all resistance, it is true, and gave a transient preponderance to the laws of progress; and if the action thus impressed could have continued, it had been well. But in applying the power of his own firm will, he undermined all other constraints. The army he abandoned into the hands of the popular party: the corporations, the main bulwarks of civil order and of the constitution, he handed over to the leaders of a political conspiracy of which revolution was the settled aim. And to the consequences which were to result from this error, he scattered discontents and terrors with a bold hand, among all those classes which had any interest in the constitution of law and property which he was thus endangering. Among the most fatal errors of his policy, a disregard to settled rights leaves the deepest stain upon his Irish administration. He

had the rashness to renew the project of the plantation of Connaught; a measure which had already excited so much alarm, again awakened the fear and discontent of the West of Ireland. On former occasions either the fear or justice of the government had recoiled from the prosecution of this unjustifiable project: the vigour of Wentworth went straight to its mark, and set aside every consideration which opposed the thorough-working policy on which he acted. Had the course of English affairs given permanency to the measures of this able statesman and allowed his projects to be carried into effect we do not hesitate to say, that this, like many other strong measures, would have been conducive to the end proposed, and led to the most beneficial results. But it would assuredly remain on the page of impartial history as a signal example of good resulting from evil means, for no consideration can palliate the scandalous injustice of the entire proceeding. The property thus assailed had been confirmed by repeated acts, grants, patents and declarations of government; nor had any pretence of forfeiture arisen to give a colour to the scenes of tyrannical and fraudulent trials and inquisitions by which Wentworth deprived Longford, Galway, and Roscommon of their rights.

The actual consequences of these iniquitous proceedings were as unfortunate as the step itself was unjust. The termination of Wentworth's administration, and the sudden disruption of all control, occasioned by the civil wars in England, left the contentious animosities of Ireland uncontrolled, and aggravated by a large accumulation of real and imaginary wrongs. The merits of Wentworth were not such as to be fully appreciated: his successful care of trade, the preservation of order, and the repression of all minor despots, had no praise; but the stern and sweeping control which had allowed no consideration to stand in the way of his iron policy, was universally impressed in characters of hate and resentment. The better part of his policy had been for all, and it was resented by every part. It regarded the future, but it tended to embitter the prejudices and disturb the security of the present. He was encumbered by the difficulties, and entangled by the weakness and inconsistencies of his master, and was thus compelled into false positions, and the adoption of dangerous and unjust expedients. In the adoption of a stern policy, of which the best recommendation was its principle of impartiality, he was soon brought into collision with a power to which he found it necessary to give way, and his administration was deprived of strict claim to be praised as impartial.

When, as we have said, the course of English affairs suddenly removed the strong control of this resolute and able minister, and for a season interrupted the ruling influence of English power, all the long accumulating passions of the popular party in Ireland swelled unrepressed and unresisted to their height. The claims which had been overruled—the rights which had been justly or unjustly set aside—the prejudices which had been trampled down—the parties which had been forced to quail—all felt themselves unchained from their indignant and forced repose. But above all, that religious animosity which is most deeply cherished by the most ignorant and most numerous classes,

was the prevailing spirit of the moment, which gave the impulse, and lent its name and form to every fierce element of national discontent.

During a long interval of seeming calm, the moral and political agencies to which the policy of king James had given birth, went on with that salutary working, which nothing short of actual insurrection could counteract. Though discontent and insecurity were spreading and combining into the elements of future havoc, trade and the cultivation of the soil were producing wealth, and wealth was effecting its civilizing changes. These too, lent their force to the approaching billow.

The country had much augmented in wealth, order, and civilization, during the previous interval of thirty years: trade had been extended, population increased, and a numerous class of those small proprietors which constitute the real force of a nation, and on whose prosperity its resources, freedom, and the stability of its institutions ultimately depend, was spreading widely in every county. But with the increase of the constituent forces of a nation, its disturbances become more hard to overrule: the scanty resources, the isolated discontents, and unskilful movements of the chiefs of the sixteenth century, could always be repressed by a decided march and with forces numerically far inferior. The deep and pervading discontents and excitements of 1641, raised the population of the whole island into a state of furious insurrection. In numbers, in arms, and in intelligence, as also perhaps in physical organization, the people had made a considerable advance; and through the greater part of the conflicts of this long and sanguinary rebellion, both parties were on a level as to discipline and success. This unfortunate circumstance, by which the war was prolonged to a disastrous duration, was partly owing to the fact, that the forces on either side were similarly composed. But we gladly avail ourselves of the prefatory character of this article, to turn away from the detail of this dreadful scene of blood.

The civil wars in England were terminated by the usual event of such contests; the protracted struggle between the people and the throne ended in the blood of the monarch, the suppression of the rebel commons, and the ascendant sway of a military despot. The Irish civil war, which, in the absence of all external pressure, would have raged while there remained a hand which could wield the weapon of civil murder, was soon controlled into tranquillity by the iron ranks of Cromwell, Ireton, and Ludlow.

The restoration brought with it peace, for civil war had taught its severe but transient lessons. But it was far from setting at rest the wrathful elements of strife and animosity. Many had been divested of their rights—many had obtained wrongful possessions—numerous claims on the score of service had arisen—a fearful balance of wrong and hostility lay fermenting in the scale of retribution: the fears and expectations of every class were roused into action. The king was embarrassed by this pressure of fierce opposites: the demands of justice, or gratitude, or the exigencies of policy were to be satisfied. He was in some degree relieved from his embarrassment, by a paper drawn up by the earl of Ossory, Sir John Clotworthy, and Sir A. Mervyn, containing the following estimate of property which might serve for the satisfaction of a large class of these claimants:—

“ The estates of persons excepted by the act of indemnity			£14,000 per annum.
Gifts and gratuities of Cromwell's to persons that had not served			9,000 ”
English debentures and debts struck off			10,000 ”
Lands in the county of Dublin, not disposed of			15,000 ”
Lands in the county of Cork, not disposed of			25,000 ”
Lands in the county of Kerry, not disposed of			7,000 ”
Total			£80,000* ”

besides other interests in Connaught and Clare, and numerous estates to be discovered on further inquiry. This representation was considered to remove all difficulties. The king commanded a declaration to be drawn up for the settlement of the country, which he signed on the 30th November, 1660. In this declaration he confirmed the possession of all lands held on May 7th, 1659, by the acts 17 and 18 Car. I.; and engaged to make good such deficiencies as might be proved before the following first of May. He confirmed the allotments of lands possessed by soldiers in lieu of pay, excepting church lands, and such estates as had been obtained by bribery, prejudice, or other undue means; or which had been obtained by false admeasurement; or belonged to any of the regicides, or to persons who had endeavoured since the restoration to disturb the public peace, or openly displayed their hostility to his restoration and government. The officers who had claims yet unsatisfied for service before 1649, were to be satisfied for their respective arrears. Protestants, (with certain exceptions) whose lands had been given to adventurers or soldiers, were to be restored to them; and the present possessors to receive compensation and not to be made accountable for mesne profits. Innocent Papists were also to be restored under certain provisions in favour of purchasers to whom they might have sold their estates. A different provision was made for those, who having been engaged in rebellion, had submitted and adhered to the peace of 1648. Of these, any who had sold their estates, were to be bound by their own act, unless they had since served the king, in which case, they were to be admitted to the recovery of their estates, due compensation being first made to the possessor for repairs, improvements, and incumbrances affecting the estate before his possession and discharged by him. Thirty-six of the nobility and gentry were specially enumerated in the declaration, and restored at once without being put to the trouble of any proof.†

Such were the main provisions of this famous declaration; from the benefit of which they were excluded who were concerned in the surprise of the Castle in 1641, the judges of Charles I., they who had signed his sentence, and the guard who had been present at the execution. It was lastly provided that nothing in this declaration should affect the lands and tenements of any city or incorporated seaport town; but that such possessions should remain with the king to restore to such corporations as should be found deserving of his favour.

* Carte's Ormond, Vol. II. p. 216.

† Carte.

This settlement gave more satisfaction to the king's enemies than to his friends. It was upon the whole rather adapted to conciliate hostility than to reward friendship, or secure justice. While the claims of fanatic soldiers and adventurers were carefully satisfied, the provision for those who had fought the king's battles, or continued steady to their pledge of peace, were but nominal; the difficulties of proof were multiplied, and the claims to be paid off were disproportioned to the value of the estates. These grounds of complaint are well stated by Leland:—"In these instructions they complained, that the qualifications necessary to ascertain their innocence, were so severely stated, that scarcely any of their nation could expect a sentence of acquittal. No man was to be restored as an innocent Papist, who, at or before the cessation of the year 1643, was of the royal party, or enjoyed his property in the quarters of the rebels, except the inhabitants of Cork and Youghal, who were driven into these parties by force. No papist was to be deemed innocent who had entered into the Irish confederacy before the peace of forty-eight: none who had at any time adhered to the nuncio, the clergy, or the papal power in opposition to the royal authority; or who, having been excommunicated for his loyalty, had acknowledged himself an offender and received absolution. Whoever derived the title to his estate from any who died guilty of these crimes: whoever claimed his estate on the articles of peace, and thus acknowledged his concurrence in the rebellion: whoever in the English quarters held correspondence with the rebels: whoever before the peace of forty-six, or that of forty-eight, sat in any assemblies or councils of the confederates, or acted by any commissions derived from them: whoever employed agents to treat with any foreign papal power for bringing forces into Ireland, or acted in such negotiations, or harassed the country as wood kernes or "tories," as they were called before the departure of the Marquis of Clanricarde, were all to be considered as guilty of rebellion, and incapable of restitution."*

We need not here state the arguments put forward by either party, for or against these provisions; the fairness of some and the injustice of others need no comment now. The discontents and heartburnings which, just or unjust, they must have helped to prolong, and the leaven of bitterness which they preserved among a mass of ill combined ingredients, cannot escape the attention of the reflecting reader. It may be summarily stated, that no party effective was satisfied—the discontent of some and the fears of others contributed to scatter disaffection through every rank, and to foster the yet unextinguished elements of civil strife. To this, the feebleness of government, and the inadequacy of the military force which the need and extravagance of Charles could afford to Ireland, added strength; and, it may be said, that during his reign, the country was on the verge of an insurrection from which it was mainly preserved by the vigilance and activity of individuals, and the sagacious foresight and caution of the Duke of Ormonde—to the history of whose life we have referred the chief details of Irish history, during the reigns of Charles I. and II. But we may here observe, that there

* Leland, III. 418.

cannot be a fact more illustrative of the state of the country, and of the consequences of these arrangements here briefly noticed, than the circumstance that the London adventurers offered to resign their large property, together with all their mesne profits, in consideration of being reimbursed in their principal, with interest at the rate of three per cent.

To these causes of discontent, others not less effective lent their impulses; great national distress was caused by a bill in the English parliament against the importation of Irish cattle, as yet the main article of Irish trade. For three years this unhappy measure continued to add to the accumulations of discontent by the aggravation of commercial embarrassment and the consequent diffusion of want and ruin. England itself soon felt the inconvenience and the insane enactment was repealed. In some respects the disposition which had produced this law may be said to have been beneficial. The prohibition against the exportation of Irish wool, though felt as a temporary grievance, under the sagacious care of Ormonde, gave rise to the manufacture of woollen cloths. That necessity, which, as Leland justly observes, "breaks through all laws and restraints," led the Irish to a clandestine trade with foreign ports, from which great benefits were derived.

But the interests of Ireland were at that moment, (1670,) light in the scale against the paltry ends of court intrigue, and the base parasites who surrounded that profligate and unprincipled monarch, Charles II. The duke of Ormonde, whose credit and influence were identified with the best interests of his country, was an object of hate and persecution to the duke of Buckingham, who laboured to displace him, and succeeded in the attempt. The disfavour (we may not say disgrace) of Ormonde, is not altogether to be attributed to the personal designs of this crafty and profligate individual: there was a strong underworking in England in favour of the Roman catholic party. Of the particulars of this the reader may expect a full account at a future stage of our task, we shall here only preserve the chain of this general statement.

The secret leaning of the king to the Roman church is now fully known. His brother, the duke of York, was a less disguised adherent, and the head of the Roman catholic party in England; the secret of his religion was but formal. The court party, for the most part indifferent to any form of religion, were favourable to a system which essentially seemed to involve the re-establishment of arbitrary power: the cause of Rome was the cause of prerogative. But there was in England a popular spirit, not to be braved by the most cautious manifestation of these dispositions, and Ireland was the appropriate stage for the first experiments of the court. With this view lord Berkley was sent over, with instructions to give every sanction and encouragement to a party which has seldom been slow to seize a fair occasion. The Roman catholic prelates at once flung aside caution and concealment; they silenced an effort made by the more moderate of the clergy to disclaim the doctrine of the pope's power over the civil government of nations: they celebrated their ordinances with ostentatious solemnity, and it is related that Talbot, the Roman catholic archbishop of Dublin, applied for and obtained a loan of the plate of Dublin castle for the celebration

of the mass. Their request was granted with a courteous message from secretary Leighton, that he hoped the mass might ere long be celebrated in the Cathedral of Christ's Church. The doctrine of the absolute power of the pope divided the Roman catholics, among whom there was, as there has ever since been, a strong but silent party opposed to extreme views. But though this party now expressed its opinions, and though the protestants, whose fears were excited to the last degree, joined their voice in deprecating the dangerous policy which the government had manifestly adopted, Berkley turned a deaf ear to all remonstrance. In vain Primate Margetson endeavoured to open a way for the complaints of the protestants—in vain Ormonde remonstrated—the castle was only open to the party which favoured the designs of the court of Charles. Berkley went on resolutely, but insidiously, to pull down the outworks of the church of England, or to fill them with hostile arms. The magistracy was transferred—the corporations were attempted to be thrown open—a common council of the popular party at once placed the city at the mercy of its enemies. A last step remained; the silent and gradual change of the composition of the army would complete the triumph of the court over the country and the constitution. A commission of inquiry, of which the ostensible object was justice, but the real design to effect a similar change with respect to property, completed the plan of the court and the alarm of the protestant party both in England and Ireland.

The discontents in England assumed a formidable attitude—the parliament spoke out—the profligate court of Charles was intimidated and wavered in its course—a change of policy was partially adopted—lord Essex, a man of firmness and rigid justice, was sent over in place of Berkley, but with perplexing and contradictory instructions, which he had the resolution to disregard where they were irreconcilable with his sense of right. A favourable change for the protestant party took place, but it was neither so decided or satisfactory as the state of England now made desirable. The duke of Ormonde was once more taken into favour: it was felt that his popularity in Ireland was necessary to give weight to the government and confidence to England. In Ireland his presence everywhere collected the aristocracy of the country; and while the castle was neglected, all that was respectable for rank, property, or influence, surrounded his abode.

In this difficult position of affairs, the duke of Ormonde exerted his usual ability, and there is reason enough to think that his success would have answered the temperate, wise, and firm course he pursued. But, as usually happens after the excessive depression of a great and powerful party, the balance of the political scale is only regained with a violent and dangerous reaction. The protestant feelings of England, slow but sure in their concentration, assumed at length that aggregated character which makes a people formidable to their rulers. The thunder clouds of revolution stood upon the horizon, and the venal and licentious court trembled at their awful mutterings from afar. An incident called forth the first expressions of the popular feeling; this was the celebrated popish plot, the fabrication of a mean and infamous impostor, but suggested by the plain indications of a state of the national spirit, which rendered this imposture an echo to the fears

and suspicions of the country. The allegation of a popish plot fell like a spark into gunpowder; and, for a season, the voice of common sense could not be heard in the uproar of accusation: the court itself was forced away in the torrent, and compelled to feign acquiescence in the fear and indignation of the people.

The effect was fatal to the policy of Ormonde. If the English were roused into a state of fear, for which there was comparatively little ground—in Ireland, where this fear, though unfounded in fact, was not incompatible with the state of things, the terror and exasperation was unavoidable. We shall not here pursue the course of incidents which tended to baffle the wisest resources of human policy, they belong to a further stage of this work. The duke of Ormonde adopted the course which deliberate reflection will approve—taking the necessary precautions of constraint, and avoiding extreme and rash applications of punishment. The protestant party, like every popular party, was discontented with an administration which fell short of their fears. The court party with dexterous readiness availed itself of complaints proceeding from their opponents, to throw discredit on an obnoxious lieutenant. The desire for an Irish insurrection, to promote the schemes of Shaftesbury, was disappointed by his prudence, and this was enough to awaken the clamour of court persecution.

The eventful era, which gave the next great impulse to the affairs of Ireland, is not to be immediately traced to any internal disposition of the people, or to any state of parties or combination of incidents in this country, but must mainly be referred to their origin in the events of English history. It was the direct cause of the revolution of 1688. The character of James II. was feeble and unadapted to the time; he was devoid of judgment and resolution, yet obstinate in his determinations, and bigoted in his opinions. He was one of those unhappy compounds of weakness and inflexibility, which is not very uncommonly met with in the ordinary crowd: obstinate to brave dangers and incur evils, while they are distant and might be averted by prudence, from an incapacity to apprehend those indications by which wiser minds are warned; and destitute of the moral firmness to face or the steadiness and prudence to resist them when their presence awakens the virtue and wisdom of other men. Wavering, and perverse, he committed every error to which the emergencies of his short and hapless reign exposed him—giving offence in succession to every party, and keeping alive the fears of all. It is not our object to trace the steps of his progress in this prefatory essay. The fears of the protestants excited a spirit of resistance in England, and every class appealed with an anxious eye to William, prince of Orange, who was married to the princess Mary, the heiress presumptive to the English throne. Matters might indeed have remained in this position until the ordinary course of succession might have called William to take the helm in a more dangerous and difficult crisis, when the growing discontents and fears of the country must have accumulated to a frightful amount, and led to some different result, not now to be precisely computed. But it was providentially ordered otherwise; the birth of a male heir to the British crown decided the conduct of William. Hitherto, though his sense of compassion for the

people and duty to a great cause had strongly inclined him to step in to save a kingdom, over which he hoped to rule in the course of a few years; yet the same reason also had some influence in deterring him from any act which might be interpreted into a hostile movement, while such might be the means of impeding, or in some way embarrassing his pretensions: for these being merely in right of his princess, might easily become unpopular. The birth of a son to James decided his course; there was no longer any clinging of self-interest to silence the appeal of the English people to the great leader of the protestant cause in Europe. He landed in England, and the feeble James was deserted at once by all; the army declared against him; his nearest friends in discharging the last offices of kindness seemed to consider him as deposed; the sense of the nation expressed itself unanimously. He abdicated his throne and fled.

This crisis demanded the entire strength of no feeble hand: the succession of an infant would have necessarily committed the state to the distraction, intrigue, and strife of parties: and both the aristocracy and commons, as well as the great leader who was now called deliverer by all England, saw that there was but one course to be adopted. William ascended the vacant throne at the call of the people: and thus a great revolution, which may be said to have commenced with the accession of the Stuarts, was completed with their deprivation.

In Ireland the numerical relation of parties was different. And the passions and prejudices of men were more alive; a long continuation of those causes of civil disunion, most likely to foster the worst passions, had operated to effect the complete separation of the two great parties which composed the people. The elements of contention were separately concentrated—a state inconsistent with national tranquillity. These hapless conditions we have already shown to have been in some measure the inevitable result of circumstances and political necessity, a principle hitherto insufficiently allowed for in Irish history; so that we cannot avoid preserving its application in every stage as we advance. Cordially concurring in the great principle of toleration, and in deprecating all political disability on the mere *ground of religious opinion*, we feel compelled to repeat, that the civil disabilities, at that period imposed upon the members of the church of Rome, were not without reasonable grounds in political justice. We do not mean to affirm what course a more long-sighted view of expediency might have adopted; the events of human policy are far beyond human wisdom to calculate with any certainty; we only speak of justice, of which the first principle is the right of self-preservation, as essential to a state as to an individual. During the reigns of Elizabeth, James, Charles, or his successors, it was not any question as to the doctrinal views or the discipline of churches that excited the hostility of opposing sects; these questions, it is true, arose and were kept alive and imbibed by other considerations; but these were purely political. At that time the secular ascendancy of the court of Rome had not been reduced to a shadow in Europe—the nations of which were yet but recently and doubtfully struggling free from ecclesiastical despotism. In Ireland this power was at the time making its last stand; and maintained a preponderating influence, which was (apparently at

least,) incompatible with the civil constitution then in its growth. The country was filled with ecclesiastical agents, who were either foreign or educated in Spain and Italy, and by no tacit or concealed influence endeavouring to establish the supremacy of a power, *then understood* to be formidable in its claims to political interference, and vested with powers to assert and maintain those claims. Such were the real grounds for the maintenance of that protestant ascendancy, of which we are not desirous to say more than our immediate purpose demands. We shall only here add, that these remarks are quite independent of the consideration of the manifold wrongs and prejudices with which all coercive policy is sure to be accompanied. The ascendancy of a party, however it may be required by just policy, must ever have an operation distinct from that policy. Irish parties were, at the period of which we speak, little to be commended for the justice or wisdom of their views; and, looking to the crowd, were actuated by no high or disinterested love of their altars, principles, or civil rights: they were little better than the factions at an Irish fair. It is indeed to be regretted, that the liberalism of modern history too often suppresses the essential principles of political justice, for the satisfaction of a great popular party, which needs no such ridiculous flattery.

The grounds of apprehension here noticed, were nevertheless both distinctly intelligible to all the more informed and leading minds of the day, but they were also accompanied by circumstances adapted to give increased alarm. One class of indications had become familiar; they who had witnessed the incidents which had immediately prepared the way for the insurrection of 1641, had been taught to look with an apprehensive eye upon the movements of the popular party, and to understand the strenuous and simultaneous efforts which that party and its abettors in official station were making to obtain possession of all the posts of civil or military strength: when two distinct and powerful parties contend for power, the obvious preliminary to any effective demonstration of force, and therefore peculiarly to be sought in the history of Irish parties. The measures of James in Ireland for the depression of the protestant party, had been more decided than could have been ventured in England; Tyrconnel had changed the composition of the army, by gradually dismissing the protestant officers and soldiers, and replacing them from the adverse party; Clarendon attempted the same change in the bench and council; the university was roughly invaded; and the corporations were attempted to be thrown open. Such were, in brief, the grounds of alarm to the protestant party, of whom the crowd considered their rights invaded; while the better part, looking more justly on these proceedings, saw that their liberty and property were endangered. The act of settlement had received the confirmation of time, and a revolution of property was only to be effected by new injustice, and the repetition of atrocities hitherto secular in the periodical oscillations of Irish faction.

These causes of discontent and terror reached an alarming height; their effect was increased by vague rumours, as well as by insidious efforts to create alarm. The fearful report of a conspiracy to massacre the protestants of Ireland was circulated, and was rendered terrific by

the fresh recollections of 1641. The protestants took panic, and left the kingdom in crowds.

The deposition of James, and the accession of William and Mary, brought these fermenting disasters to their crisis. James came over and conducted himself with his characteristic incapacity; he was served with exemplary fidelity and spirit in the brief but sanguinary struggle that followed; he was himself the first to desert his cause, which was maintained by his brave adherents to the last shift of desperation. We shall not, among the following lives, omit to sketch with minute fidelity the several incidents of fearful interest, from the siege of Derry to the capitulation of Limerick, and the field of Aughrim.

The revolution was established in Ireland, but under circumstances far from favourable to the civil growth of this unhappy country. The spirit of resistance was subdued, but party animosity survived. To pursue the consequences of this state of things, would demand no inconsiderable addition to a train of reflection already too long.

Commerce.—We have lastly to offer some general notice of the condition and social state of Ireland during the long period between the reigns of Elizabeth and George III. We shall begin by offering some general facts respecting our trade, which we could not conveniently bring together in the narrative portion of this work. We shall, on the subject of trade, confine our notices to some main circumstances, as it is our intention to enter upon it more copiously in the introduction to the succeeding period. The space already devoted to the present essay renders such a distribution convenient, and the more so as it is not our intention to enter upon the discussion of party politics as fully as we have found it essential to do in this introduction. As we approach the memorable events which led to the “Union,” we shall endeavour to confine our pen as nearly as may be to the statement of indisputable facts. To enter upon the politics of the period in which we live, would demand the detailed discussion of numerous questions, each of which should be investigated with the most deliberate and scrupulous minuteness, and the most comprehensive scope, or passed in total silence; conditions perhaps inconsistent with historical composition. When we shall in the course of our labour, have arrived to the period of these events, the commercial, literary, and social history of the country, topics which we shall here but notice cursorily, will then offer more useful and less invidious topics of inquiry. And we must observe, that this division is more appropriate than may at first appear: as we advance towards the times in which we live, the relative importance of our great and distinguished men undergoes a change. Whatever importance may be claimed by the several actors on the political stage, they begin to be reduced to their appropriate rank in the scale of honour. In the more advanced progress of society, intellectual eminence will claim its due space, both in our ecclesiastical and literary divisions. Under these circumstances, the leading objects of our narrative are likely to embrace more full and deliberate views, and more detailed statements in those statistical, economical, philosophical, and literary questions and facts than we now think it justifiable to enter upon.

They who read in our uncertain and scanty records, of the great

oppressions and the injudicious regulations by which the trade of Ireland was retarded in its earliest stages, are likely to be deceived by the tone of complaint in which these are represented; not because those complaints are unwarranted, but from not fully taking into account the exceeding ignorance which then prevailed on all that related to the commercial interests of nations. One glance at the contemporary history of English trade, would lead to more temperate deductions. That glance we cannot here afford to take, but we must remind the reader of a few facts. The trade of England was scarcely begun in the reign of James I.; the Dutch possessed the monopoly of every branch of European trade, and, while they produced nothing from their canals and swamps, made the fertility of every land their wealth. The fisheries of England, the spices of the East and West, the iron and timber of the north, loaded their vessels. They were the carriers and the merchants of every nation, and possessed the seas. In England a narrow trade, consisting mainly in the rural produce of a fertile country, of which the natural capacity for commerce was great, was kept down by restrictions, partly originating in ignorance, partly in tyranny—absurd patents and hydra-headed monopolies, which so far from having any object for the promotion of commerce, were simply regarded as a lucrative branch of the prerogative, brought their price into the coffers of spendthrifts and needy parasites, and their profits to a few individuals, while they suppressed the enterprise and industry of the nation. Under such circumstances, it was little to be expected that the English government was to be more just to Ireland, or wiser for her interests. Again, from these simple considerations it may appear, that the commercial interests of the two countries were chiefly confined to their staple produce. This in both countries was mainly the same. From this, jealousies and a real or seeming collision of interests must have been felt; and it was but natural that regulations hurtful to the trade of Ireland, so far as it could be supposed to affect the English market, should have been occasionally devised; the measure may have been erroneous, but cannot on other grounds be fairly complained of. Ireland was not then as now, a part of the one kingdom of Great Britain, but an independent kingdom; and, therefore, quite destitute of any claim to the consideration implied: her claim was on the king alone. But we shall not pursue this plain point.

The practical experience of mankind quickly arrives at the perception of the main impediments to their interests; and both in England and Ireland complaints increased with wealth. The plantation of Ulster gave a rapid impulse to the internal prosperity of Ireland, the customs, produce, and general amount of exportation increased until the rebellion. The gratitude expressed by the people increased as they became acquainted with prosperity, and the taxes and subsidies were paid with contented alacrity. The balance of trade was in their favour, the commons congratulated the king on the flourishing and prosperous state of the kingdom. Manufactures began to increase, and the peasantry had materially advanced towards the comforts of industry and civilization. These interests were favoured by Strafford, whose conduct was otherwise arbitrary. He established the linen trade,

which afterwards became so important to the interests of large districts of Ireland; while he discouraged the woollen trade, which, during the reigns of James and Charles, was the staple of England.

The growing prosperity of Ireland received, from the rebellion of 1641, an interruption from which it never entirely recovered in some of the most important respects; the blow was at the time severely felt in its commercial interests. The Duke of Ormonde, by his sagacity and paternal care, in some measure restored the broken fortunes of his country. A severe law, prohibiting the export of Irish cattle into English ports, was, by the interest of this great and good man, taken off in 1667, with many other severe commercial restrictions, which had been designed for the protection of English trade. At the same time, and by the same interest, there was a prohibition against the importation into Ireland of Scottish linen and other commodities, which might interfere with the manufactures of the country, and draw away its money. The woollen manufacture was originated, and the linen manufacture which had been ruined in 1641, was revived by the care and munificence of this nobleman. Land was brought under cultivation; rents were doubled; towns grew numerous, large, and wealthy; and the country again began to hold up its head, when fresh troubles broke out in the following reign, and drove industry, and the trust on which it mainly rests, from this harassed island. For a season the country was trampled down by war, its periodical disease, and reduced to a state approaching desolation. The vigorous government of king William in some degree repaired the ruin. The rally was brief; and towards the end of this reign, the prohibition against her woollen manufactures again laid Ireland in the dust. From this point we feel compelled to postpone the further consideration of this most important subject.

Religion.—Under this head we might include any notices of which our plan admits, of the several denominations of Christian worship, which can be considered to have had existence in Ireland during the period to which we must here be understood to refer. But it is far from our design to take so wide a scope,—more special as well as more wide and general statements may be referred to the head of our ecclesiastical memoirs. The general state of religion was as low as might well be inferred from the general view of the state of all parties which has here been offered. The struggles of churches are at best little favourable to religion: they are most likely to awaken and maintain those tendencies of human nature, which are at widest variance from the spirit of Christianity, as described in its only real authority. Though it must be admitted as a general principle, that the Christian should be ready to stake life itself for the truth he holds; yet we think that the inference which may too readily be drawn from such a maxim, is by far too much the dictate of the worst parts of our nature: it is easier to fight for truth than to conform. When sects and parties begin to war about their churches, they seldom or ever give themselves much care about the only essential object which could be worth the fighting for: and their spirit is ever, with the uniform certainty of necessary consequence, to be known by its fruits. In these hapless, unenlightened, and turbulent times, there are evidences enough of fanaticism—of political ambition under sacred names—of popular crime and

party animosity—of ruthless oppression and rabid resistance—and, lastly, of most ignorant and unspiritual formalism, substituting the externals of truth for the spirit. But when we look for the religion of the age, we must look to the lives of a few eminent individuals, and finding such, we are to infer that many more were numbered in the spiritual fold, than history has recorded in its register, which more properly appertains to the illustration of human infirmity, than to those unworldly graces which find their more appropriate note in a different record, and according to the estimate of a purer witness.

In looking to the history of the church of England, as established in this country, its condition was in all respects of the lowest—its churches poor and dilapidated—its ministers insufficient either in their appointments or education—and its interests entirely neglected by the same government which made or enforced severe laws against the papal church. Looking to both churches simply with a view to their respective political instrumentalities, the lord-lieutenants of Ireland were not more zealous to disarm the church of Rome of its weapons of popular excitement and foreign connexion, than to suppress any movement of progress in its rival establishment. While the forms and external muniments of its constitution were preserved, its zeal was as carefully overruled by the equal indifference of secular policy. Hence, notwithstanding the numerous intrinsic advantages of its constitution, the progress of this establishment was slower in Ireland than elsewhere. Of these assertions we shall have abundant illustrations when we shall have arrived at our next ecclesiastical division.

Social State.—It is one of the numerous popular prejudices of mankind, that the history of events and civil workings is generally felt to be more important, and a study of more interest than the progress and changes of the moral and intellectual character of society. A small portion of history has been devoted to the consideration, and of this, the general defectiveness is a plain index to the difficulty of the subject. Yet such is the information most essential to the just understanding of history, of which the facts are for the most part neither correctly traced, connected, or even truly stated until the historian has by patient study and meditation realized the past, and brought clearly the mind of the age before his comprehension. If this duty (for such it is) is generally imperative upon the historian, we would more especially recommend it to the historian of Ireland: for here it is most essential to fairness, and has been most neglected. All the recent writers upon our history are examples of this in a very high degree, and the dereliction is the more remarkable on account of the importance of the facts neglected being such, that they could never be passed by from any thing but oversight: thus indeed they are ever stated as facts, but rejected or forgotten in the application. It is from a steady and unremitting contemplation of these general considerations, that we have hitherto ordered all our statements and inferences; and we are therefore the less necessitated to enter here at any length into the full detail of the knowledge, opinions, religion, arts, and social condition of the long period into which we are next to enter. In the details of biography, we shall have ample room for all the remarkable features of the times which are to succeed; nor shall any illustrative incident be wilfully neglected.

There are, however, it must be admitted, topics of which the connexion with the general state of society, is not easily perceivable; and some which the curiosity of research, or the importance as corroborative of facts or opinions, have raised into principal subjects of inquiry. These are generally treated with such fulness and ability, by the antiquarians of the present day, that we have thought it needless to occupy our pages with the voluminous details they would necessarily require.

The period we have before us consists of less than two centuries, but they are centuries of rapidly accelerated change, and have, therefore, the perspective distances of a longer lapse of time. Between the death of queen Elizabeth and the accession of George III., the social advance of Ireland has been more than equal to its progress in the preceding thousand years; a fact too little allowed for. In this rapid succession of changes, it cannot be expected that any sketch of Irish manners, customs, or literature can be generally applied with any pretence to accuracy.

In some respects, nevertheless, the social condition of the country must be viewed as stationary. A period of political change, though modified and hastened by the growth of public mind, must always have the effect of retarding that growth in many of the most important respects. The advance made, was by means of the operations of government in enlarging and strengthening the bonds of civil order; of cultivation and commerce, in improving the condition and enlarging the circle of the middle orders. Under the slow and often interrupted operation of these elements of improvement, there was an increasing diffusion of civilized manners and tastes, and of the light of education. The intercourse with England imparted a small, but continuous stream of the deepening lights of that great nation; and above all, the university of Dublin preserved and scattered wide in every corner of the island some gleams of taste for the *humaniores literæ*. But through the whole time, although we may describe the mind of the people as decidedly upon the advance, one description may serve for the character of its attainments. The minister of the parish, the noble, the lawyer, and generally, all who had received a collegiate education, and had the industry to profit by it, may have possessed individually more or less of the best knowledge of the age: but in any fair general estimate of the social state of Ireland, we should be compelled, to a late period, to omit all consideration of the manners of the higher aristocracy, of the learning of the university, or of men such as primate Usher. The state of general education was low—the knowledge of the middle orders was scanty—the opinions of the period were largely entangled with prejudices. The arts and accomplishments, the literature and history of the mass, were still the remains of Irish antiquity.

It is thus, then, that while our history has advanced, and the elements of our social condition have widely varied, we have, in some respect, a different division to observe in our view of the literature and arts of Ireland, from that which is presented by the changes of social character and civil constitution. We have for this reason reserved to the latest period to which they can be applicable, a few notices of the

peculiar arts and literature of Ireland which have equal relation to the periods we have completed, and that immediately before us.

Manners, Music, Literature.—In proportion as we go back to earlier times, manners become more difficult to ascertain, and more important. They are more important, because they are more directly the results of the moral state and habits of society; the earliest rude conventions of a people are dictated by the necessities of human nature, together with the accidents of circumstance. And this immediate connexion gives them a lively interest to those who study the natural history of man: as it would also, if adequately known, offer the best and truest solution to the most important difficulties attendant on the study of past events and national changes. But the investigation of the manners of a distant age, when not preserved in a surviving and abundant literature, is a task perhaps beyond the reach of the historian. The features of the day are evanescent, and the most characteristic lights and shadows are the first to fade, and the most irrecoverably lost; the sway of superstitions and prejudices, the absolute dominion of merely social conventions and laws of opinion arising from custom and the expediences of the day, as well as from the state of real knowledge: the state of knowledge itself, the effects arising from intercourse, from trade, from law, with the numerous and complex refractions, reflections, interferences, condensations, and separations, consequent on the whole, human reason can but approach by a rough and conjectural approximation: and when its part shall have been thus performed, the result is likely to be little available for the use of the historical student and to be received with little toleration, as too subtle or too dull for the ordinary apprehension or patience of most readers; unless when it can be seized by the rare instinct and moulded by the imagination of the poet, into those miraculous creations which are so true to nature, that they seem less like fictions than reflections of reality; such however, are the triumphs of Shakspeare and Scott. To recall the image of a remote generation is not the novelist's actual aim, and is beyond the ordinary historian's power.

There are, however, a few remarkable exceptions to these remarks. In different countries, transition and progress have been either wholly inert, as in China and parts of India: or comparatively slow, as in Ireland. Here, indeed, the rapid changes of the last forty years, have done the work of many generations: but the retrospect of our generation is not wholly beyond our reach; by looking back so far, it is not unlikely that a tolerably clear view might be attained of the real social state of Ireland, for at least four centuries. The materials for such a view are fortunately not deficient, but the fact will of itself explain the propriety of referring the whole of this investigation to the subsequent period, to which these data belong. The memoirs of the earlier portion of the period, on which we are to enter, will exhibit but occasional gleams of private life or merely personal history; and these will for the most part manifest a state of manners, which now must appear unrefined, although formal, elaborate and not without a certain rude magnificence. It will hereafter be our care to present a lively representation of these, and to trace their connexion with the general state of the times to which they are to be referred. The remainder

of this introduction we shall devote to some special topics, which may be considered to belong to the beginning of the present period, and more or less to the whole of that which precedes it: we mean those arts and that literature which must be considered as peculiar to Ireland. In our next division a more expansive range of literature will claim our attention.

It may at first appear fanciful to affirm that there is no monument of Irish antiquity bearing such authentic marks of national origin, or of the genius and character of the people, as our national music; thus, indeed, so far as its antiquity can be traced, offering an indirect but not less convincing testimony to the general claims of the early inhabitants of the land to refinement. The fact deserves consideration.

Every one who possesses in an ordinary degree, the nearly universal faculty of musical perception, is fully aware that music possesses some properties in common with language; these cannot be doubted, because they are proved by the evidence of experience. They are not, it must be admitted so definable, but this is because they are not so much the result of conventional association: the word conveys an idea, with which no one imagines it to have any but an *arbitrary* connexion, but the music awakens an emotion of which it seems the natural utterance, so closely and inseparably that no ingenuity can detect the connecting link. Ten thousand breasts can be combined by a single state of emotion, one common unutterable sentiment, by a simple air which no ear among the crowd ever heard till the instant that a touch of the musician's hand struck the common and resistless but mysterious chord of human nature. By the same power the utmost variety of emotions are, with unerring accuracy, excited at will; nor does light follow the sun with more constancy, than mirth and melancholy await on the changes of the strain. The same emotions, too, are awakened in the scholar and the illiterate, the courtier and the clown; children catch the inspiration before they learn the more cumbrous communication of words. It is a fact, as commonly known on the same simple testimony of experience, that the ordinary process of association to a considerable extent, modifies the impressions produced by music: and thus it becomes, in another sense, a language, extending its singular, and almost magic power, from the animal to the intellectual nature, incorporating with sweet and measured variations of sound, all that survives in the memory of the affections. Thus, by a chain of fine, but yet perceptible links, is it combined with human character, so that the reasoning observer who looks below the surface of human nature, and watches the phenomena of the mind, may, with not much difficulty, infer the natural connexion between the music and the constitutional temperament of a people. As a nation advances to a high degree of refinement, the national music is, it is true, likely to acquire the improvement of science and artificial combination. And thus, as in manners, national characteristics, and all of human things that are subject to progress and the law of habit, lose somewhat of peculiarity, under the influence of cultivation and refinement—but even still the native and essential difference will for long periods of change maintain

its place, and appear more or less diffused through every successive modification, imparting a tone, style, and shade of sentiment, which, whether explicable or not, remains perfectly sensible to the rudest ear that is cognizant of musical expression. Thus, then, not only the national character of an air is at once known, but the age and period can be at least approximately conjectured within certain limits. A limit can, with considerable certainty, be ascertained between the ancient and the modern, while the essential properties of both remain the same beyond the scope of reasonable doubt.

If these observations shall be allowed to be just, there is, as we have said, no vestige of antiquity more truly interesting, or more decisive of national character than the remains of ancient Irish music. Of its genuineness there is strong and indeed curious evidence in the known fact, that the most eminent composers have often confessed the impossibility of a perfect imitation: in all such attempts, the form of the melody and the technical adoption of the artifice of sound, has failed to catch the spirit and produce the effect, as obviously and palpably as the cleverest rhymers of the modern periodicals would fail to succeed in the versification of Pope, or a modern composer of Greek exercises write the *Iliad*: the fact is stated and admitted by the best musicians. The mind, or rather state and tone of mind, of which all characteristic melody is an emanation, must first be reproduced. And yet, strange to think, this subtle and unattainable grace and power, far as it is beyond the reach of art or even genius to borrow, is the first and simplest perception of the untaught ear; as surely speaking to the breast of the peasant on the hill, as to the highly trained ear of the refined adept who can command and appreciate the luxuries of instrumental skill.

We shall not here dwell on the inductive analogy which confirms these remarks; the same is more or less applicable to the music of every country known to have a native melody. However corrupted or refined by the perversions or improvements of modern skill, it is ever observable and uniformly national in character; and not merely this, but perceptibly indicative of the tastes and habits of sentiment of each respective nation. The Italian with its luxury of sound, and breathing of passion—the French with its tasteful lightness, its graceful romance that breathes and passes like a sigh—the German with its deeper and less transient flow of grand and sombre sentiment—these are at least traceable with sufficient uniformity to illustrate the principle. But in all these instances, long cultivation has produced, to some extent, its equalizing effects. The nationality of poetry or music must much, perhaps chiefly, depend on the aggregate constitution of a people: the musician, like the orator, has before him the consciousness of his audience; without this high faculty, no great popular effect is ever produced. In Ireland, as we trace back to the period of its latest music, there appears a state peculiarly favourable to the full development of the operations of this faculty. Our music was not the high wrought product of refined art, designed to solicit the applause of the mingled circle of fashion and cultivated taste, drawn together from every country in Europe; it was the presiding spirit of the rude and hospitable hall, where the hunter and the warrior chief sat listening

in the circle of his family, guest, and people; rude but fervid, and fraught with all the strong tincture of sentiment to this day as observable in the people of Ireland as in their ancient music.

But there are other considerations much more likely to interest the reader's curiosity. The musical history of Ireland, offers those peculiar indications by which it appears traceable to a very remote antiquity, and even casts no feeble reflection on the question of our race and origin as a people. The earliest known airs of Irish music are wild and simple dirges, such as are generally known to have been the principal music of the most ancient nations of antiquity. The ancient instrument was the harp, peculiar to Ireland, though borrowed by her neighbours the Britons, and descendants the Scottish Celts. The music of ancient Egypt was similarly appropriated to the solemn rites of funerals and religious ceremonies, and its chief instrument is known to have been the harp.* Similarly it is known on the most authentic authority, that the harp was a principal instrument of the Israelites, and that their music was unquestionably devotional and ritual in its main uses. The Phœnician descent of Irish civilization and language, to affirm no more, suggests the obvious link that connects the ancient music of Ireland *so far as its origin* is concerned, with the most ancient music known to have existed. These remarks might lead to further conclusions, were we not desirous to avoid even the appearance of refining, and therefore think it here necessary to go no further than the common feeling of our readers may confirm. We shall only, therefore, before quitting the subject, notice such recent facts as may tend to illustrate this department of our history.

It is now several years since the labours of Mr Bunting collected and gave a permanent form to a considerable portion of the remains of our ancient music. These labours, or their invaluable results, do not appear to have ever been appreciated according to their worth by the public. Public opinion, never just, but as it reflects the tone of its critical guides and authorities, was in this instance splendidly decided by a brilliant combination of lyrical genius and musical skill in the well-known Irish melodies, the joint labour of Mr Moore and Sir John Stevenson. It is surely no wish of ours to depreciate a work in itself so rich an acquisition to society, and so honourable to Ireland—we for our part would not wish it other than it is; but we speak of it as related to our music. While the magic of Mr Moore's beautiful lyrics gave this work a circulation and a permanency of reputation which music by itself could not attain, it is as little to be doubted, that it had the effect of setting aside the native music which it pretended to represent. Nor are we less decided in the assertion, that the service of having given fashionable vogue to many of our sweetest airs, is unhappily countervailed by alterations which have refined away their native spirit and deprived them of their essential mind: for this Mr Moore is not responsible. Of his portion of the task it does not belong to us to say any thing here, and as our labours are confined to the departed, we trust to close our work many years before attaining so undesirable a privilege. But the occasion of Mr Bunting's meritorious labours should

* Mr Wilkinson's researches seem to have put these facts beyond doubt.

not be here unnoticed. Strong enthusiasm of character, and much national feeling seem to have been combined in this gentleman with musical talent of a very high order, and to have devoted him at an early period of his life to the study and preservation of that native music, which had long been silent in the chieftain's hall, and was passing away from memory with a few aged men, the survivors of the harp and song of ancient days. In the close of the last century this venerable order was nearly extinct; but a few aged and venerable harpers still continued to bend their infirm steps from home to home, among the children of those who saw their brethren of the tuneful craft, and knew them in their better days. They were but few and old, with them the music of Ireland must to a great extent have perished. Of this there seems to have been a strong sense excited at the time, and meetings of the harpers, and of those who felt interest in their art, took place in different towns—of which the best known and most effective was held in Belfast in 1792. At this many of the old minstrels attended, and astonished their hearers by the display of their skill and affluence in the ancient music of the country. Among the crowds drawn from all quarters by the interest of such a meeting, Mr Bunting could not have been wanting; he has given an interesting and minute account of the principal performers, which we should copy here at length, but that it occurs in the prospectus to an unpublished work, and we hold it to be unfair that the author should be thus anticipated from his own pages. In the paper here noticed, Mr Bunting commemorates Hempsen, O'Neill and Fanning, with seven others, "the least of whom," he says in the language of strong feeling, "has not left his like behind." Of Hempsen he also observes, that he "realized the picture drawn by Cambrensis, nearly 700 years ago, for he played with long crooked nails, and in his performance 'the tinkling of small notes under the deep notes of the bass' was distinctly audible." He was the only one of them who, says Mr Bunting, played the very old, the aboriginal music of the country. In reading the prospectus* from which these particulars are drawn, we were struck with a pleasing confirmation of a very old recollection of our own, which lay like a remembered dream among the fading images of childish days. Living in the west of Ireland in the termination of the last century, we can indistinctly recall the occasional visits (annual perhaps,) of an old blind harper named Freney, whose music has left the wildest tone, and whose person the most picturesque image on our memory. As we have on a former occasion written all that we could recall of this old man, we shall here content ourselves with an extract of the facts of which we can no further be certain, than that such is our recollection, and that they seem in some degree confirmed by the unquestionable description of Mr Bunting:—"The writer can vividly, though perhaps not with very great accuracy, recall the personal appearance of a very old man named Frene or Freney, who was something more than thirty years since, a welcome visitor in every respectable family, through many of the western counties. Frene could not then have been less than ninety years old. He was about the middle size, but much bent by age, with

* Prospectus lately published by Mr Bunting.

a head of the Homeric cast, and venerably crowned with the whitest hair. His harp, as the writer—then a child—can recollect its appearance, was a dark-framed antique looking instrument, closely strung with thin brass wires, which produced that wild, low, ringing music, which in the following stanzas, is attempted to be expressed by the words ‘fairy chime.’* The effect of this was heightened by the old man’s peculiar expression of intense and sometimes pleased attention to his own music, as he stooped forward, holding his head close to the wires, while he swept them over with a feeble, uncertain, and trembling hand—the too obvious effect of extreme age. His appearance, thus bowed beside the instrument, which (though as the writer is informed, it was a small harp,) towered above his white head—was of the most picturesque character, and might well have served to illustrate the description of his more poetic brother in the ‘Lay.’ But poor old Frene had no rallying power—his harp strings seemed to have caught the wandering, querulous, and feeble dotage of his infirm age, and echoed mournfully of departed power and life. And now it adds much to the interest of this recollection, that he could not have been the welcome guest, which at this time he was, for the sake of his music. He was a venerable ruin of those ‘good old times,’ which their then survivors felt to be passing away with the harper. Old Frene had lived among their grandfathers, and had filled no mean place in the gay doings of those less refined, but more joyous and hospitable periods. He was full of old stories about persons whose names and deeds had still an interest in the memory of their descendants; and these stories were heard with a delight which can now be little understood. They excited that sympathy which is the effect of similar habits and feelings; but the world has long ceased to look with congenial interest on the half barbaric heroism and hospitality of that masculine generation, of which there now remains scarcely a distinct recollection.† On the state of society here noticed we shall hereafter have an occasion to dwell at length, as it belongs to the end of the last and commencement of the present century.

The further detail of particulars respecting these persons must be reserved till their time comes before us in the progress of this work; we here only notice them on account of the connexion of their history with the antiquity of the harp and music of Ireland. On this latter subject we shall now only add, that Mr Bunting divides our native airs into three classes—“the very ancient, the ancient, and those composed from the time of Carolan to that of Jackson and Stirling; for since the death of the latter composer, the production of new melodies in Ireland has wholly ceased.” Of these he considers the first,

* The article from which this extract is made was written as the preface to an ode on the Minstrel O’Connellan. The effect of the wild, melancholy, low, and ringing notes is not to be conveyed by any language. It seemed to rise like the memory of ancient song. The old man might have resembled one of Ossian’s ghosts, bending from his cloud, and sending forth the feeble echo of departed days. But fairy music was more in the spirit of the time and place: the characteristic effect was a faint and indefinite distance aptly suggesting some such notion to a superstitious imagination.

† Dublin Penny Journal, vol. I. p. 130.

consisting of caoinans or dirges, to be of extreme antiquity, both on account of the originality and simplicity of their structure, and from the words to which they are sung, which are to be found in manuscripts of ancient date. A strong confirmation is the fact that in several of them "the Ossianic airs have been noted down from persons singing very old fragments of this class of poems, both in Scotland and Ireland," the force of which proof we have already pointed out. The second class are authenticated by the peculiar characters of the remarkable style thus ascertained. And it may perhaps not be too strong to affirm, that there is traceable a kind of chronology in the progressive transition of styles which all bear the same original and inimitable character.

When we pass from the music of the period to its poetry, the subject, though more within our legitimate province, offers far less to delay our pen; not that the remains of Irish poetry are less abundant, but that they are far less accessible to all but the Irish antiquarian. From the poetry of the Irish character it might naturally be inferred that, much beautiful verse, and many splendid names should have survived the oblivion which has rolled like the waves of that lake which is said to cover "the round towers of other days." Unhappily, however rich may be the repositories of our ancient literature, the strain has left no echo on the shore, we cannot take to ourselves the beautiful creed of the last minstrel:—

"Call it not vain : they do not err
Who say, that when the poet dies,
Mute nature mourns her worshipper,
And celebrates his obsequies :
Who say, tall cliff, and cavern lone,
For the departed bard make moan,
That mountains weep in crystal rill ;
That flowers in tears of balm distil,
Through his loved groves that breezes sigh,
And oaks in deeper groan reply,
And rivers teach their rushing wave
To murmur dirges round his grave."

But though it is grievously to be apprehended that the rushing waves of the Shannon, although melodious to a proverb, retain no memory and repeat no tuneful dirge, yet we are not the less persuaded that bards worthy to be thus lamented have wooed the echoes of that oblivious and ungrateful river; unless indeed it may with too much truth be urged in extenuation, that it has been too much engaged in bewailing the present, to have any of its dirges to spare for departed bards and heroes. And this, though perhaps too lightly spoken, is the truth. The state of the island, from the beginning of the Danish dominion to the long and gloomy period of the decline of the English pale, was in the highest degree unfavourable to literature; less so, indeed, to the production of the rude annals and poems of which abundant specimens remain from this period, than for the study or preservation of a better and earlier literature. The transfer of moveable property was too frequent and forceable, its destruction too general and its insecurity too great, for the collection and accumulation of such treasures: they who knew not

their value would destroy, and they who did would remove them. They were carried to foreign countries, scattered, and in the course of numerous changes of hands gradually destroyed and wasted. Yet the remains, which are to be yet found in libraries, as well as in the possession of collectors, plainly testify an abundant and overflowing literature, such as it was. Of this literature, however, we can say little critically.

The earlier poetry, we can only judge of from a few specimens. If we look to the attempts which have been made at translation, the inference would be highly unfavourable to the genius of our poets: but such a judgment would hardly be fair; none but a poet can translate poetry, unless where it happens to be undeserving of a translation. If we judge from prose versions, and especially from those compilations of Macpherson's, which though unquestionably spurious as compositions, are yet in their materials and texture, not unfair representations of the ancient Irish and Gaelic poets, from which they are collected and woven together; the inference must be different indeed, as they indicate powers of a high order, and represent the poetical material and circumstance of a rude and primitive state of society. For this reason, we may in passing observe, we are inclined to adopt them as a standard representation, though we reject them as genuine poems, on the grounds already mentioned. Such specimens, however, as we have otherwise been enabled to form any opinion of, from more unquestionable specimens, are, it is to be allowed, widely different in spirit. Comparatively devoid of all play of fancy, or picturing of imagination, they exhibit a feature still more characteristic of ancient poetry; the simple and emphatic statement of the ordinary incidents in lives and histories of kings, chiefs, and great men; their births, relationships, friendships, and enmities, and trivial as well as great actions; and all with a degree of circumstance and solemnity that strongly mark the rudeness of their time, and the absence of the more refined or complex relations of thought or incidents of society. In fact, the poets are little more than a less methodical and select class of annalists—until a comparatively recent stage of this period, when the poetry of Christianity, the enlarged scope of incident, and the growth of national and party feeling, appear to have much increased the range of topics. We say topics, because our knowledge is more derived from the titles of these productions than from actual inspection. And it is fit here to add, that we have formed the opinion here stated, upon an attentive perusal of O'Reilly's compilation of names, to each of which he adds the catalogue of the writer's works.

The most important view of the remains of our Irish poets, is that which must class them as historians. In the more important office of history, they are, in reality, far the most valuable remains of antiquity. They present a full and faithful view of its life, form, and colouring—the main object of history. The meagre and chronological statement of the annalist may, for many obvious reasons deceive; the point to be recorded is but a fact; but the impression of the writer himself, whether precisely true or not, is also a fact, and generally the more important with reference to the antiquity of a rude simple age; in these writers we may discern the general state of fact in the consent

of representation. The principle of this is simple. It cannot without manifest absurdity be assumed, that all the writers of any place and time, should concur in the representation of a wholly imaginary class of phenomena and state of society, and entirely omit all notice of the real and actual circumstances, with which extant tradition, as well as surrounding life supplied them.

We must therefore class our poetical and historical remains together, and offer the few further reflections we shall here add, on their evidence and character so viewed. There can be no doubt that of the multitude of manuscripts extant in the various collections, the most useful and interesting are those of poetical records. Of these, the most valuable receive some additional degree of authenticity, from forming part of authoritative collections called *books*, which with other documentary manuscripts, such as Psalters, Registries, Annals compiled from ancient manuscripts, &c., form the bulk of our native literary remains of the present and former periods. Of these, the principal are as follows. The books of Ballimote, Drum Sneacta, Clonmacnoise, Conquests, Glendalough, Howth, Invasions, Leccan, MacEggan, Munster Book of Rights, &c.; the Annals of Donegal, Dublin, Inisfail, and Ulster; the Registries of Cloyne, Leighlin, Limerick, Lismore; the Psalters of Tara, Cashel, and Psalter na Rana,* with many others of less importance which are named in different enumerations by antiquarian writers. Of these we shall notice a few which have been considered more important, or to which modern research has added importance.

Of the writings here enumerated, the first in popular interest, are the compilations called the *Annals of Dublin*, and the *Annals of Ulster*, as being placed within the reach of the public, by means of accurate versions from the original Irish of the compilers to be found in the first volume of the *Dublin Penny Journal*. These translations are from the pen of Mr John O'Donovan, an Irish scholar of rising reputation, and have been found of the greatest use in the earlier portion of this work. The original documents, from which Mr O'Donovan has made his translation, are in the possession of the Royal Irish Academy, to which eminent body it was presented by Mr Petrie, whose liberality and public spirit are not more conspicuously marked in so valuable a gift, than his sagacity and antiquarian knowledge, in the manner in which he obtained the manuscript, and established the fact of its genuineness. The history of this book has great interest. It was in the beginning of the seventeenth century, that Ferral O'Gara, the descendant of the ancient chiefs of Coolavin, in the county of Sligo, perhaps at the suggestion of the person whose pen he employed for the purpose, engaged Michael O'Clery, a brother of the Franciscan order, to collect the remains of the ancient Irish history, and reduce them to orderly compilation. O'Clery had been for ten years previously employed, by his own order, in the collection of materials for a history of Irish saints, and had in all probability, while engaged in that labour, discovered materials for a more enlarged and important work; and having framed his plan, waited on O'Gara to seek his patronage. O'Gara was the representative of the county of Sligo, in

* Nicholson.

parliament, and was most probably a man of cultivated mind, and duly accessible to the suggestions of national as well as family pride; in the addresses of brother O'Clery, there is at least a strong appeal to these sentiments. As these conjectures are drawn from O'Clery's dedication, which gives a clear and succinct account of the design of his undertaking, we extract a few sentences of this document from O'Connor's translation.* "I, Michael O'Clery, brother of the order of St Francis, (through ten years employed, under obedience to my several provincials, in collecting materials for our Irish Hagiology,) have waited on you, noble Ferral O'Gara, as I was well acquainted with your zeal for the glory of God, and the credit of your country. I perceived the anxiety you suffer from the cloud which at present hangs over our ancient Milesian race; a state of things which has occasioned the ignorance of many relative to the lives of the holy men, who, in former times, have been the ornament of our island; the general ignorance also of our civil history, and of the monarchs, provincial kings, tigherns (lords), and toisachs (chieftains), who flourished in this country through a succession of ages; with equal want of knowledge on the synchronism necessary for throwing light on the transactions of each. In your uneasiness on this subject, I have informed you, that I entertained hopes of joining to my own labours, the assistance of the antiquarians I held most in esteem, for compiling a body of annals wherein these matters should be digested under their proper heads; judging that, should such a compilation be neglected, at present, or consigned to a future time, a risk might be run that the materials for it should never again be brought together." Such is the compiler's own account, from which not only the nature of the undertaking is fully explained, but no indistinct view given of the condition of literature, during the period then elapsed: the ruin of ancient collections, and the scantiness of documentary remains; the ignorance of the community, and the zeal of a few. In consequence of the engagement thus entered upon, O'Clery joined to himself three others, Maurice and Fergus O'Maoleonary, both antiquaries of the county of Roscommon; two other O'Clerys of Donegal, and O'Duigenan from Leitrim. These antiquaries assembled in the Franciscan convent of Donegal, where they were sustained during the accomplishment of their arduous work. The *testimonium* attached to their compilation and subscribed by the guardian of the convent, and another monk, enumerates the ancient authorities from which they drew their material. "The old books they collected were, the Annals of Clonmaenise, an abbey founded by holy Kiaran, son of the carpenter; the annals of the Island of Saints, on the lake of Rive; the annals of Senat M'Muguns on the lake of Erne (now called the Ulster Annals); the annals of the O'Maoleonarys; the annals of Kilronan compiled by the O'Duigenans;" to these they added the Annals of Lecan, compiled by the MacFirbises. These books, the witnesses testify having seen in their possession, during the portions of the transcription, for which they were severally used. This account derives much additional interest, from the consideration noticed by Mr Petrie, that it was on

* See Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, vol. xvi., for the whole of this interesting letter in Mr Petrie's account, from which the above is wholly drawn.

the eve of a rebellion, which caused afflictions unparalleled in history. "In that unhappy period," writes Mr Petrie, "nearly all the original materials of this compilation probably perished, for one or two of them only have survived to our times." Of this inestimable MS. the original copies passed from the O'Gara family into the possession of other persons, the first vol. to Charles O'Connor, and the second to colonel Conyngham; from these, different transcripts appear to have been made, both by the compilers for their own use, and for the chevalier O'Gorman, who borrowed the originals for this purpose. From the testimonies brought together by Mr Petrie, it would appear that the whole work was presented by colonel O'Gara, in 1734, to Charles O'Connor, the elder, who seems to have transferred the second volume to his cousin-german, colonel Conyngham. It was long supposed that no complete copy of the second volume was extant. Nor does it appear to have been distinctly known, which of the different manuscripts were the originals. At length the second volume in a perfect state, was purchased by Mr Petrie at the sale of the books of Mr Austin Cooper, to whom colonel Conyngham's library had passed: and the question of originality was completely set at rest, by the clearest and most demonstrative statement, in an able and perspicuous essay, read before the Academy for that purpose, and inserted in the sixteenth volume of its transactions. Into this question we cannot here enter in detail. Two arguments seem to decide the point: the first drawn from the inspection of the documents, and their comparison with the other pretended original; in this the main points are, the characteristic variations of the hand-writing in accordance with the account given in the testimonium of the witnesses: and also the accompanying papers of extracts and memoranda, such as could have no other origin or use, than the convenience of a task of compilation: while on the contrary, the other manuscripts are written throughout in one continuous hand, which should be sufficient of itself to decide the question. The second argument consists in the clear authentication of the history of the transmission of the MS.

Of the Psalter of Tara, we are informed by O'Flaherty, that it was a compilation made in the college of Tara, under the authority of king Cormac, and contained the ancient archives of the country, the series of its kings, supreme and provincial, and showed the synchronism of events with the reigns of foreign princes; it also contained an account of the tributes and taxes imposed on the provincial kings, and fixed territorial confines, the frontiers of kingdoms, as well as the lesser subdivisions of chiefs and townships. Some antiquarians have referred the origin of this document to a much earlier period; and if the document should be really extant, we should have little doubt in admitting, that substantially it must be in a great measure composed of pre-existing documents. At the early part of last century, its existence was a matter of dispute, and it was only known by the references and extracts of other writers. The same doubts still exist, and in this age of search have acquired added weight. Mr Petrie sums the evidence with his ordinary perspicuity;* "no allusion to it," he observes, "has

* In a valuable, learned, and most laborious work, "On the Antiquities of Tara Hill," printed in the Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, vol. xviii.

been found in the works of any author, anterior to the eleventh century:" to this he adds the important objection, that no ostensible extract from it occurs in the "great compilations of Glendalough, Ballymote, Lecan, and Hy-Many." The references of the Four Masters, he adds, have not been verified, by the references to the authorities they have adduced. There seems a probability, that an extract given by Mr Petrie, from a poem of Cuan O'Lochain, is the authority from which O'Flaherty derived his account as given above.

Of this we give a short extract; the whole will be found in the essay here referred to:—

" Cormac gained fifty battles ;
 He compiled the Psalter of Temur ;
 In this Psalter is
 What is a good summary of history.
 It is this Psalter that gives
 Seven monarchs of Erin of harbours ;
 Five kings of the provinces it makes,
 The king of Erin and her toparchis ;
 In it are (entered) reciprocally
 What each king of a province is entitled to,
 What the king of Temur in the east is entitled to
 From the king of each harmonious province.
 The chronology and synchronism of all
 Of each king with each other, completely
 The boundaries of each province from the hill,
 From the *Triagid* to the heavy (large) Maith."
 &c. &c. &c.

Of these lines the statements of O'Flaherty, already cited, is but a version. Now, in addition to the observations made in Mr Petrie's essay, there seems to us to be a very strong ground of doubt, arising from the mere consideration of the high degree of probability that the existence of such a document would be assumed. The antiquaries of earlier times were an enthusiastic and credulous class of mortals; and for such an assumption, there were unquestionably strong grounds in Irish tradition. This method of inference which seems to neutralize itself, and weigh in either scale, will on reflection appear to be very strong against a doubtful *authority* for the *actual existence* of such a book; as it answers the question, on what ground can we imagine such authorities to have been gratuitous? The high probability that such a book did *actually* exist at some early period, must be tried on other grounds, and is a different question. The objection arising from the "general belief of the learned, that the Irish were wholly unacquainted with letters, until the establishment of Christianity in the fifth century," is a belief which we trust the learned will abandon, as the ancient history of Ireland is more generally known.

The notice which we have been here taking of the Psalter of Tara, has led us to turn over the pages of Mr Petrie's essay on the history and antiquities of Tara Hill. An essay from which much valuable information may be received on almost every subject of any importance connected with the antiquities of Ireland. And which we feel ourselves bound to recommend as a model of the most patient, intelligent, laborious, and practical investigation, which we ever recollect to have

met with, among our numerous and learned antiquarians. This singular instance of combined observation and study, falls within the course of these notices, as being connected with an important specimen of Irish literature, used upon the occasion here referred to, by Mr Petrie, and the gentlemen who assisted in the observations of which the essay here noticed gives the account.

The progress of the Ordnance Survey of Ireland, a work more truly beneficial to Ireland than centuries of experimental legislation, leading, as it has done, to an authentic investigation of the most detailed character into all the circumstances of its moral and physical condition, seems also to have been the means of enabling the antiquarian and the historian to extend his inquiries from the questionable record of old manuscripts to the evidences of locality. However deceptive and illusory either of these *singly* have been shown to be, by the vast range of conflicting theories and conjectures, there seems to be little doubt of the value of the comparison by which these two sources of authority might be made to check and illustrate each other. Whatever variety of interpretation the shallow ingenuity commonly bestowed on such investigations might waste on the monumental fragments of time immemorial; or whatever doubt the most candid scepticism might entertain upon the fretted scroll of contested antiquity; there can be no doubt whatever of the value of the inferences arising upon the undesigned coincidence of these two distinct evidences. Such is the nature of these remarkable investigations, conducted by the joint sagacity and intelligence of several members of the survey, and applied to these historical purposes by Mr Petrie, who himself assisted in the operation. The facts are as follows:—The progress of the survey of the county of Meath, appearing to favour such an investigation as we have mentioned, of the ruins of the hill of Tara; the first necessary step was to have the plan of the existing remains accurately laid down, “according to measurement, on the map.” Accordingly this important preliminary was effected, under the direction of Captain Bordes. In the mean time a careful search was made among the different collections for all such ancient MSS. as might give the most trustworthy information on the history and localities of the spot. The desired information was found in a very ancient MS., called the “*Din seanchus*,” a topographical tract, found in the books of Ballinote and Lecan, ancient collections of great authority, of which valuable copies are preserved in the Royal Irish Academy. To avail themselves the more readily of this authoritative tract, the gentlemen engaged in this undertaking called in the aid of Mr John O’Donovan, so frequently mentioned in this work, who made precise translations for their purpose, of such of the documents from this collection as were considered necessary. Thus prepared Mr Petrie, with Lieutenant Larcom, one of the most intelligent officers employed upon the survey, Captain Bordes the conductor of the Meath survey, and Mr O’Donovan, proceeded to the hill of Tara, where they went through a most minute and searching verification of the ample details of the poem of Con O’Lochain, and other literary remains of local history. Of the particulars of this operation, this is not the place to offer any detail. But it must be observed, that for precision of method, patient research, a

philosophical abstinence from theory, and every possible precaution against the illusions common to such inquiries, the conduct of these gentlemen might well be offered as the most signal and praiseworthy example. The results are indeed no less remarkable; as it may be safely said, that the curious exactness of coincidence between these ancient vestiges and the documents employed, amounts to a very full and striking confirmation of their authority as topographical guides, and a vast accession of probability to the historical records and traditions of our ancient history. Mr Petrie has fully availed himself of these advantages, in a document which will, we trust, be placed in the hands of the public, as it forms part of a memoir drawn up to illustrate the Ordnance Map of the country. It is our appropriate task to observe, that the result of this inquiry confers additional value on the books thus employed—the books of Ballinote and Lecan, the books of Glendalough, and the Speckled book of M'Eggan, among the collections of which, valuable information was thus found; while the particulars thus verified may be extended as the tests of numerous other documents yet inadequately explored.

With these select notices of our ancient literature we shall for the present content ourselves. Many of the most important compilations were made in a period yet to come in the order of this work, and the notice of the compiler will afford the fittest occasion for all details on his work: the double claim of being the composition of one period and compilation of another, seems to give a choice to the discretion of the historian. Our present object, to exhibit a view of the general condition of our ancient literary remains, and of the materials of history, has perhaps been sufficiently consulted. These ancient records have been the object of much unreasonable doubt; for whatever justice there may be in the common cant about credulity, the contrary extreme is by far the more vulgar impulse. There is a distinction on this point which is not allowed for; superstition is credulous, for the simple reason, that in the peculiar class of ideas with which it is conversant, the true and false are equally beyond the scope of sense, and thus the mode of belief exercised on the objects of revealed religion, can be perverted to every spiritual abuse: the true principle tacitly established, is extended without question. But with reference to the phenomena and facts of the world of sense, there is a different rule of faith; the *principle* of assent is wholly different: the familiar state of things seems to be the order of nature to the shallow or the ignorant; and most persons feel more or less difficulty in conceiving the possibility of a state of national existence, and a class of social phenomena wholly and characteristically different from that which is *habitual*. They will not deny *theoretically* that such things may have been; the scepticism shows itself in an excessive reluctance to receive the specific statement. In examining the records of history, the most scrupulous and rigid precision is required in exacting all the evidence admitted by the nature of the case specially to be considered. But an enlarged and liberal view of this duty is necessary to counteract the narrow-headedness (if the word may be admitted) so characteristic of the sceptic, who is commonly misled from not understanding the true limits of proof and doubt, and from reasoning without any true comprehension of the

question at issue. On the authority of the records generally noticed above, it is indeed a valuable confirmation, that they concur with the local remains and the traditions of the country: a species of confirmation which we do not recollect to have yet seen treated as it deserves. We cannot consent to enter here on a hasty view of so curious and interesting a topic.

Conclusion.—But we must hasten to the conclusion of these introductory remarks. We have here endeavoured to present within narrow limits some general idea of the state of Irish literature during the earlier portion of this period. It was indeed a time when concerns far different from the cultivation of the arts of peace, held the mind of Ireland. The poet's or the harper's hands were otherwise engaged than in the bower of pleasure. In England, poetry had reached its proud height—manners were refined—learning was assiduously and successfully advancing—the triumphs of science were preparing. Though shrouded in the sanguinary clouds of perpetual war, Ireland had too many points of connexion with her elder sister, not to receive a considerable influx of the same bright lights. Her nobles and chief gentry were in close and continual intercourse with the nobility and court of England, and their manners and modes of life were regulated by the same standard. So that, upon the whole, there was a continual advance. If the early part of the seventeenth century was grossly ignorant, the middle of the same century was adorned by a Boyle, and its termination by the pen of Swift.

I. POLITICAL SERIES.

Sir George Carew.

BORN A. D. 1557.—DIED A. D. 1629.

OF the personal history of this great man little can be satisfactorily ascertained; the main events of his life belong to history, and have been already detailed under several heads.

His family was early settled in Ireland. On the death of Robert Fitz-Stephen, the kingdom of Cork descended by marriage to the Carews and De Courcys.* The Carews were ennobled, and handed down their possessions with the dignity of marquis of Cork till the time of the wars of the Roses in England, when they appear to have abandoned their Irish possessions, which were soon usurped by the surrounding chiefs, with some inconsiderable exceptions. They built the castles of Ardtullagh, Dunkeran, and Dunemarc; the last of which we find in the possession of Sir George Carew, while he commanded the queen's army as president of Munster. Sir George was the son of George Carew, dean of Christ's church, Oxford: he was born in 1557, and entered a gentleman commoner in Broadgate's Hall in Oxford university, in 1572. His first military services were in Ireland, where he

* Cox.

was early promoted, and became one of the council, and master of the ordnance. In common with most of the eminent military characters of his day, he served with distinguished honour on the continent, and gained especial notice in the expedition against Cadiz: his conduct of the wars in Munster have been fully detailed—the campaign against the last of the southern Geraldines, with its conduct and success have already been detailed, as also his important assistance to lord Mountjoy in the wars against Hugh, earl of Tyrone, and finally, his masterly campaign which closed that rebellion with the siege of Dunboy. These the reader has or may have read in the lives of Hugh, earl of Tyrone, and O'Sullivan More.*

After these memorable achievements Sir George Carew returned to England, where in the first year of king James, he was appointed to the government of Guernsey, and two years after, raised to the peerage by the title of baron Carew of Clopton, near Stratford-upon-Avon in Warwickshire. He was next preferred to the high post of master of the ordnance in England, and appointed one of the privy council. He was afterwards created earl of Devonshire by Charles I.† His subsequent life was chiefly employed in writing the history of those events of which, in the earlier period, he had been the witness or principal actor. Among these writings, the most important and the best known is the "*Pacata Hibernia*," which gives the most full and minute detail of the Munster and Ulster wars above mentioned. To this work we have been chiefly indebted for our details of these transactions. It is mentioned by bishop Nicholson, that he wrote other works on the affairs of Ireland, "whereof forty-two volumes are in the archbishop of Canterbury's library at Lambeth, and four volumes more of collections, from the originals in the Cotton library."‡

These, with several other MS. volumes, all of which were read through and noted by archbishop Usher, exhibit in a very strong and interesting point of view, the intellectual activity and untiring energy and industry of this extraordinary man. A folio edition of the *Pacata Hibernia*, published in 1633, contained his picture, under which these lines were written:—

"Talis erat vultu, sed lingua, mente manique
Qualis erat, qui vult dicere, scripta legat
Consulat aut famam, qui lingua, mente, manique
Vincere hunc, fama judice, rarus erat."

Sir George Carew died in 1629, "in the Savoy,"§ and left no heir male. His only daughter married Sir Allen Apsley.||

Sir Arthur Chichester.

DIED A. D. 1624.

THE name and lineage of Chichester has been traced by the heralds to an ancient family in Devonshire.

* Pp. 94, 155.
§ Nicholson.

† Nicholson's Irish Hist. Library.

‡ Page 53.

|| Walpole's Letters. Note, vol. I. p. 157

The subject of this memoir was the second son of Sir John Chichester, knight: his mother was Gertrude, daughter of Sir William Courtney of Powderham castle, in Devonshire: he was born at Raleigh, his father's seat in that county. A precocious promise of talent was probably the occasion of his being at an early age sent to pursue his studies at the university. But there was an activity in his temperament which soon rendered him impatient of a studious life. A daring frolic, more suited to the manners of his time than the present, made it necessary for him to fly the country. The queen's purveyors, instruments of despotic power, and by no means limiting their exactions to the demands of law, were the objects of popular hatred, and considered (like the bailiffs of the last generation) as fair game for either mischief or spite: they were universally set down as robbers, and it was thought by the young student to be no bad joke to follow the precedent of prince Henry, and ease the robber of his plunder. This exploit was followed by discovery, and Chichester was compelled to save himself from the resentment of the queen, who little relished a joke for which she was to have paid; the unpopularity of the exaction made it dangerous, as the laughter of the public was embittered by discontent; it was no laughing matter to Elizabeth. Chichester betook himself to France, where his personal bravery and military talent recommended him to the favour of Henry IV., by whom he was knighted. His reputation soon reached the English court, where it was not lost upon the ear of the queen. It was her study to encircle her throne with genius and heroism, and Chichester received his pardon.

After some years spent in the military service, he was sent into Ireland, where his services were numerous, and his promotion rapid. He commanded the troops garrisoned at Carrickfergus in 1599, and was, during the entire of that war which we have related in the life of Hugh, earl of Tyrone, among the most active, successful, and trusted leaders under lord Mountjoy. In 1603, he was appointed by patent, governor of Carrickfergus, with the fee of thirteen shillings per day for life. In the next year a new patent extended his powers; he was appointed commander of all the forces and governor of the inhabitants of the surrounding districts, of which the towns, forts, shipping and fisheries were placed at his discretion. This was followed by another patent, appointing him lord-deputy of Ireland. He began his government by renewing the circuits, and establishing two for the first time, as already described, so as to establish justice and order throughout the country. He at the same time issued proclamations declaring the abolition of tanistry, and enforcing the laws. Among the numerous projects for the plantation of Ulster, that of Chichester was selected, and its details carried through by his own skill and activity.

In recompense for these great services to Ireland, king James made him a grant of Inishowen, the territory of Sir Cabir O'Doherty, with other rights and lands in the province of Ulster.

On the meeting of parliament, Sir Arthur was created baron Chichester of Belfast. In the preamble to his patent there occurs a remarkable passage, which we here extract because it evidently contains the idea of James and his councillors concerning this island and its condition:—"Hiberniæ, insulæ post Britanniam omnium insularum

occidentalium maximæ et amplissimæ, et pulcherrimæ, cœli et soli felicitate et fœcunditate affluentis et insignis; sed nihilominus per multa jam secula perpetuis seditio-
num et rebellionum fluctibus jactatæ; necnon superstitioni et barbaribus moribus, præsertim in provincia Ultoniæ, addictæ et immersæ.”*

We here also insert a letter to Chichester from the king, who, when favouritism did not influence his feeble character, was a just and discriminating observer:—“As at first you were called by our election without seeking for it, to this high place of trust and government of our kingdom of Ireland, and have so faithfully discharged the duties thereof, that without any desire of yours in that behalf, we have thought fit to continue you in that employment these many years, beyond the example and custom of former times; so now we are pleased, merely of our own grace, without any mediation of friends, without your suit or ambition, to advance you to the state of a baron of that kingdom, in acknowledgment of your many acceptable services performed to us there; and that you and all other ministers of state, which serve us wheresoever, may know by this instance of our favour to you, that we observe and discern their merits, and accordingly do value and reward them,” &c.†

Chichester continued in his government for the ten years ending with the parliament of 1613, the cardinal period of Irish history. As the events in which he was a principal actor are those which, from their primary importance, we have selected for the introduction to this period, we may pass on the more briefly to the end of this memoir.

Chichester was a second time appointed lord-deputy in 1614, in which year Lodge mentions that the harp was first marshalled with the arms of England. On this occasion he maintained his wonted activity, by repressing many disorders in the counties of Leinster, especially in those more wild and uncultivated mountain districts of the county of Wicklow, which he reduced to subjection.

In 1615 he obtained the king's permission to retire from his arduous post, but was in the next year appointed lord high treasurer of Ireland. He built a splendid house for his own residence at Carrickfergus.

In 1622, he was sent ambassador to the Palatinate. To enter on the subject of this embassy we should occupy a space disproportionate to the scale of this memoir. The king was entangled by anxious interests of a contrary nature: Spain had seized upon the dominions of his son-in-law, and while he naturally desired to redress this grievance, he was endeavouring to effect a marriage between prince Charles and the Infanta: he relied too much on negotiation, and was well cajoled by all parties. Chichester was next commissioned to treat for a peace with the emperor: in the course of this proceeding he was shut up in Manheim by the besieging army of Tilly. He sent a messenger to Tilly to say that it was contrary to the law of nations to besiege an ambassador: to this Tilly replied, that he took no notice that he was an ambassador; upon which Chichester told the messenger, “If my master had sent me with as many hundred men as he hath sent

* Lodge.

† Quoted by Lodge, from Rot. 10. and 11., Jac. I.

me on fruitless messages, your general should have known that I had been a soldier as well as ambassador."

Chichester returned from the continent in October the same year, and was sworn of the privy council. He died in the year 1624, in London, and was interred in a chapel on the north side of the church of St Nicholas in Carrickfergus, about eight months after his death.

He was married to a daughter of Sir John Perrot, by whom he had one son, who died in little more than a month after his birth. In consequence his estates descended to his next brother, Sir Edward Chichester. As we shall not have to offer any further notice of this person, we may here add, that his brother's title had been limited to his issue male; the title fell, but as Sir Edward was a person of influence and very serviceable, king Charles revived the title and added a step by the title of viscount Chichester of Carrickfergus. His son Arthur, who lived in more stirring times, was distinguished by his valour, prudence, and fidelity to king Charles, in consideration of which he was created earl of Donegal, in 1647.

Sir Cahir O'Doherty.

KILLED A. D. 1608.

THE O'Doherty's were the ancient chiefs of Inishowen, a small but celebrated district in the north of Ireland, lying on the sea-coast between Loughfoyle and Loughswilly; of which two great waters a large proportion has time immemorial been converted by the enterprising industry of the inhabitants into a superior whiskey: if we are not rather to infer a more ethereal source from its well-known appellation of mountain-dew: if so, it is a dew better known to the Irish gauger than to the scientific academies of Europe, the members of which may thank us for the incidental information that it has been thought not conducive to the fertility of those hills, or to the health of their inhabitants. We cannot with certainty discover whether this native produce was known in the days of the O'Dohertys—the meteorology of Ireland is said to have been changed since then. But from Stanilhurst's enthusiastic description of Irish whiskey, we lean much to the inference, that the people of that pleasant region must have at all times rejoiced in the same fascinating but ensnaring distillation of their mountain air: where still, as of old,

his fragrant fortress builds
The freeborn wanderer of the mountain air.

When upon the death of his father, the spirited young lord of Inishowen succeeded to the lordship, he had the good sense to see that his interest lay in the cultivation of friendly intercourse with his English neighbours. Being of a festive and hospitable temper, he easily entered into terms of the most cordial intimacy with his military neighbours, the officers of the English forts, with whom he shared the sports of the field and the gaiety of the social board, and lived on terms of fami-

liar and friendly intercourse. Among these companions there was none for whom he professed a more sincere regard than for captain Harte, the commander of the fort of Culmore, near Derry—their intercourse was continual, and such as manifested the most perfect confidence and regard; their wives became friends, and O'Doherty stood godfather to the child of his neighbour, a relation of peculiar closeness in the eyes of the old Irish.

On the flight of Tyrone and O'Donell, Sir Cahir was accused of being privy to the conspiracy of which they had been suspected. Sir Cahir on this attempted to justify himself to the governor of Derry, Sir Amias Paulett: in the heat of accusation and defence the parties grew angry, and O'Doherty was insulted by a blow, and the threat of a felon's death.

Sir Cahir was fired with indignation, for which, indeed, he had ample cause; and considering the spirit of the times, we might easily excuse his having recourse to rebellion, a step which however manifested more spirit than prudence; but the very first step taken by Sir Cahir is far from deserving to be mentioned with the same tolerant allowance, as it was such as to imply a deficiency of every feeling of a gentleman, and indicated a degree of cruelty and treachery, only compatible with the lowest level of the most degraded condition of human nature.

Concealing his sense of insult under the smooth disguise of a reckless manner and the seeming frankness of a warm temperament which concealed the perfidy of his hard and reckless disposition, Sir Cahir meditated a bloody vengeance. Regardless of all considerations which might have embarrassed any one susceptible of human affections, or alive to any sense of just or honourable principle: his project commenced with an outrage upon truth, honour, and humanity, which sets aside every plea of palliation from the ordinary allowances which we are accustomed to make for human frailty. The first step of Sir Cahir's design was to obtain possession of the fort of Culmore commanded by his familiar friend, Harte. The step was sure; for Harte, a blunt and honourable soldier, was unsuspecting by nature, and could not doubt the honour of his friend, still less anticipate any danger from that hospitality which was ever held sacred in the estimation of the Irish. Yet such was the snare resorted to by this reckless betrayer, to lure his confiding friend to destruction. Having made all the necessary preparations to follow up so decided a step, Sir Cahir adopted the safe expedient of inviting his friend Harte with Mrs Harte, to dine with him on the first of May, 1608. Harte was glad to accept the friendly invitation, and, with his wife and child, was punctual to the hour. Dinner came, and went on with unreserved gaiety; it was hardly over when Sir Cahir began to nerve himself for the new part he designed to act: his brow darkened, his manner suddenly grew stern and reserved: and before his guests had time to interpret this embarrassing and unwonted change, the chief started from his seat and beckoned Harte aside. Having withdrawn from the immediate hearing of the company, he told his astonished hearer his purpose of hostility against the English, and demanded the surrender of Culmore on pain of the immediate death of himself, his wife, and child. The English officer refused on any terms to betray his trust;

and, on a signal from Sir Cahir, an armed party poured into the apartment, and received orders for the execution of Harte. Fortunately the noise attracted the attention of the ladies, who had retired on seeing Sir Cahir call his guest aside. An appalling scene presented itself as they entered, the murderers were proceeding to their office: Mrs Harte fainted; Sir Cahir's lady threw herself between the ruffians and their victim, and in the strong language, which women of the better order seldom want when humanity and honour are to be asserted, interceded for the outraged guest, and recalled some sense of shame and remorse to the breast of her traitorous lord. He yielded for a moment to the mastery of a nobler spirit, and interrupted his purpose of murder. But there was nothing either manly or humane in his relenting: he made no reply, but stood meditating added perfidy, until recovering from the abstraction of a moment, he desired his lady to take captain Harte into another room. They had no sooner disappeared than he assailed the feelings of Mrs Harte; he assured her that it was his fixed purpose to put her husband to death if the fort were not instantly surrendered: while she stood before him in a state of agony and despair, he proposed to her to accompany him to Culmore. She consented in her terror. Sir Cahir instantly set off with her, and, having previously made the necessary dispositions for his design, they arrived at the fort. The people within were persuaded that their commander had broken his leg, and that the party without had been sent to carry him home—they threw open the gate. They were surprised by the unexpected rush of Sir Cahir's men, and made no resistance. So that every one was slain.

From this, a sudden assault as little anticipated, put Derry in his power on the same night, and he had the vindictive gratification of slaughtering Paulett in cold blood. The town was consumed to ashes, and the bishop's wife and children carried away prisoners.

Such was the commencement of a rebellion, as rash as its course was brief, and its commencement flagitious. The government was alarmed, and not without reason: the spirits of the seditious were universally excited by the widely spread expectation of O'Nial's return at the head of a body of Spanish and Irish soldiers. The friars were alert in communicating the censures of Salamanca and Valladolid against the affirmation, that it was lawful to be true to a heretical king. The rumour of insurrection went round, and was accompanied by too many circumstances of probability to be considered as mere alarm. The rising of Sir Cahir could scarcely be supposed to depend altogether upon his own unassisted force; his previous conduct had been prudent and artful, and something more than mere resentment must be assumed to have urged him on so daring and decided a course. The government detached a small party, under the command of Sir Richard Wingfield, to observe his motions and keep him in check, while the lord-deputy endeavoured to bring together the scanty and ill-conditioned force, which the poverty and parsimony of king James at this time allowed to be kept up in Ireland. The lord-deputy soon followed, but in no preparation for the emergency. Every part of the country before his approach, had been pouring its fiery elements into the camp of Sir Cahir. Both parties were thus held in equilibrio for

five months, and it is doubtful to what extremity of evil this commencement of rebellion might have reached, if Sir Cahir's life had not been terminated by a shot, which some attribute to accident, and others to private revenge.

The author of *Sketches in Ireland*, tells a story which he appears to have gleaned from the local tradition of the country. It probably contains the truth, though embellished by the graphic pen and characteristic manner of the writer. Having given a picturesque sketch of the Rock of Doune, on which the chiefs of Tyrconnel were inaugurated in the days of old "with savage solemnities, by the abbots of Kilmacrenan;" and described the wild and inaccessible district in the midst of which it stands like a natural fortress; the author whom we quote, mentions that "This rock was famous in the reign of James I., as the spot whereon the arch-traitor, Sir Cahir O'Doherty, closed his life. Sir Cahir, as I before said, had surprised Culmore, taken Derry, murdered Sir George Paulett and the whole garrison, and burnt the town to ashes; he was the last hope of the Pope and the Spaniards. This rebellion was designed to be the most general that ever arose in Ireland, and Sir Cahir keeping the lord lieutenant at bay in this impracticable country; his retreat was the Rock of Kilmacrenan, [the ancient name] and here he lurked in secret until the succours that were promised, and were (as O'Sullivan says) actually coming from all sides, arrived."

"The plantation of Ulster had not yet taken place; but already many Scots had settled themselves along the rich alluvial lands that border the Loughs Foyle and Swilly; and it was Sir Cahir's most desired end and aim to extirpate these intruders, hateful as strangers, detestable as heretics. He was the Scotsman's curse and scourge. One of these industrious Scots had settled in the valley of the Lennon; Rory O'Donnel, the queen's earl of Tyrconnel, had given him part of that fertile valley, and he there built his bawn. But Sir Cahir, in the midst of night, and in Sandy Ramsay's absence, attacked his enclosure, drove off his cattle, slaughtered his wife and children, and left his pleasant homestead a heap of smoking ruins.

"The Scot, on his return home, saw himself bereaved, left desolate in a foreign land, without property, kindred or home; nothing his, but his true gun and dirk. He knew that five hundred marks were the reward offered by the lord-deputy for Sir Cahir's head. He knew that this outlaw was the foe that had quenched the fire on his hearth with the blood of his wife and little ones; and with a heart maddened by revenge, with hope resting on the promised reward, he retired to the wooded hills that run parallel to the Hill of Doune; there, under covert of a rock, his gun resting on the withered branch of a stunted oak, he waited day by day, with all the patience and expectancy of a tiger in its lair. Sir Cahir was a man to be marked in a thousand; he was the loftiest and proudest in his bearing of any man in the province of Ulster; his Spanish hat with the heron's plume was too often the terror of his enemies, the rallying point of his friends, not to bespeak the O'Doherty: even the high breastwork of stone, added to the natural defences of the rock, could not hide the chieftain from observation.

"On Holy Thursday, as he rested on the eastern face of the rock,

looking towards the abbey of Kilmacrenan, expecting a venerable friar to come from this favoured foundation of Columbkille, to shrive him and celebrate mass; and, as he was chatting to his men beside him, the Scotsman applied the fire to his levelled matchlock, and, before the report began to roll its echoes through the woods and hills, the ball passed through Sir Cahir's forehead, and he lay lifeless on the ramparts. His followers were panic-struck, they thought that the rising of the Scotch and English was upon them; and, deserting the lifeless body of their leader, they dispersed through the mountains. In the meanwhile the Scotchman approached the rock; he saw his foe fall; he saw his followers flee. He soon severed the head from the body, and, wrapping it in his plaid, off he set in the direction of Dublin. He travelled all that day, and at night took shelter in a cabin belonging to one Terence Gallagher, situated at one of the fords of the river Finno. Here Ramsay sought a night's lodging, which Irishmen never refuse; and partaking of an oaten cake and some sweet milk, he went to rest with Sir Cahir's head under his own as a pillow. The Scotchman slept sound, and Terence was up at break of day. He saw blood oozing out through the plaid that served as his guest's pillow, and suspected all was not right; so slitting the tartan plaid, he saw the hair and head of a man; slowly drawing it out, he recognised the features well known to every man in Tyrconnel; they were Sir Cahir's. Terence knew as well as any man that there was a price set on this very head, a price abundant to make his fortune, a price he now resolved to try and gain. So off Terence started, and the broad Tyrone was almost crossed by O'Gallagher, before the Scotchman awoke to resume his journey. The story is still told with triumph through the country, how the Irishman without the treason reaped the reward of Sir Cahir's death."*

Notwithstanding the particularity of this tradition, and the characteristic traits which ever give the appearance of fidelity to a well told story; we should apprise the reader that there is also some authority for a different account, as it is asserted by some historians, and inserted in the patent of Sir Richard Wingfield's title, that he slew O'Doherty in the field of battle. If we are to infer from this evidence, that the incident has been recorded thus upon the authority of Marshal Wingfield himself, we should not hesitate to prefer it to any local tradition. But the fact is too slight for discussion, and if our reader shall happen to prefer the story, we can only say that we commend his good taste. If the tradition is not correct, "*il merite bien de l'etre.*" Here follows the statement referred to: "*Postea denique, dicta rebellione de Tyrone extincta et universa pace in hoc regno stabilita, cum audacissimus proditor O'Dohertie novam civitatem de Derry incendio destruxisset, magnosque tumultus in Ultonia, concitasset, prefatus Marischallus noster, parva manu militum, dictum O'Dohertie in aperto prælio occidit, cohortesque illi adherentes subito dissipavit.*"

* Sketches in Ireland.

Sir Oliver Lambert.

DIED A. D. 1618.

WE have already had occasion to detail the principal services in which this eminent soldier was engaged; they appertain to the previous period, and may here be recapitulated briefly.

He first appears on the scene of Irish affairs in 1581, when he is named in a decree of queen Elizabeth, as a gentleman of good credit, "and nephew to Sir Henry Wallop, her majesty's vice-treasurer in Ireland."

From the patent of his title we obtain the more minute relation: that having been first trained in the Irish wars, where he received a severe wound, "*dextro succiso poplite*:" nevertheless, not discouraged he soon after engaged in the Belgian wars under the earl of Leicester; by whom he was, in consideration of his valour and reputation, appointed to command the "celebrated town" of Dowsborough, in Gueldres. By a night attack he seized the strong fortress of Anholt; and in the retaking of Daventry, he won the highest honour, by exposing himself to every danger, and receiving many wounds. Having been recalled to England, he was sent in the expedition against Spain, under the command of the earl of Essex and Howard of Effingham; in this he was master of the camp, and distinguished himself so much in the siege of Cadiz, 1596, that he was knighted on the field by Essex. And when his patron, lord Essex, was sent to command in Ireland, he came thither from that country in Sir C. Perry's regiment, in which he had a company. In this command he was distinguished by his efficient and active conduct, and when Essex was recalled, he was left master of the camp, and immediately after sergeant-major of the army.

In 1600, we find him leading a regiment of infantry and 100 cavalry into Leix and Offaly, and victualling the garrison of Philipstown, notwithstanding the fierce efforts of the O'Moores and O'Conors, who had defied him to the attempt. He may next be traced under Mountjoy, and is often mentioned as an efficient and much employed officer in the operations against Tyrone. So effectually had his valour and counsel recommended Sir Oliver, that lord Mountjoy, on 19th July, 1601, in a letter to Cecil, proposed him as the fittest person to be trusted with the government of Connaught.* In Connaught he built the fort of Galway. From this he was soon recalled on the arrival of the Spaniards under the command of Don Juan. On this memorable occasion his exploits are noticed in our account of the siege of Kinsale.

Returning to Connaught he pursued his course with vigour and success, and was rewarded by king James, who sent his warrant to the lord-deputy to pass letters patent granting him crown lands to the amount of £100 per annum. Sometime after he added to the large and numerous tracts thus acquired, several estates by purchase, and obtained further grants. He built his residence in the county of Cavan. And after being employed with much honour to himself in Scotland

* Moryson, 116.

and other places, he was raised to the peerage by patent, dated 17th February, 1617, by the title of lord Lambert baron Cavan.

He sat in parliament by this title in 1614, but died in London in 1618.

Donogh O'Brien, Fourth Earl of Thomond.

DIED A. D. 1624.

WE have little to mention of the history of this nobleman. He was among the most distinguished officers and commanders in Ireland under Mountjoy, and while he stood ever first in the confidence of the general of the English, he was equally respected by his countrymen in the opposite ranks, who in their treaties and submissions always sought his protection and relied on his honour. He obtained the honourable distinction of being known by the appellation of "the great earl."

He was educated in the English court, and was a member of the privy council, both under Elizabeth and king James. He was by the queen placed next to the president and chief justice, in all cases of Oyer and Terminer,* &c. He was made for life, constable of the castle of Carlow; and in May, 1605, he was appointed president of Munster. He died 5th December, 1624, and was buried in the cathedral church of Limerick.

Tobias Caulfield, First Earl of Charlemont.

BORN A. D. 1565—DIED A. D. 1627.

THIS nobleman was descended from an ancient family in the county of Oxford.

Sir Toby was early trained to military duties. While yet a youth, he served under the celebrated naval commander, Martin Frobisher in one of his expeditions: "*longinquis illis simul et periculosissimis in remotas insulas de Azores navigationibus, adolescens interfuit.*"† The Azores were at that time of very considerable importance, and an object of acquisition to Spain, France, Holland, and other chief countries in Europe. They were a station of rendezvous, and a harbour for the commercial enterprise of the sixteenth century; and several expeditions were fitted out to explore or take possession of them under Frobisher, Raleigh, Drake, &c., in the reign of Elizabeth. His conduct in this enterprise is mentioned in terms of the strongest approbation, and the various dangers he had to encounter from the opposition of the Spanish fleet. A second time his valour was engaged, and additional honour won, in another naval campaign, under Howard of Effingham, against Spanish vessels destined for Ireland, and intercepted near the Spanish coast. A third naval campaign added new honours. He then entered the land service, and was engaged under Essex and

* Lodge.

† Preamble to his patent, 8th August, 1619.

other commanders in France and in Belgium: in the siege of Dreux he signalized himself at the head of a storming party, and was among the first to enter the breach, in which exploit he received a severe wound in the head. Recommended by the voice of fame, he was appointed to a troop of horse, and sent into Ireland sometime in 1598, where he rose rapidly into honour and public trust during the wars against the earl of Tyrone.

In the year 1602, lord Mountjoy having, as already related, built a bridge over the Blackwater in a passage which he discovered to afford a key to Tyrone's country, and guarded it with a fort which he called Charlemont fort, after his own name Charles—he gave the command to Caulfield. Here the captain's services were so considerable, that he was rewarded by large grants out of the estates of the rebel earl.

Soon after the accession of king James, he was knighted, made a member of the privy council, and appointed governor of Charlemont fort, and of the counties of Armagh and Tyrone. From this, grants and honours accumulated; among the rest he was appointed master of the ordnance, with the large allowance of £654 19s. 5½d. per annum for himself, a lieutenant, cornet, and eighteen horsemen, at twelve pence a-day each.

His property must have been considerable when he was rated £100 to the subsidy in 8th July, 1615. He was of the commission in 1616 for setting the escheated lands in Ulster to undertakers. In consideration of his services in this and other arduous employments, of which we have here omitted the mention, he was created lord Caulfield, baron of Charlemont, by privy seal bearing date at Westminster, Nov., 1620, and limiting the title to his nephew, Sir William, and his issue male.

In March, 1621, lord Charlemont was joined in a commission of inquiry into the state of religion and justice, of trade and the army, plantations and revenues, &c.* He was joined with Dockwra and others, a commissioner and keeper of the peace in Leinster and Ulster, during the lord-deputy's absence.†

Lord Charlemont died in August, 1627, and was interred in Christ church, Dublin. He had never been married, and was succeeded by his nephew, Sir William Caulfield, the son of his brother, Dr James Caulfield.

Sir R. Wingfield, First Viscount Powerscourt.

DIED A. D. 1634.

THE Wingfields were a family of wealth and high consideration in Suffolk before the Norman conquest. Robert Wingfield was lord of Wingfield castle so early as 1087. From this Lodge, Austis, and other heraldic authors deduce many generations of eminent men, to the person who is here to be commemorated.

Richard Wingfield was the second son of Lewis Wingfield, himself

* Lodge.

† Lodge.

a younger son of Sir John Wingfield, lord of Letheringham, and sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk, 33 Hen. VI.

Having while young, embraced the military profession, Richard came over to Ireland, and was early noticed for his merit as an officer. He was next sent with his regiment into Belgium, where he was promoted to a company. The military and naval history of England, during the latter end of queen Elizabeth's reign, must be familiar to every reader, and would lead us into a digression beyond the importance of the connexion which the subject has with our present statements. The wars with Spain, so full of various exploits, adventures, and successes, by land and sea, on the enemy's coasts, in Portugal, in the Netherlands, and on the Spanish main, form the subject of a romantic chapter of British history, extending from the year 1586, to the end of the civil wars in France. We cannot even with summary rapidity enumerate the several incidents of these wars, still less enter upon the detail of the various occasions and motives, commercial, religious, political, or merely adventurous, which, through the period here mentioned, led to the numerous public as well as private armaments under Howard, Leicester, Norris, and Essex; and employed the skill, adventure, and valour of such men as Raleigh, Frobisher, and Drake, in attacks upon the towns and harbours of the enemy, or in dangerous attempts to intercept her Indian fleets; nor can we afford further digression for the wars against the League, which also gave a stage for the employment of British valour and French diplomacy. Yet it is fit to apprise the reader, that these military affairs are so far important to our present pages, as they in some degree offer a link in the history of nearly all the distinguished soldiers who commence the period upon which we are now entered. They also cast some light on the superior ability, vigour, and discipline manifested in the Irish wars during the reign of Elizabeth: these continental wars had been a school for the military talents of a generation that fought upon the fields of Ulster—the warriors who overthrew the Spanish forces before Kinsale, had learned to fight before the walls of Cadiz.

Sir Richard Wingfield, having commenced his course by serving in Ireland, while yet a very young man, next accompanied his regiment to Flanders, where he obtained his company, by distinguished bravery and steadiness in the field. His succeeding service was in France, where he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-colonel of Sir John Norris's regiment. In the expedition against Cadiz, he acquired high honour in his command, and obtained the rank of colonel. He was sent with Sir John Norris into Ireland, and maintained his reputation by distinguished service, so that his merits becoming known to the queen, he was raised to the high and responsible office of marshal of the camp. In this post he has already been presented to the reader's notice in our account of the battle of Kinsale, which was fought in 1601.*

In consideration of his general services, but still more especially of his conduct upon that memorable day, king James conferred upon him the title of viscount Powerscourt. It is in the preamble of his patent that it is enumerated among his other exploits that he slew Sir Cahir

O'Doherty "in aperto prelio." We have already quoted the patent, we here extract from Lodge:—"In 1608, Sir Cahir O'Dohertie, raising new commotions in Ulster, and among other outrages, burning the new city of Londonderry, Sir Richard Wingfield and Sir Oliver Lambert were sent from Dublin, (1st May) with a small body of men to suppress him; and no sooner did they enter the territory of Tyreconnel, than the traitors withdrew into their fastnesses, whom they diligently pursued and harassed; and 14th June, taking Sir Neile O'Donell prisoner in the camp of Raphoe, conveyed him on board a king's ship lying in the harbour; and coming to a battle, Sir Richard slew O'Doherty, took Castledoe, and dispersed his rebellious followers.

For this exploit, in 1609, Sir Richard received a grant of the lands of Powerscourt, now so well known to the Irish public, for the magnificence of the demesne and the extensive and picturesque variety of the surrounding scenery.

Having, as already mentioned, been created viscount Powerscourt in 1618, he was in 1624 appointed upon the commission for keeping the peace in Leinster and Ulster, while the lord-deputy Falkland should be engaged in superintending the new plantations and visiting several districts.

In 1634 he died without issue male, and his title, according to its limitations, became extinct: his estates devolved by inheritance to Sir Edward Wingfield, his next male heir.

The title of Powerscourt was revived in the next generation in Folliott Wingfield, grandson to Sir Edward; he also died without issue, and the title was again extinguished, but was again renewed in Richard, son of Edward Wingfield, a barrister, who was cousin and heir to Folliott the last previous lord.

PHELM MACHUGH O'BYRNE.

DIED A. D. 1630.

THE beginning of the seventeenth century was a period when the moral character of society had sunk to its lowest condition in the nations of Europe. Political corruption had attained a base level, which filled every public office with falsehood, venality, and unfathomable perfidy: and produced effects both on the public mind and on the constitutional functions of the state, which had no slight efficacy in bringing about the civil wars both in England and Ireland. The rage for adventure and its congenial attendant and stimulant, the thirst for gain, were the predominating spirits of the hour; that they were perhaps the impulses required by the revolutions of that age, may be granted when we take no more remote and general view of the history of human changes. But it is the tendency of these dispositions to lower the nobler principles of our nature; and when little counteracted by the moral or intellectual discipline of that rude age, they played rude havoc with the virtue of the more ardent and fiery minds, which were impelled by the wave of impulse. Men who were exalted by their superior wisdom, and who had conceived large projects for the good

of their generation, were not above acts which now would be regarded as degrading and mean by all who claim the ordinary rank of the educated middle classes in England, or of the very peasantry in Scotland. The judges on the bench were insensible to the sacred purity of their office. The heroes, and philosophers, and statesmen, stooped to accept of bribes for the prostitution of their influence or official powers: Raleigh, Bacon, Sully, names of the first water, are signal examples. That fraud, persecution, and every other foul malversation, should be found to overflowing in the obscure crowd, whose virtues and deeds could entitle them to no record, and whose names are only recorded by reason of the enormity of offences which required no talent to commit, is surely a simple deduction from the laws of man's nature. Such is the rational principle according to which we must view the grievous cases of persecution and plunder, of which we are pledged to offer an example. Writers who have endeavoured to reduce all the incidents of our history to the food which party prejudice desires, have loved to celebrate such instances as we shall here relate in detail. But performing this task, it is our duty to repel the misconstruction which has confounded private and merely personal vices with any distinguishing tendency of a party. Party has enough to answer for—instances more than enough of the crimes and mischiefs it has generated can be raked together from the annals of every great revolution. The common feelings and avowed principles of every political party, are, it is true, generally established on high grounds of principle: the Romanist and the protestant severally stand upon certain opinions of truth and right; and each can justify the main courses of their respective policies by arguments, which at the lowest, are high-sounding and specious: either side can be shown to have committed errors, and history is not without awful examples of those enormities which must ever be feared when grievances are to be redressed or justice to be maintained by the inflamed fanaticism of the multitude. But the malversation of individuals for their own private and selfish ends, can only be imputed to a party by the inconsiderate bolt of a rhetorician or the malignant ignorance of a journalist of the lowest class, who only desires to do mischief according to the precept of the ancient usurer, *rem quocunque modo*. In a word, if the reality of history be considered, and the actions of scoundrels on either side be justly weighed, they may be fairly thrown into opposite scales, and there can be no decided preponderance on the score of moral guilt. If omitting the numerical count of the offenders, the assassin and the plunderer be thus compared with the oppressor and the usurper, the difference will consist in the weapons they used: had they changed places, the likelihood is, that the little scoundrel would have turned out a great scoundrel, and *vice versa*.

During the reign of king James, the activity and ingenuity of fraud were strongly excited by the wide and favourable field for their exercise, which was offered by the extensive claims of the crown to large tracts of Irish land, and the numerous irregular methods which were set on foot for the purpose of ascertaining those rights. The facility of gain by unjust persecution thus presented to covetous and unscrupulous agents, was enough to hatch a numerous swarm of these foul rep-

tiles into life. The base appetite of plunder was not altogether confined to any rank. The temptation was great, and the vigilance of government was not always equally alert. The communications were imperfect; and too much depended on the vigilance and firmness of the Irish governor.

We have already noticed the class of grievous abuses, of which we are now to offer a flagrant case; but we may extract the general statement with which it is prefaced by Carte.*

"It was an age of adventurers and projectors; the general taste of the world ran in favour of new discoveries and plantings of countries; and such as were not hardy enough to venture into the remote parts of the earth, fancied they might make a fortune nearer home, by settling and planting in Ireland. The improvement of the king's revenue in a country, where it was far less than the charge of the government, was the colour made use of by such projectors, to obtain commissions of inquiry into defective titles, and grants of concealed lands and rents belonging to the crown, the great benefit of which was generally to accrue to the projector or discoverer, whilst the king was contented with an inconsiderable proportion of the concealment, or a small advance of the reserved rent. Every body was at work in finding out flaws in people's titles to their estates; the old *Pipe* rolls were searched to find out the old rents reserved and charged upon them; the patent rolls in the Tower of London, (where they are preserved in much greater numbers than in Ireland) were looked over for the ancient grants, and no means left untried to force gentlemen to a new composition, or to the accepting of new grants at a higher rent than before, in which indeed it generally ended—most persons either conscious of the deficiency of their title, or dreading the trouble, expense, and issue of a dispute with the crown, at a time and in a country where the prerogative ran very high, and that the judges universally declared their opinions in favour of it, choosing rather to make up the affair than stand a dispute, and so making a composition at as cheap a rate, and as easy an advanced rent as they could."

We have already related the history of Pheagh Machugh O'Byrne. When he was killed in battle, queen Elizabeth, by letters patent, granted his estates to his son Phelim. King James, shortly after succeeding, gave orders for the confirmation of this grant. An officer of the army in Ireland, who had been led to anticipate the forfeiture of these possessions on the rebel's death which unquestionably justified such an expectation, and had probably set his heart upon obtaining them for himself, was naturally disappointed at a disposition, which he perhaps may also have regarded as both impolitic and unjust. It is still more probable, that without troubling his head about either policy or justice, Graham resolved to make a strenuous effort to obtain the lands of the Byrnes. The first attempt thus made, was by issuing out a commission to inquire into the said lands. This commission was directed to certain official agents, closely connected with the applicant, and therefore the more easily accessible to his own wishes and representations. The case was, however, too clear to be thus disposed of—

* Vol. I. p. 27.

the inquisition only strengthened the right of Byrne, by the affirmation of the true facts of the case. The king, on this, again issued his letters patent directing the confirmation of Byrne's possession. These proceedings were frustrated by the perseverance of the adverse party. Graham possessed considerable interest and manœuvred with remorseless dexterity to spin out the time and create delay. He set up claims and offered objections; and, being backed by influence and authority, and by a warrant from the lord-deputy, he obtained possession of part of the lands. Sir James Piers Fitz-Gerald, an accomplice in this nefarious proceeding, made a bold attempt upon another part which was in possession of Bryan, a son of Phelim.

Bryan remonstrated, and as he was actually in possession, Fitz-Gerald's patent was stayed: at the same time an application was made to the king, for justice against the other intruder, Graham, and the case was ordered to be heard before the Irish council. Sir Richard alleged, that the lands were not the property of the Byrnes, but of certain freeholders, and a commission was ordered to examine witnesses on the fact. The parties were summoned to London. Sir Richard obtained the influence of the duke of Buckingham, who must have felt a strong sympathy with his unprincipled and reckless dishonesty. This duke seconded his representations, but the presence of the duke of Richmond, who knew all the truth, defeated their attempts to impose upon the royal ear, by a plain exposure of the real facts of the case.

This melancholy tragedy was thus prolonged. It seems wonderful now, looking back from a different point of human advance, that those powers which could so easily set aside the law for the ends of oppression, were so inefficient when it was intended to arrest oppression and injustice. But when it became simply the case between two individuals of inferior rank and influence, there was no disposition to interrupt the machinery of the law, or the common forms of justice, by any interference of the crown or council; and thus was left open, a wide source of abuse, for the administration of the law was at that period subject to every corrupt influence of authority or fear. According to the policy of the period, we have little doubt in saying, that so clear a case should have been settled by a patent which should set aside every evasive plea. The commissions now appointed for the rehearing of a case, upon the merits of which no one living entertained the slightest doubt, were of course compelled to affirm the decision of every former commission. On this they had no choice; but they must have known, that the object of the claimant was to protract the decision by evasions, and pretences, for the mere purpose of gaining time, of which he knew well how to avail himself. He knew, and every one who gave a thought to the matter understood, the effect of delay: the changes of influence in the court, the consequences of impatience and irritation on the Irish character, the facility of implicating his opponents in some indiscretion, or should this fail, of involving them in suspicion. Sir Richard stayed the proceedings by a new plea; he had won over one of the Byrnes, and it was now proposed to show that the king had a title to the lands. On such a question, the commission had no powers to decide.

A new commission was appointed: their finding was still according

to the true facts of the case, so far as to make the villany of the whole proceeding apparent; for, as their object was manifestly to favour Sir Richard's design, they directly negatived the allegations upon which he rested his cause in the previous commission. They found that the lands in question, were *truly the inheritance* of Pheagh MacHugh, *who died in rebellion*. Proceeding no farther than this stage of the case, with wilful perversion they evaded the fact that the lands had been restored to the son by queen Elizabeth: and what shows additionally the flagitious spirit in which this commission proceeded, is the fact, that they pursued the inquiry, in direct opposition to the king and council, who wrote over to forbid these vexatious and superfluous proceedings. The next step on such a decision, would be to seize and dispose of the lands, as crown property in Ireland, was then disposed of. Here too the king interposed, and directed that no step of this nature should be taken, until the question should be decided by himself in council; but Byrne's friend, the duke of Richmond, had gone abroad to Spain, and the affair was not of sufficient magnitude to occupy the attention of the cabinet, without the aid of some person of weight. The duke died in the interim, and it was soon felt by their enemies, that the Byrnes had no friend in court. The commission acted in direct opposition to the injunctions of the court, and knew that they were quite safe in doing so: in the press of public affairs, it was easy then to pursue a point *sub silentio*. The mechanism of legal proceedings was loose in its operations—the morality of public men was, as we have observed, lax—there was no vigilant press to detect and expose. The commission knew that the victim of spoliation loses his authority and weight with his property, and that at a certain point of ruin, the voice of complaint can be stifled. On this principle of tyranny, they now proceeded more boldly and steadily to work.

The lord-deputy, upon the decision of the late commission, issued his warrant to the sheriff of Wicklow, and Sir William Parsons was put into possession of a large portion of the inheritance, while one of Byrne's sons (Bryan) who held another part, was exhorted to submit his claim to the decision of the lord-deputy. Bryan understood the purpose of this counsel too well, and held his own. Sir W. Parsons attempted to obtain a judgment in the exchequer; but the cause was dismissed with the reprobation it deserved.

A more effective course of proceedings was next adopted—the case was too outrageously unfair for law; or for even the formal justice of a packed commission of inquiry. On 13th March, 1625, the Byrnes were apprehended and committed to close confinement. It was easy to get up false information. Four witnesses, all persons under accusations themselves, were found to come forward with accusations against Brian and Tirlogh, the sons of Phelim O'Byrne. Of these informers, one was instigated by revenge, and another by terror and suffering. Tirlogh Duff Kavenagh, had been apprehended upon a warrant issued by Phelim, who was a magistrate, and was happy to revenge himself and to escape sentence by the accusation. The story of Archer is more revolting. He was an Englishman; they stripped him naked, and placed him sitting upon a heated gridiron, then scorched

him with gunpowder on the tenderest parts of his body, and finally flogged him, until he was compelled to make the desired accusation. The other two were Kavenaghs; they were afterwards hanged at Kilkenny, and died confessing the falsehood of their accusations. On this information the two Byrnes were tried; but the bills were thrown out by two grand juries. This proceeding gave a little more notoriety to the affair, than the prosecutors could have wished, but they had weighty influence, and a case to state. They represented the grand juries as contumacious, and had them fined in the Star Chamber, a court less scrupulous than a grand jury.

Such a proceeding, nevertheless, had necessarily the effect of retarding the progress of the persecutors. The affair became sufficiently notorious to demand caution. They were under the necessity of discharging the Byrnes, whom a jury had acquitted. This they did with a reluctance, which is exposed by the delays they made. Tirlogh Byrne was after five months' imprisonment enlarged on bail, to appear on ten days' warning; but Bryan, who was the possessor of the coveted lands, was detained four months more, until a petition to the council was referred to lord Aungier, and the chief justice, who enlarged him on Christmas eve, under his recognisance to appear in court the first day of the following term. He appeared, and as no case was made, he was again dismissed under the same obligation to appear on ten days' notice. But that was insufficient for the disappointed eagerness of the staunch bloodhounds at his back—

————— *ea turba cupidine prædæ*
Per rupes, scopulosque, adituque, carentia saxa,
Qua via difficilis, quaque est via nulla, feruntur.

The tantalized cupidity of Parsons, Esmonde, and their associates became inflamed by the ardour of this fiend-like chase, and gradually lost sight of the last restraints of humanity. They would not acquiesce even in the formal mockeries of justice, and the hapless Byrnes were again seized and placed under irons in the castle. They feared the effect which might be produced by the appearance of Bryan Byrne before king Charles. The decisions of the privy council of England were, it is true, just, and its sagacity not to be deceived by the flimsy statements of the Irish informers; but they had hitherto lost their weight in crossing the channel: the official authorities to which they were directed were parties in the cause, and the king's letters were mere waste paper. It was, however, evident, that the appearance of the Byrnes would necessarily put a new and dangerous face upon the whole affair: they were too well fortified in their facts, and the proofs would thus come before the king.

Under these circumstances, it was thought expedient to set a fresh prosecution on foot: the victims were for the moment secure: the gaols were raked for informers: and felons were respited from the gallows and set on to prove a case of treason. So vile were the witnesses that they could not be trusted in a court of justice: their depositions in writing were brought down into the King's Bench. The chief justice expressed his doubt that the jury would receive such evidence. But this was a slight obstacle, a sheriff and a jury was got up for the occasion. Of these, some were bribed by promises of a share in the

plunder—some were dependants of the prosecutors—all were selected for some gross disqualification. With a compliant judge, felon witnesses, and a packed jury, the result was according to the desire of the vile suborners who conducted this devilish farce, and a bill was found against the prisoners. So far this atrocious plot succeeded. The shock was sufficient to kill the unfortunate lady who saw her husband and children thus laid open to the base pursuers of their land and life. The trial was, however, still before them; and as the witnesses hitherto used, were not such as to be presented in an open court, the parties concerned exerted themselves in the county of Wicklow. Graham and Belling, happening to be provosts-marshal, used their official powers and swept together a vast rabble of witnesses, whom they compelled by the ordinary means of bribery, threats, and torture, to serve their purpose. With these, however, little was to be done when confronted with the fair examination of the court—some retracted—some equivocated; and the case made out was insufficient. Several of the witnesses were soon after hanged, and declared aloud on the gallows that they were executed because they could not by their evidence convict the Byrnes.

The matter had been prolonged too far, and made too notorious for the accusers. Successful in evading the notice of the English court, they had forced their base proceedings upon the attention of the Irish public. The friends and neighbours of the Byrnes became fully cognizant of the state of facts, and joined in an application to the court of England. A commission was sent over to investigate the affair. This commission was fortunately directed to the primate, the archbishop of Dublin, the chancellor, the chief justice, and Sir Arthur Savage, who sat in November, 1628, when after a full examination into the charges, they fully acquitted the Byrnes and restored them to liberty.

The better part of their estate however was gone, while the persecutions had been directed against their life. Their lands were shuffled, by patents easily obtained by the heedlessness of official inspection, and by the power of the parties concerned, into the hands of their enemies.

Carte, who is our authority for the facts of this tale of terror, observes upon it—"This affair made a great noise all over the kingdom, and furnished occasion for some articles in the graces furnished about this time. And though there appears no other instance of the like treatment—though compositions for defective titles were generally made on easy terms, and the hardships suffered were confined to a few particular persons—yet the apprehension of them was more general, and the terror thereof extended to all."

Richard, Fourth Earl of Clanricarde.

DIED A. D. 1635.

It will not be here necessary for us to detail the history of a family which has already given so many illustrious names to Irish history. Nor will the design of this work admit of our travelling back into the historical events which we have already detailed in the previous period:

we must therefore be content to sum briefly the chief incidents of his life. He first entitled himself to the notice of government by conduct which indicates his loyalty and good sense. His father having declared himself for the earl of Tyrone, he repaired at once to England,* by which he not only constrained his father's conduct, but extricated himself from the suspicions which it would otherwise be hard to escape, without taking some course at variance with his duty to his father. In 1599, he was appointed governor of Connaught. But the most distinguishing incident of his career is to be found in the history of the battle of Kinsale, fought in 1601, between the English under lord Mountjoy, and the confederate forces of O'Neil and O'Donell.† In our account of this battle we have already had to mention that he conducted himself with extraordinary valour, and by achievements of personal prowess, earned the distinction of being knighted upon the field of battle. In this battle he is said to have slain twenty of the enemy, and to have had numerous remarkable escapes, "his garments being often pierced with shot and other weapons."

In consequence of this, and other services in the same war, king James appointed him governor of Connaught, keeper of his house at Athlone, and one of the privy council. The consummation of this memoir could offer nothing more than successive appointments, now of no historical importance or personal interest. We shall endeavour to state them, in the fewest words:—In 1602, his legitimacy was impeached by his brother, who had been his enemy from an early age. A commission was appointed at his own desire, and this disagreeable question set at rest. In 1615, he refused the presidency of Munster, on the excuse of a long illness, and the king, from a consideration of his valuable services in that province, and unwilling to leave him under the command of any provincial governor, appointed him to the command of the county and city of Galway. Here his own estates chiefly lay, and the appointment was equally adapted to his interest and ease.

In 1624 he was advanced to the English peerage, under the title of baron Somerhill, and viscount Tunbridge; and in a few years after, Charles I. conferred the title of baron of Imany, viscount Galway, and earl of St Albans. He took his place by proxy in the English house of lords, in 1635, but died the same year. Lodge, from whose peerage we have collected these particulars, quotes the following extract from Strafford's letters:—"This last packet advertised the death of the earl of St Albans, and that it is reported that my hard usage broke his heart; God and your majesty know my innocency; they might as well have imputed to me for a crime his being threescore and ten years old; but these calumnies must not stay me humbly to offer to your majesty's wisdom this fit opportunity, that as that cantoned government of Galway began, so it may end in his lordship's person."

This nobleman was married to the daughter and heir of Sir Francis Walsingham, secretary of state to queen Elizabeth: she was the widow of Sir Philip Sidney, and again of the unfortunate earl of Essex; by her third husband, the earl of Clanricarde, she had one son, Ulick de Burgh,

* Moryson.

† Ibid.

the next earl, whose actions and public character will also claim a place among our illustrious men.

Richard Boyle, Earl of Cork.

BORN A. D. 1566—DIED A. D. 1643.

AMONG the many illustrious persons, who by their valour or prudence laid the foundations of the most noble families of this country, none can be named more deserving of the record of history, than the first earl of Cork. By his prudence and well directed sagacity, he showed the first example of that method of improvement which was afterwards carried into more extended operation in the plantation of Ulster. Nor is posterity less indebted to his name, for the many illustrious warriors, statesmen, and philosophers, whose names are among the noblest ornaments of their generation.

The family of Boyle is of ancient and almost immemorial antiquity. Budgel, who has written their history, mentions that the ancestor from whom they are descended, was "Sir Philip Boyle, a knight of Arragon, who signalized himself at a tournament," in England, in the reign of Henry VI. But the heralds trace the family in the county of Hereford, so far back as Henry III., and as they confirm their deductions by the full details of personal history, we think it fair to acquiesce in their account.

In the reign of Henry VI., Ludovic Boyle, of Bidney, in Herefordshire, left two sons, John and Roger. The second of these left four sons, of whom one, Michael, was afterwards bishop of Waterford, and another, Roger, was father to the illustrious person whose life we are here to relate. In the discharge of this task, our labour is lightened by the existence of a memoir of himself, which the earl has left. This document has, of course, found a place in every notice of the Boyle family; but we do not for this reason think it can properly be omitted. It follows at full length :—"My father, Mr Roger Boyle, was born in Herefordshire; my mother Joan Naylor, daughter of Robert Naylor, of Canterbury, in the county of Kent, Esq., was born there, 15th of October, 1529; and my father and mother were married in Canterbury, 16th of October, 1564; my father died at Preston, near Feversham in Kent, 24th March, 1576; my mother never married again, but lived ten years a widow, and then departed this life at Feversham, aforesaid 20th March, 1586; and they are both buried in one grave, in the upper end of the chancel of the parish church of Preston. In memory of which, my deceased and worthy parents, I their second son, have, in anno 1629, erected a fair alabaster tomb over the place where they were buried, with an iron grate before it, for the better preservation thereof.

"I was born in the city of Canterbury, (as I find it written by my father's own hand) 3d October, 1566. After the decease of my father and mother, I being the second son of a younger brother, having been a scholar in Bennet's College, Cambridge, and a student in the Middle Temple; finding my means unable to support me to study the

laws in the Inns of Court, put myself into the service of Sir Richard Manwood, knight, lord chief baron of her majesty's court of exchequer, where I served as one of his clerks; and perceiving that my employment would not raise a fortune, I resolved to travel into foreign kingdoms, and to gain learning, knowledge, and experience, abroad in the world. And it pleased the Almighty, by his Divine Providence to take me I may say, just as it were by the hand, and lead me into Ireland, where I happily arrived at Dublin on Midsummer eve, the 23d of June, 1588.

"I was married at Limerick to Mrs Joan Apsley, one of the two daughters, and co-heirs of William Apsley of Limerick, Esq., (one of the council to the first president of the province of Munster,) 6th Nov., 1595, who brought me £500 lands the year, which I still enjoy, it being the beginning and foundation of my fortune; and she died at Moyallow, 14th Dec., 1599, in travail of her first child, which was born a dead son, and both of them were buried in Buttevant church.

"When I arrived at Dublin, all my wealth was then £27 3s. in money and two tokens, which my mother had formerly given me, viz. a diamond ring, which I have ever since, and still do wear; and a bracelet of gold, worth about £10; a taffety doublet, cut with and upon taffety; a pair of black velvet breeches, laced; a new MILAN fustian suit laced and cut upon taffety; two cloaks; competent linen and necessaries; with my rapier and dagger. And 23d of June, 1632, I have served my God, queen Elizabeth, king James, and king Charles, full forty-four years in Ireland, and so long after as it shall please God to enable me.

"When God had blessed me with a reasonable fortune and estate, Sir Henry Wallop, treasurer at war; Sir Robert Gardiner, chief justice of the king's bench; Sir Robert Dillon, chief justice of the common pleas; Sir Richard Bingham, chief commissioner of Connaught; being displeased for some purchases which I had made in the province, they all joined together, and by their letters complained against me to queen Elizabeth, expressing, 'That I came over a young man, without any estate or fortune; and that I had made so many purchases, as it was not possible to do it without some foreign prince's purse to supply me with money; that I had acquired divers castles and abbies on the sea side, fit to receive and entertain Spaniards; that I kept in my abbies fraternities, and convents of friars in their habits, who said mass continually; and that I was suspected in my religion, with divers other malicious suggestions.' Whereof having some secret notice, I resolved to go into Munster, and so into England to justify myself; but before I could take shipping, the general rebellion in Munster broke forth. All my lands were wasted, as I could not say that I had one penny of certain revenue left me to the unspeakable danger and hazard of my life; yet God so preserved me, as I recovered Dingle, and got shipping there, which transported me to Bristol, from whence I travelled to London, and betook myself to my former chamber in the middle temple, intending to renew my studies in the laws till the rebellion was passed over.

"Then Robert, earl of Essex, was designed for the government of this kingdom, unto whose service I was recommended by Mr Anthony

Bacon; whereupon his lordship very nobly received me, and used me with favour and grace, in employing me in suing out his patent and commission for the government of Ireland; whereof Sir Henry Wallop having notice utterly to suppress me, renewed his former complaint to the queen's majesty against me; whereupon by her majesty's special directions, I was suddenly attacked and conveyed close prisoner to the gate-house; all my papers seized and searched; and, although nothing could appear to my prejudice, yet my close constraint was continued till the earl of Essex was gone to Ireland, and two months afterwards; at which time, with much suit, I obtained of her sacred majesty the favour to be present at my answers; where I so fully answered, and cleared all their objections, and delivered such full and evident justifications of my own acquittal, as it pleased the queen to use these words: 'By God's death, all these are but inventions against this young man, and all his sufferings are for being able to do us service, and these complaints urged to forestall him therein: but we find him a man fit to be employed by ourselves, and we will employ him in our service; and Wallop and his adherents shall know that it shall not be in the power of any of them to wrong him, neither shall Wallop be our treasurer any longer.' And, arising from council, gave order not only for my present enlargement, but also discharging all my charges and fees during my restraint, gave me her royal hand to kiss, which I did heartily; humbly thanking God for that great deliverance.

"Being commanded by her majesty to attend at court, it was not many days before her highness was pleased to bestow upon me the office of clerk of the council of Munster,* and to commend me over to Sir George Carew (after earl of Totness), and then lord-president of Munster; whereupon I bought of Sir Walter Raleigh his ship, called 'the Pilgrim,' into which I took a freight of ammunition and victuals, and came in her myself by long sea, and arrived at Carrigfoile in Kerry, where the lord-president and the army were then at the siege of that castle; which, when we had taken, I was there sworn clerk of the council of Munster; and presently after made a justice of peace and quorum throughout all that province. And this was the second rise that God gave to my fortunes.

"Then as clerk of the council, I attended the lord-president in all his employments; waited on him (who assisted lord-deputy Mountjoy) at the whole siege of Kingsale, and was employed by his lordship to her majesty with the news of the happy victory (obtained over the Irish under the earl of Tyrone and the Spaniards, 24th of December, 1601); in which employment I made a speedy expedition to the court; for I left my lord-president at Shandon castle, near Cork, on Monday morning about two of the clock, and the next day delivered my packet, and supped with Sir Robert Cecil, being then principal secretary, at his house in the Strand; who, after supper, held me in discourse till two of the clock in the morning; and by seven that morning called upon me to attend him to the court, where he presented me to her majesty

* Lodovic Briskett surrendered that office 31st March, 1600, to the intent the queen might give it to Mr Boyle, together with the custody of the signet for the province whereof he had a grant by patent, dated 8th of May following.

in her bedchamber; who remembered me, calling me by my name, and giving me her hand to kiss, telling me, that *she was glad that I was the happy man to bring the first news of the glorious victory.* And after her majesty had interrogated with me upon sundry questions very punctually, and that therein I had given her full satisfaction in every particular, she gave me again her hand to kiss, and commanded my dispatch for Ireland, and so dismissed me with grace and favour.

"At my return into Ireland, I found my lord-president ready to march to the siege of Beerhaven castle, then fortified and possessed by the Spaniards and some Irish rebels, which after battering we had made assaultable, entered, and put all to the sword. His lordship then fell to reducing these western parts of the province to subjection and obedience to her majesty's laws; and, having placed garrisons and wards in all places of importance, made his return to Cork; and in the way homewards acquainted me with his resolution to employ me presently into England, to obtain license from her majesty for his repair to her royal presence; at which time he propounded unto me the purchase of all Sir Walter Raleigh's lands in Munster, which, by his assistance, and the mediation of Sir Robert Cecil, was perfected, and this was a third addition and rise to my estate.

"Then I returned into Ireland with my lord-president's licence to repair to court; and by his recommendation was married, 25th July, 1603, to my second wife, Miss Catherine Fenton, the only daughter of Sir Jeffray Fenton, principal secretary of state, and privy counsellor, in Ireland, on which day I was knighted by Sir George Carew, lord-deputy of Ireland, at St Mary's abbey, near Dublin."

This memoir is said to have been written in the year 1632, when the noble writer had reached his 67th year; he was at the time lord Boyle, baron Youghall, viscount Dungarvon, earl of Cork, and lord high treasurer of Ireland.

In 1603 he was, as this memoir states, married to his second wife, Miss Catherine Fenton. Of this marriage the following curious origin is mentioned by some writers, on the authority of the countess of Warwick, in whose life it has been inserted. While yet a widower, Sir Richard Boyle, had, according to this story, occasion to pay a visit of business to Sir Geoffrey Fenton, master of the rolls. Sir Geoffrey was engaged, and Boyle was detained for a long time; during which he amused himself by playing with Sir Geoffrey's little daughter, then about two years old. When Sir Geoffrey came, he apologized for having detained Mr Boyle so long; but was answered by Mr Boyle, that he had been courting his little daughter, with the design to make her his wife. Fenton took up the jest, and the conversation ended in a serious engagement, that the match should be concluded when the young lady should attain a marriageable age.* And, as the tale runs, they both fulfilled their promises. Of this account, there is no reason to reject so much as merely involves a common play of speech; the rest is not admitted as correct by Lodge; nor is it reconcileable with the dates

* Postscript appended to Budgel's Memoir. The assertion of the countess of Warwick goes farther still, "that he was a widower when his lady, by whom he had a numerous issue, was in her nurse's arms."

given by the earl himself, in the narrative already cited; as his first wife's death occurred in 1599, and his second marriage in 1603.

In March 12, 1606, he was sworn privy counsellor for the province of Munster; and on 15th February following, for all Ireland. After several other lesser advancements and changes, he was, on 6th September, 1616, created lord Boyle, baron of Youghall. Of this promotion, the reasons assigned are not merely those military services enumerated in most of the patents we have hitherto had occasion to notice. Boyle is commended for the judicious erection of forts and castles, and the establishment of colonies at his own cost, and it may be added, for his own great advantage, without questioning the further asseverations of the record, which proceeds to say, that all those districts surrounding his properties were, by his prudence and industry, become more civilized, wealthy, and obedient to the law.

In 1620, lord Boyle was advanced to the dignities of viscount Dungarvon, and earl of Cork.

In 1629, his lordship and lord chancellor Loftus were sworn lords-justices. In 1631, he was appointed lord-treasurer, and continued in the government till the arrival of lord Strafford.

Of lord Strafford we have already expressed our opinions; the principle of his general policy was just and comprehensive: but it must be allowed to have been harsh, unbending, and often unjust to individuals. If in the prosecution of his public aims, he was incorrupt and no respecter of persons; he was arrogant, domineering, and heedless of every consideration, by which more scrupulous minds are controlled. Such a disposition was, as we have endeavoured to show, not unsuited to the actual condition of the country, at the time; and had the irrespective principle of his policy been thoroughly maintained, there would have been less reason to complain. But this he found impracticable; and in yielding to influences and to circumstances which he could not control, his stern and overbearing temper became tyrannical to a party, and oppressive to individuals. In abandoning a portion of his extreme and rigorous course, he gave a triumph to the popular party, and diffused terror among its opponents. To the leaders of the protestant party, such a line of conduct could not fail to be offensive, as it was alarming: to these his hostility was early shown by the arrogance of his deportment to many of the most influential and distinguished of the Irish aristocracy. To the earl of Cork, his conduct was insolent, oppressive, and illegal. This earl had commenced a suit at law, to which Strafford thought fit to interpose his authority, and commanded that the earl of Cork should call in his writs, "or if you will not, I will clap you in the castle; for I tell you, I will not have my orders disputed by law nor lawyers," such was the intolerable mandate of this despotic minister. This incident derives some added importance from the fact, that not long after, when Strafford was tried for his life before the lords, it was brought forward against him; and the earl of Cork summoned over to England to give his testimony. The earl was a man unquestionably of a noble and manly nature; but generosity was not among the virtues of that day of rapine, intrigue, and political baseness; and it will perhaps be no wrong to him to say, that he must have felt, on that occasion, the triumph of his party, in

giving his testimony against the most formidable oppressor they had then had to encounter.

The rebellion broke out in 1641; and though long expected by every class, spread terror and dismay through the country; hatred, distrust, and terror, seized the public mind; havoc and desolation began their well-known progress, with far more than their wonted fury. But such had been the effect of the earl's care, skill, and liberality in the extensive plantations he had made, that the waves of popular frenzy were retarded in their approaches to the county of Cork. On this occasion he fortified his castle of Lismore, which he garrisoned with an hundred horse and an hundred foot, and placed under the charge of his son, lord Broghill. His son lord Kynalmeaky, he placed in the command of Bandon bridge, a town erected by himself, and of which the walling and fortifying cost him fourteen thousand pounds, where he maintained a hundred horse and four hundred foot. The earl himself, at the earnest entreaty of the lord-lieutenant, took upon him the defence of the important town of Youghall, which was the only retreat left for the protestants in that part of the kingdom. There the earl, with his son, lord Dungarvon, his troop of cavalry, and two hundred of his own tenants, took his dangerous position; which he thus describes in a letter to lord Goring, "encompassed with an innumerable company of enemies, and have neither men, money, or munition. We are now at the last gasp; and, therefore, if the state of England do not speedily supply us, we are all buried alive. The God of heaven guide the hearts of the house of parliament to send us speedy succours; for if they come not speedily they will come too late."* We here give another extract from the same letter, as it affords a very distinct view of the general alarm of that appalling time. "This came last night about midnight, from my son, Broghill, who hath the guard of my house at Lismore; whereby you will truly understand the great danger my son, house, and all that ever I had, in effect, is in; whom I beseech God to bless and defend; for the enemies are many, and he not above a hundred foot and threescore horse in my house to guard the same. All the English about us are fled, save such as have drawn themselves into castles, but are but few in effect, and they very fearful. All the natives that are papists, (the rest being few or none) are in open action and rebellion. Except the lord Barrimore, who behaves himself most loyally and valiantly. But alas! what is he with his forces amongst so many, when the whole kingdom is out."†

At this time Kilkenny had been taken without a blow by the rebel lord Mountgarret, and the countess of Ormonde made a prisoner in her husband's castle; Cashel and Ferrers had surrendered; the protestant inhabitants in all these towns were stripped and turned out naked by the captors, "in such a barbarous manner as is not to be believed."‡ Clonmel threw open her gates, "and let in the rebels to despoil the English," &c.

The earl soon made himself especially an object of attack by his vigilant and efficient activity and prudence. A letter, which he

* Letters of the Earl of Cork, among the State Letters of Roger Earl of Orrery.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

addressed to the speaker of the English house of commons, will not only give a just notion of the weakness of the enemy, but affords a strong confirmation of some remarks which we have already offered as to the cause. "Sir, I pray you give me leave to present unto yourself and that honourable house, that this great and general rebellion broke forth in October last, at the very instant I landed here out of England; and though it appeared first at Ulster, yet I (who am threescore and sixteen years of age, and have eaten the most part of my bread in Ireland, these four and fifty years) and by reason of my several employments and commands in the government of this province and kingdom, could not but apprehend that the infection and contagion was general and would by degrees quickly creep into this province as forthwith it did. And for that I found to my great grief, that by the courses the late earl of Strafford had taken, all, or the greatest part of the English and protestants in this province were deprived of their arms, and debarred from having any powder in their houses, and the king's magazines here being so weakly furnished, as in a manner they were empty; I without delay furnished all my castles in these two counties, with such ammunition as my poor armoury did afford, and sent £300 sterling into England to be bestowed on ammunition for myself and tenants," &c., &c.*

We shall here pass the further notices contained in this correspondence, of which we shall make further use hereafter. The earl lost his son, lord Kinalmeaky, in these wars; he was slain at the head of his troop in the battle of Liscarrol, in which three of his brothers were at the same time engaged, lord Dungarvon, and Broghill, and Francis Boyle.

In July, 1642, the earl was empowered and commissioned as *Custos Rotulorum* of the county of Cork, to hold quarter sessions for the trial of the rebels for high treason, at which eleven hundred were indicted.

The earl had, in the course of these two years, exhausted his means, and reduced himself to the lowest condition of distress, by his free and liberal contributions to the war. His estates were nevertheless the most thriving in the kingdom; his improvements were the most extensive, costly, and in their character the most well planned and public spirited; his churches, hospitals, schools, bridges, castles, and towns, would require pages to enumerate, so as to convey any adequate idea to the reader. Cromwell's remark is well known, and considering the speaker, conveys more than the most detailed enumeration. "That if there had been an earl of Cork in every province, it would have been impossible for the Irish to have raised a rebellion."† A remark elicited by his astonishment on seeing the prodigious improvements effected by the earl in the county of Cork.

The earl did not long survive these troubles, or live to see the end of this long and disastrous war; he attained the mature age of 77, but his period may perhaps have been abridged by the fatigues, anxieties, and afflictions attendant on the last two years previous to his death. This event occurred in 1643, in the month of September, at Youghall. He was interred in his chapel within the parish church.

* State Letters, &c.

† Cox.

By his second wife, the lady Catherine Fenton, who died 1629, and was buried in St Patrick's cathedral, in Dublin, he had issue seven sons and eight daughters. Of these some were high among the most illustrious persons of this period, and will hereafter claim our most elaborate efforts in their several departments. We shall here only enumerate them in their order of birth: Roger died at school; Richard, lord Dungarvon, succeeded his father; Jeffrey was drowned while a child; Lewis, viscount Kynalmeaky, rose high in military character, was killed in the battle of Liscarrol, September, 1642, by a shot in the head; Roger, created earl of Orrery; Francis, viscount Shannon, distinguished by the most signal bravery in the same battle, in which he brought off his brother's body and his troop at the great risk of his own life; Robert, the illustrious philosopher, whose character and discoveries have imparted more lustre to the name of Boyle, than the proudest title which the power of kings can confer.

Richard Nugent, Earl of Westmeath.

BORN A. D. 1583—DIED A. D. 1641.

SIR GILBERT DE NUGENT, with his brothers, and several of his kindred came to Ireland among the followers of Hugh de Lacie. And in recompense for his services obtained from that celebrated warrior, a grant of the barony of Delvin. Of which Sir Gilbert in turn made ample allotments to his brothers and others. From these contemporary stocks this family produced numerous branches. Sir Gilbert had two sons, who died without issue before their father. His barony was therefore left to his brother Richard, who left an only daughter. This lady married a gentleman of the name of Johns, in whose family the barony descended for some generations, but again returned to the family by the intermarriage of the heiress of John Fitz-Johns, lord of the barony, to Sir William Nugent of Balrath, the descendant of Sir Gilbert's third brother Christopher Nugent.

The subject of our history, Richard Nugent, was tenth baron in the lineal descent from Sir William. He was born in 1583. At the age of twenty he was knighted in Christ church with Rorey O'Donell, earl of Tyrconnel. The next occasion which presents his name to the historian, is one which we had to notice more than once. It was when an anonymous letter dropped in the council chamber, led to the arrest of several Irish chiefs and noblemen, of whom Nugent was one. This incident has already received as much of our attention as it demands.*

The reader will perhaps recollect, that in consequence of this letter, and of other previous incidents, which awakened the fears of government, the earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel, Maguire, O'Cahan, and most of the Ulster lords fell under suspicion of being engaged in an extensive conspiracy to seize on the castle, and effect a revolution in the country. Of these many fled beyond the sea, and others who stood their ground were arrested.

Nugent was imprisoned in the castle, but soon escaped. His servants, John Evans and Alexander Aylmer, found means to procure for him some cords, by the help of which he contrived to let himself down from the castle wall during the night. As soon as this fact was discovered in the castle, a proclamation was issued for his apprehension; and Sir Richard Wingfield was detached in pursuit with a party of cavalry. The baron, however, had too well availed himself of the night, and the pursuit was to no purpose. This escape was indeed fortunate, for it is hard to say what severities the first alarm might have drawn from the resentment or the private views of those at whose discretion he must have lain. His conduct was also prudent after the alarm had subsided; when the whole extent of the case which government could make was fully ascertained, and it appeared that the flight of the suspected earls was the chief presumption against them, the baron of Delvin came from concealment, and freely made his submission to king James. On which he received under the great seal a full pardon for life and property.

He assisted in the parliaments of 1613, and 1615. And 1621 was created by patent, earl of Westmeath. In 1628—1633, he was engaged by his countrymen to press their suit with king Charles for the redress of grievances, and was successful in obtaining their wishes.

In 1634 he sat in the parliament, called by the earl of Strafford, and was looked upon as one of the most influential of the peers.

In 1641, he refused to join in rebellion, and his life was menaced by the rebels. He was in his 58th year, and much broken by disease, fatigue, and probably by the failure of a constitution not originally strong. The threats which reached his ear alarmed him for his personal safety, and he feared to remain at his country place of Clonin, near Castletown Delvin. Obtaining a guard of forty horse, detached for the protection of his journey, at the order of lord Ormonde, he set out with his family, household furniture, and valuable property, on the way to Dublin. He had reached Athboy, when his further progress was arrested by a large party of rebels, to the number of one thousand—resistance was not attempted. The carriage of the earl and the train of luggage-carts by which it was accompanied were instantly surrounded by a furious armed rabble, eager for plunder, and without the control of discipline or civilization. The work of plunder was brief and complete; plate and money to the amount of one thousand pounds were seized; the countess and her attendants were stripped; the earl, blind and paralytic, was dragged from his carriage, and pulled along the road with a degree of violence which dislocated both his shoulders; a pistol was fired at him, and the bullet broke his thigh. His lordship could not have survived this cruel treatment more than a few hours; and his death followed in consequence.

David Barry, Earl of Barrymore.

BORN A. D. 1598—DIED A. D. 1642.

WE have already had occasion to notice this ancient family, of which the name is to be found in the roll of those brave knights who accompanied William I. into England.

David succeeded to the estates and honours of his family at the age of twelve. In the year 1626, he was raised by king Charles to the earldom of Barrymore, upon the general consideration of his promising character and high reputation; as also on account of the respectability of his family and the numerous eminent knights and scholars it had produced. We should not, however, have considered these general grounds as a sufficient reason for giving him a place among those which are selected here for virtues or vices, actions or adventures, which distinguished them from their generations.

But the rebellion of 1641, called forth the loyalty and heroism of a noble breast; and the end of his life, crowned with a well-won reputation, claims from us the memorial of a few words.

This rebellion had not proceeded far, before the rebels applied to this earl to take the command, and offered to make him their leader, with full authority. The earl replied, "I will first take an offer from my brother Dungarvon, to be hangman-general at Youghal." When this message reached the rebel camp, the rebels sent back word that they would pull down his castle of Castlelyons, to which he answered that he would defend it while one stone remained upon another, and desired to hear no more messages from them.

He garrisoned his castle of Shandon with one hundred men, and by his alertness, caution, and courage, kept open the passages between Youghal and Cork. On the 10th May, 1642, he joined his forces with those of lord Dungarvon, and took the castle of Ballymar Patrick, in which a large party of rebels had shut up one hundred women and children. Many of the rebels were slain in the attack, and sixty taken, of whom fifty-one were executed. After some other important successes, he distinguished himself in the battle of Lisearrol, in which he headed his own regiment. We are not informed that he suffered any severe hurt at this battle; yet it is very likely that he met with some injury either from fatigue, over excitement, or blows, for his death took place about three weeks after, 29th Sept., 1642.

He is mentioned by many good authorities as eminent for his piety and extensive benevolence. He had sermons twice a-day in his house, on every Sunday, Wednesday, and Friday. During the rebellion he was especially active in the relief and protection of the numerous persons whom the rebels had stripped and turned out of doors.

He was interred in the earl of Cork's family vaults at Youghal. He had married a daughter of the earl of Cork.

Sir William St Leger.

DIED A. D. 1642.

We have already mentioned the origin of the ancient family of St Leger,* in our notice of Sir Anthony, grandfather to the eminent soldier of whom we are now to give some account. We have also already noticed the death of his brave father, Warham St Leger, who fell in an encounter with the rebel leader, Macguire, whom he at the same time slew.

In consideration of the eminent services of these and other ancestors of this family, Sir Anthony was early considered entitled to the favours of the crown, and received large grants and privileges from James I. In April, 1627, he was appointed lord-president of Munster, with the command of the company which belonged to his predecessor in office, Sir Edward Villiers. He was at the same time made a member of the privy council. As president, his success, prudence, and strict integrity, as well as his disinterested conduct, gained so much approbation as to induce king Charles to bestow upon him the sum of £756.

In 1639, he was elected member of parliament for the county of Cork; and immediately after, was appointed sergeant-major general of the army, in which capacity he commanded the Irish troops levied to serve in Scotland in 1640.

When the rebellion broke out, his force was little adequate to the demand of the emergency, until he was strengthened by some regiments sent over to his aid by the parliament, and joined by other southern nobles with their companies. His deficiency of force was, however, from the outset compensated by superior prudence and decision. The rebellion, which had already spread its terrors over every other province of Ireland, at last found its way to Munster. The borders of the province began to suffer from parties of the Wexford rebels, who drove off the cattle of the English about Waterford. On receiving a report of these exploits, St Leger marched with two hundred horse to recover the spoil. The season was inclement—there had been a heavy fall of snow, followed by a sharp frost; and the difficulty necessarily to be encountered, in consequence of a state of weather particularly unfavourable to the march of cavalry, was aggravated by the nature of the country to be passed. The steep and craggy passes of the Waterford mountains offered impediments more formidable than the enemy; these were, nevertheless, happily overcome by the patience and resolution of St Leger and his little band of hardy veterans. At the base of the Commeragh mountains he overtook the first small division of these robbers, whose portion of the spoil he rescued, and took nineteen prisoners. The main body was, however, six miles further on,

* Vol. I. p. 475.

and having gained the Suir, were preparing to cross that river with their prey. Some had crossed, but a large party stood prepared to defend their booty on the bank. Their resistance was ineffectual, and served to cause an effusion of blood; of their number one hundred and forty were killed on the spot, a considerable number drowned in their attempt to escape across the water, and fifty prisoners were taken and conveyed into Waterford, where forty of them were executed. On the following day, while he was yet in Waterford, an account reached that city, that the archbishop of Cashel was plundered. On this he marched to Cashel, and recovered the cattle which had been driven away and lodged in the enclosure of a gentleman in the neighbourhood.

This was but the beginning of troubles in Munster: the tide of rebellion soon poured in and filled every district with its waters of confusion: Cashel, Clonmel, Dungarvon, and Fethard, were summoned by the rebels, and yielded without resistance. On hearing this, the president despatched orders to the lord Broghill, the earl of Barrymore, Sir Hardress Waller, Sir Edward Denny, Sir John Browne, Captain William Kingsmill, and serjeant-major Searle, and was joined by these leaders, with six hundred foot and three hundred horse. He had at the same time, been enabled to raise a regiment, with two troops of horse, together amounting to one hundred and twenty men: with these raw, and half-trained soldiers, it was resolved to make a stand. Notwithstanding the disadvantages under which he lay, and the strength of the enemy—which was at the lowest four to one compared with this combined force—the president, with his officers, took up a position at Redshard, a pass from the county of Limerick into the county of Cork, at the eastern extremity of the Ballehoura mountains. The rebel army soon appeared headed by the lord Muskerry. The president was engaged in preparations for an immediate attack, when a person of the name of Walsh, a lawyer, attended by a trumpet, came from Muskerry. Walsh desired to speak with the lord-president alone: the president and other gentlemen in the company recognised Walsh and expressed their wonder that a man of his reputation should have joined the rebels. Walsh, in reply, assured the lord-president that there was no rebellion, as he could satisfy him in private. The other lords objected to this private conference, and Walsh refused to deliver his errand. The difference was compromised: a strong party of soldiers was placed round the spot where the president gave audience to him. This being arranged, the president heard with surprise, that the lord Muskerry acted under a commission from the king, which Walsh offered to prove by producing the commission, if he might have a safe conduct to go and return for the purpose. The president agreed; and having communicated this to his officers, they all agreed that he should await the return of Walsh on the morrow. Lord Broghill alone expressed his opinion that the message must be “a cheat; and that the king would never grant out commissions to those, whom in his proclamations he had declared rebels.”

On the return of Walsh to his own party, lord Muskerry drew off his army, and there was a general stop to all military operations.

Next day Walsh returned, and on being admitted to a meeting with the lord-president St Leger, produced a large parchment with the broad seal affixed, containing a royal commission to lord Muskerry to raise 4000 men. On this the president returned to his officers, and informed them that lord Muskerry had really good warrant for what he did, and declared that he would dismiss his men. In this all concurred with the exception of lord Broghill, and accordingly withdrew to their houses.

The sense of having been the dupe of this unfortunate fraud, and the deepening of the troubles of the time, preyed so heavily on the spirits of St Leger, that he fell into a long and severe illness, which brought him to his grave, 2d July, 1642. He was twice married, and left four sons and one daughter.

Roger Moore.

DIED A. D. 1643.

ROGER MOORE, or O'MORE, was the representative of the ancient family of Leix, in the province of Leinster. The names of his ancestors have frequently occurred in those pages. A sept bordering upon the English pale, must have been exposed to the constant effects of those mutual aggressions, which slight occasions were ever sufficient to provoke from either side. And as the English power became ascendant before the secret of this ascendancy was fully comprehended by the Irish, the spirit of opposition continued until the retaliations of the government became more decisive and overwhelming. The native leaders, looking on their numbers, and on the experience of previous encounters, little calculated on the consequence of a more regulated and deliberate direction of the English force, and inadvertently pushed their aggressions to extremity. With a fallacious confidence in their own strength, and ignorance of the real resources of the government, they continued to present a front of resistance, till they drew upon themselves utter destruction.

In the reign of Mary, the O'Mores had been expelled from their possessions; and we must assent to the general sense of our authorities, that there was in this violent and extreme proceeding a very considerable mixture of injustice and deception. The result was a hereditary enmity to the English—a passion in its fullest violence inherited by Roger Moore.

Having passed some years of his youth in Spain, he was, while there, chiefly conversant with those Irish or their descendants who had taken refuge in that kingdom after the rebellion of the earl of Tyrone, and who naturally cherished the recollections of their ancestral honours, and of the wrongs which they attributed to the English; these sentiments were inflamed by the national enmity of Spain, which had for the course of the last generation burned against England with

a violence unabated by occasional intervals of alliance and peace. The humiliations of reverse are relieved in some measure by the recollections of the "times of old;" there is a dignified character in suffering for a great cause, and a romantic grandeur in the resentment of national wrongs. The companions of Moore—young men of enterprising spirit and military ambition—were invested with the honours of misfortune; and living among a romantic and ardent people, learned to feel their own proud importance as patriots, and as the sufferers of adversity in a noble cause. Such was the congenial atmosphere in which the ardour of Roger Moore caught fire. But his was not a spirit to waste its fervour in the peaceful ostentation of suffering heroism. While his enthusiastic spirit was inflamed by the traditions of ten thousand wrongs, and exalted with the glory of a noble line, his enterprise was roused, and his active and ready intellect was stimulated to projects of revenge, and for the recovery of his possessions. Among his companions who fed themselves with resentment and hope, there could be no want of breasts to respond to this excitement, and Moore met encouragement, applause, exhortations, and promises of assistance. Above all, his designs met encouragement from the son of the late unfortunate Hugh O'Neile. O'Neile had obtained a regiment in the Spanish service: he was looked up to by his countrymen at home and abroad with feelings something similar to those with which the descendants of Stuart were regarded in England and Scotland.

This temper was additionally excited by the agency of deeper and wider causes. Years before the rebellion, lord Strafford received information from M'Mahon, an Irish priest, that a general insurrection in Ireland was designed, and that great exertions were making to obtain foreign assistance. As the time drew nigh similar warnings flowed in from the residents in every foreign court. And the Irish lords-justices received an intimation from the English cabinet, "that there had passed from Spain, and other parts, an unspeakable number of Irish churchmen to England and Ireland, and some good old soldiers, under pretence of raising levies for the king of Spain; and that it was whispered by the Irish friars in that kingdom, that a rebellion was shortly expected in Ireland, particularly in Connaught."*

In Ireland the insurrection was mounting to the point of combustion. The agents mentioned in the despatch of secretary Vane, were not remiss in their labour of love; and Moore was not less industrious or successful in conciliating, inflaming, concentrating, and organizing the spirits and the resources of Irish patriotism. He was indeed eminently qualified for the office; his mind was endowed with all the nobler tones of the Irish character; he had imagination to exalt and dignify, enthusiasm to animate and warm, eloquence to communicate: his high bearing and graceful address could win the eye, and his frank and earnest patriotism strike corresponding flashes from the simple and ardent hearts of his countrymen. Though not gifted with solid and practical wisdom—he was quick, ingenious, and penetrating, and

* Carte, Letter xviii. Vol. III.

possessed that instinctive insight into character which enabled him to seize upon the master passion of his hearer, and avail himself of the motives by which each individual was most likely to be influenced. With these qualifications for the task of awakening insurrection, he was also gifted with a humane and honourable temper, which had he been a wiser man, would have checked his career, and restrained him from the application of that fatal brand, which it cost so many years of blood and gall to quench ineffectually. But Moore was a creature of romance, his dream was the vindication of national rights, and he fondly thought that armed violence could be limited by the feeble barriers of justice, honour, and humanity. With the advantage of a popular manner and prepossessing exterior, he quickly won the hearts of the common people: he was extensively and highly connected with many of the noblest families of the pale, and maintained a familiar intimacy with the noblest of the English race. His influence was thus easily extended into every quarter, and there was no circle in which he had not means to try his way, and if possible, insinuate disaffection. With all these advantages he gained a rapid ascendancy.

Among his kindred and friends he found some whom their fortune and tempers recommended more especially as fit objects for his purposes: Richard Plunket, a son of Sir Christopher Plunket, Maguire lord Iniskillen, MacMahon, Philip Reilly, and Tirlagh O'Neile. To each of these he presented the suggestions most adapted to their several characters and positions: to all he urged the facilities and probabilities in favour of a general rising. He advised that each should endeavour to gain over his own friends to the project: and that they should hasten their preparations for declaring themselves in a few months, when the approach of winter should lessen the danger of any interference from England. Of the first overtures which he made to these conspirators, a minute account has been given by lord Maguire: from this we shall here give a full extract, as the most satisfactory statement which can be obtained of the beginning of this most disastrous rebellion:—"Being in Dublin, Candlemas term last was twelve months, 1640, the parliament then sitting, Mr Roger Moore did write to me, desiring me that, if I could in that spare time, I would come to his house, for then the parliament did nothing but sit and adjourn, expecting a commission for the continuance thereof, their former commission being expired; and that some things he had to say to me that did nearly concern me; and on the receipt of his letter, the new commission for continuing the parliament landed, and I returned him an answer that I could not fulfil his request for that present; and thereupon he came himself to town presently after, and sending to me, I went to see him at his lodging. And after some little time spent in salutations, he began to discourse of the many afflictions and sufferings of the natives of that kingdom, and particularly in those late times of my lord Strafford's government, which gave great distaste to the whole kingdom. And then he began to particularize the sufferings of them that were the more ancient natives, as were the Irish: now that on several plantations they were all put out of their ancestors' estates. All which sufferings, he said, did beget a general discontent over all

the whole kingdom in both the natives, to wit, the old and new Irish. And that if the gentry of the kingdom were disposed to free themselves furtherly from the like inconvenience, and get good conditions for themselves, for regaining their ancestors' (at least a good part thereof) estates, they could never desire a more convenient time than that time, the distempers in Scotland being then on foot; and did ask me what I thought of it?

"I made him answer, that I could not tell what to think of it; such matters being altogether out of my element. Then he would needs have of me an oath of secrecy, which I gave him, and thereupon he told me that he spoke to the best gentry of quality in Leinster, and a great part of Connaught, touching that matter; and he found all of them willing thereto, if so be they could draw to them the gentry of Ulster: for which cause, said he, I came to speak to you. Then he began to lay down to me the case that I was in then, overwhelmed in debt, the smallness of my estate, and the greatness of the estate my ancestors had, and how I should be sure to get it again, or at least a good part thereof.* And moreover, how the welfare and maintaining the Catholic religion, which, he said, undoubtedly the parliament now in England will suppress, doth depend upon it: for, said he, it is to be feared, and so much I hear from every understanding man, the parliament intends the utter subversion of our religion;—by which persuasions he obtained my consent. And so he demanded whether any more of the Ulster gentry were in town. I told him that Mr Philip Reilly, Mr Tirlogh O'Neile brother to Sir Phelim O'Neile, and Mr Cossloe MacMahon, were in town; so for that time we parted.

"The next day he invited Mr Reilly and I to dine with him; and after dinner he sent for those other gentlemen, Mr O'Neile and Mr MacMahon, and when they were come, he began the discourse, formerly used to me, to them; and with the same persuasions formerly used to me, he obtained their consent. And then he began to discourse of the manner how it ought to be done, of the feasibility and easiness of the attempt, considering matters as they then stood in England, the troubles of Scotland, the great number of able men in the kingdom, meaning Ireland: what succours they were to hope for from abroad: and the army then raised, all Irishmen, and well armed, meaning the army raised by my lord Strafford against Scotland. First, that every one should endeavour to draw his own friends into that act, and at least those that did not live in one county with them. And when they had so done, they would send to the Irish in the low countries, and in Spain, to let them know of the day and resolution: so that they would be over with them by that day or soon after with a supply of arms and ammunition, as they could: that there should be a set day appointed, and every one in his own quarters should rise out that day, and seize on all the arms he could get in his county; and this day to be near winter, so that England could not be able to send

* *Fortuna ea omnia victoribus præmia posuit*, the true old secret of rebellion, however the outside may be ornamented with the dream of liberty, and the pretence of patriotism.

forces into Ireland before May, and by that time there was no doubt to be made but that they themselves should be supplied by the Irish beyond seas, who, he said, could not miss of help from either Spain or the Pope.* Such was the plan proposed by Moore; but lord Maguire informs us that the company did not entirely adopt his proposal. They resolved not to stir in the matter until they should first have ascertained how far they might depend on having help from the continent. They were also desirous to have the advice and consent of the gentry through Ireland. On this point Moore urged, "that it was to no purpose to spend much time in speaking to the gentry: for that there was no doubt to be made of the Irish, but that they would be ready at any time," &c. Among other things he told them, that there was a great man whose name for the present he was sworn to conceal; but who would not fail them if the rising should begin. This was lord Mayo, as he declared on a pledge of secrecy from lord Maguire and the rest of the company.

From this, Moore continued to exert his utmost efforts, while the other principal parties, just mentioned, held themselves in reserve, according to the views they had taken. Their caution was not yet overcome, and they were resolved not to commit themselves, until they could ascertain the security for success and safety. Moore proceeded soon after into Ulster, where he hoped to meet many of the gentry at the assizes; but meeting few, and not finding the readiness he expected, the utmost that could be determined was the postponement of further proceedings, till the following May, when the conspirators should meet in Dublin. In the mean time, a message from the earl of Tyrone came from Spain, to confer with the members of his family and name, and inform them that he had obtained the cardinal Richlieu's promise to send arms, ammunition, and money, on demand, to Ireland: and that he himself only awaited the favourable moment to join them, and desired them to be ready.† This message quickened the dilatory, and gave new life to their proceedings. When they met in Dublin, Mr Moore, Reilly, lord Maguire, and his brother dispatched the messenger (Neile O'Neile) back to Spain, to announce their determination to rise on "twelve or fourteen days before or after All Hallowtide, as they should see cause, and that he should not fail to be with them at that time."‡

In the mean time, the earl of Tyrone was killed. On receiving confirmation of this afflicting intelligence, Moore sent off one father Connolly, the priest of the parish in which he lived, to colonel Owen O'Neile. Further incidents soon occurred to favour the views and quicken the resolution of the conspirators. Intelligence was received of severe proclamations against the members of the church of Rome, in England, and of the hostile declarations of the Scots against that communion. A permission from king Charles to levy men for the Spanish service, and an order to transport for the purpose, the Irish regiments then in Ireland, set these leaders actively to work; they set

* The relation of Lord Maguire.

† Lord Maguire's Narrative.

‡ Ibid.

on foot a violent clamour against the removal of the army, on the adherence of which they relied, and they also availed themselves of the occasion to levy troops as if for Spain. In this, Plunket already mentioned, Hugh Byrne, the wrongs of whose father we have already related, and an officer of the name of O'Neile, volunteered their exertions. To these, Sir James Dillon added his exertions, and gave his concurrence and the weight of his name. From this gentleman, lord Maguire learned the design entertained by himself and his branch of the conspiracy, which was to devote the force they were raising to the defence of the Irish catholics against the Scots; they were to begin by seizing on the castle, where they expected to find abundant supplies of arms and military stores. On their arrival in Dublin, a meeting was held between the principal conspirators and the colonels of the army, who were thus engaged in the same enterprise. At this meeting they discussed the points: how they should secure money to pay the soldiers; how they should obtain foreign succours; how they should draw in the gentry of the pale; who should undertake to surprise the castle, and how it should be attempted. To these points it was respectively answered: that the rents should be collected to pay the soldiery, and that the Pope had promised Tyrone to maintain 6000 men at his own charge; for foreign aid, the promises of the Spanish ambassador in London were alleged; for the gentry of the pale, colonel Plunket answered that they would not be found slow to join in their arms; the seizure of the castle was undertaken by colonels Plunket and Bourne. This meeting was held "in the end of August, 1641, or beginning of September."* And as these colonels were to surprise the castle with no more than 100 men, Sir James Dillon pledged himself to join them in a few days, after they should have succeeded, with 1000 men. It was thought that once seizing the castle, they could command the town with its artillery.

While farther meetings and messages were going on, and the conspirators were yet doubtful when to rise, they received an intimation through Mr Moore, from Owen O'Neile, desiring them to rise without further loss of time, and that he would join them on fourteen days' notice. There nevertheless appears still to have been much irresolution, indicated by numerous abortive meetings and desultory resolutions. At last, on the 5th October, the principal conspirators resolved to attempt the castle on the 23d, which being a market day, the concourse of people would less attract the notice of the government. To the question, as to the leaders in this enterprise, Moore replied that he would be one, and colonel Bourne another; the castle he observed had two gates, that the Leinster men should undertake the small gate, and the Ulster men the other. Sir Phelim O'Neile and lord Maguire attempted to excuse themselves from being present, but Moore insisted. Sir Phelim pleaded the necessity of being away to seize upon Londonderry; but Maguire was compelled to give his consent to be present.

* Lord Maguire's Narrative.

It was a necessary part of their plan, and, in the existing condition of the English garrisons, not unlikely to be crowned with success, that they were similarly, and at the same time, to obtain possession of every important place of strength.

By simultaneous movements on the same day, Londonderry, Carrickfergus, and Newry, were to be surprised, and directions were to be circulated through the country, that the gentry should everywhere rise and seize upon the nearest forts.

On the 22d, one day before that fixed for the attack, the conspirators assembled in Dublin, and met to weigh their strength, and settle the proceedings for the next day. Of 200 men they had counted upon, but 80 had arrived, and it was proposed to delay the attack until the afternoon, to give time for others to come in.

But while they were thus concerting their plan, other incidents were taking place elsewhere.

The council had already received warning from Sir William Cole, of many suspicious indications, such as were sufficient to satisfy all intelligent persons, who were not stupified by the opiate atmosphere of the Castle, that something unusual and dangerous was afloat. The movements of Sir Phelim O'Neile and lord Maguire had been observed. But the Castle crew were unwilling to be roused from the placid slumber of office, and were content to recommend watchfulness to others. On the eve of the rebellion, however, they received a warning not to be trifled with, with impunity.

Owen Conolly, a servant of Sir John Clotworthy, on the evening of the 22d, was seized by the watch, and brought to lord-justice Parsons, and disclosed to him the whole particulars of the conspiracy. Parsons disbelieved the story, it carried the appearance of exaggeration, and it was apparent that the informant was considerably affected by intoxication. He told his tale confusedly, and his answers seemed not consistent. Parsons, perhaps to get rid of him, desired him to go and obtain further discoveries. On cool reflection, however, he thought it expedient to consult with lord Borlase, to whom he forthwith repaired, though it was ten o'clock at night. Borlase, saw the matter in a stronger light, and blamed his colleague for letting O'Conolly go. O'Conolly was however easily found. He had not gone far before his intoxication attracted the notice of the sentinels, and he either was detained or remained for safety. He was found by the messenger of Borlase. He had become a little more collected, but as he was not yet perfectly coherent in his statement, he now represented that his head was affected by the strong potations which had been forced upon him, but that if he were permitted to lie down for a little, he could explain all clearly. He was sent to bed, while the lord Borlase sent round to summon as many of the council as could be found. They were soon joined by Sir Thomas Rotheram, and Sir Robert Meredith the chancellor of the exchequer. Orders were sent to secure the city gates, and strengthen the castle guard, while the lord mayor and city officers received directions to have all persons watched who should appear in the streets.

In the mean time, O'Conolly became collected, and detailed the particulars contained in the following document:—

“Examination of Owen O’Conolly.

“Who being duly sworn and examined, saith; That he being at Monimore, in the county of Londonderry, on Tuesday last, he received a letter from colonel Hugh Oge MacMahon, desiring him to come to Connaught in the county of Monaghan, and to be with him on Wednesday or Thursday last. Whereupon he, this examinant, came to Connaught on Wednesday night last, and finding the said Hugh come to Dublin, followed him thither; he came hither about six of the clock this evening, and forthwith went to the lodging of the said Hugh, to the house near the boat in Oxmantown, and there he found the said Hugh, and came with the said Hugh into the town, near the Pillory, to the lodging of the lord Maguire, when they found not the lord Maguire within, and there they drank a cup of beer and went back to the said Hugh’s lodging. He saith, that at the lord Maguire’s lodging, the said Hugh told him, that there were and would be this night great numbers of noblemen and gentlemen of the Irish papists, from all parts of the kingdom, in this town; who, with himself, had determined to take the castle of Dublin, and to possess themselves of all his majesty’s ammunition there to-morrow morning, being Saturday. And that they intended first to batter the chimnies of said town, and if the citizens would not yield, then to batter down the houses, and so to cut off all the protestants that would not join with them. He further saith, that he the said Hugh told him, that the Irish had prepared men in all parts of the kingdom, to destroy all the English inhabiting there to-morrow morning by ten of the clock; and that in all the seaports and other towns in the kingdom, all the protestants should be killed that night, and that all the posts that could be, could not prevent it. And further saith, that he [O’Conolly] moved the said Hugh to forbear executing of that business, and to discover it to the state, for saving of his own estate, who said, that he could not help it: but said, that they did owe their allegiance to the king, and would pay him all his rights; but that they did this for the tyrannical government that was over them, and to imitate Scotland, who had got a privilege by that course. And he further saith, that when he was with the said Hugh in his lodging, the said Hugh swore that he should not go out of his lodging that night, but told him that he should go with him next morning to the castle; and said, if this matter were discovered, somebody should die for it. Whereupon the examinant feigned some necessity for his leasement, went down out of the chamber, and left his sword in pawn, and the said Hugh sent his man down with him: and when this examinant came down into the yard, and finding an opportunity he, this examinant, leaped over a wall and two pales and so came to the lord-justice Parsons.

(Signed)	“WILLIAM PARSONS,	} OWEN O’CONOLLY.
	“THOMAS ROTHERAM,	
	“ROBERT MEREDITH,	

“Oct. 22, 1641.”

While this examination was going on, MacMahon and others were secured; many however escaped seizure, and of those who were taken, some contrived to get away. MacMahon, when brought before the council, spoke plainly. He seems to have relied on the assumption that the insurrection was successful in every other part of the kingdom. It was five in the morning, and he told them "that on that very day, all the forts and strong places in Ireland would be taken."—"That he with the lord Maguire, &c., &c., were come up expressly to seize the castle of Dublin, and that 20 men out of each county in the kingdom were to be there to join them. That all the lords and gentlemen in the kingdom that were papists, were engaged in the plot; that what was that day to be done in other parts of the country, was so far advanced by that time, as it was impossible for the wit of man to prevent it. And withal told them, that it was here they had him in their power and might use him how he pleased, but he was sure he should be revenged."

It is mentioned, that while MacMahon was waiting in the hall, he was observed to amuse himself with chalking out the figures of men hanging on gibbets, or lying prostrate on the ground. The act was probably designed to convey a threat, by the only means left at the moment.

While the justices were yet at lord Borlase's dwelling, at Chichester house in College green, then without the city gates, they were found by Sir Francis Willoughby, the governor of the fort of Galway. Arriving that evening he found the gates shut and noticed an unusual appearance of movement and bustle in the surrounding suburbs. Being apprised that the justices were there he hastened to find them.

He informed them that he had found the country quiet along his way; but that there was a very considerable concourse of strange horsemen pouring into the suburbs. And advised their removal into the castle.

The lords-justices, having removed into the castle at Willoughby's advice, appointed him commander of the castle and city. And sent out a proclamation into all parts of the country to put the peaceful and loyal on their guard.

"Thus," observes Carte, "by the hand of Providence rather than by the care of the government, was defeated a design, easy in the execution, and which, if it had taken effect, would have endangered the whole kingdom." The castle was guarded by eight infirm soldiers and forty halberdiers, and contained 1500 barrels of powder, with ball and other arms in proportion, and 35 cannon.*

We must for the present refer the subsequent events to other memoirs, and return to Moore. On the night of the incidents above narrated he made his escape, and directed his course to Ulster, where he thought his presence most necessary. While there he is supposed to have been the author of a manifesto which shortly after made its appearance, stating the complaints of the Roman catholics and their motives in taking arms. Such documents need not be here quoted, as in all such

* Carte.

cases, they can only be regarded as specious, and for the purpose of giving the fairest or most popular outside to a cause. With regard to Moore, we believe him to have been sincere in all that he professed, and far from the execrable purposes which have been imputed to many engaged in that rebellion. His wish was but justice, according to the notions he entertained, and he had chimerically assumed that justice could be executed strictly, and humanity preserved by the sword of insurrection—a dream, which has often deluded the enthusiastic and high-minded, who little know or are capable of knowing the instruments they must use and the passions they are about to awaken. In his manifesto, Moore dwelt upon the oppression of the Roman catholics by inferior governors—acknowledged that they had been indulged with liberty of conscience, by the favour of the king; but complains of the fears which they had reason to entertain from the landing of the Scots, who were expected to land “with sword and Bible,” for the extinction of the Roman catholic religion in Ireland. They complain of a design against the “papist and protestant bishops of the kingdom,” and propose “that the king should secure them and the protestants of this kingdom,” &c. We have quoted the above words from this paper for the purpose of showing the peculiar ground which was at first taken up by the more moderate of Moore’s party. And it is necessary to notice, that the word protestant is often used by the Roman catholics in their writings of that period, in contra-distinction from the puritans.

It appears indeed, plain enough, from the general tenor, both of the public declarations and conduct of Roger Moore and his associates, that they neither designed nor anticipated the frightful scenes which were to follow. Rebellion as it advances, rapidly numbers in its ranks all the extreme views and all the atrocious passions of human nature. As the movement advances, it grows broad and deep; and its constituent elements become more fierce, unrefined, and base. The philosophers and politicians, the soldiers, scholars, and gentlemen, are soon pushed aside to make way for the ruffianly and reckless spirits, which ever take the lead in popular movements; and such was the course of these events which are now so long to fill our pages.

Moore’s activity and genius had propagated an impulse, which was ere long to escape from his control. On the other side, the danger was increased by the incapacity of government, and the want of all the ordinary resources of civil control; there was neither justice, prudence, nor vigour, to meet it at the source. Instead of a formidable resort to military means or a fair disposition to redress reasonable complaints, a strife of intrigue and insidious negotiation commenced the contest. The memorials presented to the king were mixed with complaints against the lords-justices; these in their turn sent private statements to the earl of Leicester; and their statements were largely mingled with misrepresentation. They also harassed and impeded the proceedings of the parliament which was sensible of the approaching crisis, and disposed to act with spirit tempered by moderation.

If, indeed, it may be said with truth, that the insurgent party were ignorant of the consequences which they were to draw upon themselves

and their country, there seems every reason to suspect that the Irish government was equally infatuated. They either underrated the danger, (the common error of governments,) or they ignorantly wished to push the rebellion to an extremity of which they computed the advantages. The errors were probably concurrent. The result was an effort to impede such information as might be expected to bring succour from England, and to check the loyalty of the well-affected. They had with difficulty been prevailed upon to call a parliament; and when it had assembled, they were so anxious to get rid of it, that they would hardly allow time for a vote of supply. The parliament drew up a spirited declaration against the rebellion, and appointed agents to inquire and report the state of matters to the king and council; but they were not allowed the time required for the completion of this proceeding. A second day was allowed on much entreaty by the obstinacy of the lords-justices. And the parliament, finding itself suspected, or divining the real motive, and resolved on discharging its duty to the public, passed a vote empowering them to levy forces for the defence of the kingdom, and to raise money by assessment for the purpose.

Lord Dillon of Costello was appointed to present a memorial to the king, containing complaints against the lords-justices, and recommending the appointment of the earl of Ormonde. It is also probably conjectured,* that they recommended the adoption of those just measures for the security of property, which could not fail to be unacceptable to the party then at the helm. But the industry of the castle was alert in the vocation of intrigue. In the very same packet which conveyed lord Dillon with his commission, the agent of Parsons and Borlase conveyed their counter-statements and their representations of the design and characters of the opposed part of the council, whose names are given by Carte and others—Sir Richard Bolton the lord chancellor, Bulkeley, archbishop of Dublin, earl of Ormonde, Anthony Martin, bishop of Meath, John Leslie bishop of Raphoe, Robert lord Dillon of Kilkenny West, afterwards lord Roscommon, and Sir Gerard Lowther, judge of the common pleas. These persons who were for acting by the only rational and just way, and employing military rigour to suppress violence, and legislative justice to quiet just discontents, were denounced by the narrow and self-interested lords-justices, whose representations were but too successful. Declaring their distrust in the eminent persons whom we have enumerated, and the danger of employing any force levied in Ireland or commanded by Irishmen, they entreated for an English army, of which they proposed to supply the expense by confiscations.†

The packet was met by a storm, and cast upon the Scottish coast. Lord Dillon and lord Taaffe, the agents of the moderate party, while proceeding on their way to London, were seized at Ware, and their papers taken from them and suppressed: after which they were confined for some months, until their escape was considered of no consequence.

* Carte.

† Carte, I. 228.

This conduct of the lords-justices gave encouragement to Roger Moore and his party. The prorogation of the parliament left them without any counter-check; the refusal of the Irish government to permit the activity of the native leaders who had volunteered against them, left them in possession of the field. The selfish policy adopted by the castle junto, threw a heavy weight of just complaints into the scale in their favour. Their cause seemed to prosper, and they were advancing in confidence and numbers. Moore lay near Dundalk and Atherdee, with a body of 2500 men, so undisciplined and unarmed that they could have been of no use in the field. They were yet, in the absence of all resistance, sufficient to give the appearance of strength; and their confidence was increased by a commission from parliament sent to treat with them. In their infatuation they treated this overture with a contempt which indicates plainly enough their confidence in themselves. Moore (so far as we can form any conjecture,) was not quite the dupe of this vain confidence: he was by far too well informed, observant, and prudent, not to be aware that his present strength lay in the absence of an enemy. He strongly urged the folly of declarations against the English, which the rabble who followed him had indulged in, and advised that they should mainly rest their cause on religious grievances. With this view he also gave them the dignified title of *Catholic Army*, a seasonable artifice, and equally illustrative of his enthusiasm and dexterity. There never was a more disastrous pretext for Ireland, or more fortunately adopted for the views of the rebel leaders. It not only served to conceal the secret motives and put them out of view, but tended to attract to their standard many who would most resolutely have opposed them; and above all, it embodied the real grievances of some of the most considerable bodies in the kingdom. The priesthood were counted on as their most efficient and trusty friends and the Roman catholic lawyers, whose influence pervaded the Irish aristocracy, and whose professional employment was restricted by the oaths they were required to take, were also to be conciliated. The English parliament had proceeded with a harshness against the English Roman catholics, which added motives of terror to those of grievance; and Parsons had been said to declare in a large company, that "within a twelvemonth not a catholic should be seen in Ireland."

Such were, in brief, the circumstances which gave to Moore's expedient the force of a universal call to arms, and subsequently led to the most hapless direction of popular fanaticism—a fatal instrument, which has never been successful for good, though it has often forged an iron crown, and riveted the chains of those who are its dupes: under its insane influence—the lunacy of nations—deeds have been done, of fear, desperation, and blind resentment, which the plain rule of justice, unsusceptible of refined distinctions, must for the interests of mankind treat as guilt; although the decision of the historian, who is allowed to weigh men's actions in the balance of determining motives and causes, may temper his judgment with the palliation of error, infatuation, and the panic of insane excitement, which, when it seizes the crowd, seems to awaken and concentrate the worst passions of man's nature into

something more fierce and formidable than belongs to and other known living species.

The violent proceedings of the English commons, and the policy of the rebel leaders, as here described, was rendered still more productive of evil by the first measures of the lords-justices. While they repelled the aid of the nobility and gentry of Ireland, they had recourse to that of persons who were recommended by their thorough participation in the views and prejudices of their employers. A soldier of fortune trained in the former rebellion of Ulster, led a small force against a party of rebels which had invested the castle of Wicklow. These were easily repelled; but the soldiers of the lords-justices committed the most unprovoked outrages upon the people of the town, and thus gave a premature specimen of the mercy to be expected from these men. They sent an undisciplined body of 650 men to the relief of Drogheda, and thus afforded the rebel leaders the opportunity of a triumph, which served to increase and encourage their followers. And, lastly, they crowned the offence which their whole conduct had given to the Roman catholic lords of the pale, by an insulting exhibition of distrust.

These noblemen, sensible of the approaching commotion and of their own dangerous and questionable position, between their own party and a suspicious and bigoted administration, chose their course with decision and prudence. They prepared at once to embark in the cause of order, loyalty, and the constitution. They had already joined in the vain effort to urge the castle to its duty: they now offered their services. They were met by shallow insidiousness and demonstrations of treachery, too thinly disguised to escape detection; their offers were refused, they were neither allowed to fight for the protection of the state, nor in their own defence: they were desired to stand out naked and defenceless, spurned by one side and a mark for the other. They were disarmed, menaced, and insulted; and withal, the course of things was such as to render it quite evident that the creed which made them objects of all this degradation, must soon assume the form and character of crime. Their position was one of extreme trial; and their conduct is here to be reviewed with humane allowance.

Of these circumstances, favourable for his purpose, Roger Moore was on the watch to take advantage. The lords of the pale met and sent a temperate letter of remonstrance, in which they adverted to the rejection of their services against the rebels, and complained that language had been used in council such as to deter them from waiting upon the lords-justices, &c. To this the lords-justices replied by a proclamation, in which they denied the alleged words; and presently summoned the lords Fingal, Gormanston, Slane, Dunsany, Netterville, Louth, and Trimleston, to attend at a board, on the 17th December, that they might confer with them.

On this, the lords thus summoned, with the principal gentry of the county of Meath, assembled to consult on the hill of Crofty. They had not long been there when they were approached by Roger Moore, attended by colonel MacMahon, and other rebel gentlemen, with a guard of

musqueteers. The lords of the pale rode out to meet them, and lord Gormanston asked why they thus entered the pale in arms? Roger Moore replied—They came, he said, to vindicate their liberty of conscience: that they were armed in defence of the king's prerogative which had been invaded; and also with the design to make the Irish as free as the people of England. On this lord Gormanston asked if these were their genuine designs?—whether they had not some other private ends of their own? This Moore denied: on which lord Gormanston rejoined that these were their common interests, and that they would join them. And all present having agreed, a warrant was thereupon drawn up and issued to the sheriff, to summon all the lords and gentry of the county, to a general meeting in the next week upon Tara hill.

We shall have again to enter into a minute detail of the incidents here briefly noticed. As the insurrection thus mainly raised by the instrumentality of Roger Moore, acquired more numerous and powerful leaders, his instrumentality becomes less apparent. Colder hearts and wiser heads—motives more profound, long-sighted, and corrupt—more exasperated passions took their usual places in the council of interested and angry spirits. As they gather in numbers and authority, dissension and divided counsels rose up among them; and the power, influence, and personal ambition of individuals, became ruling springs of the conduct of the party. We may then shortly pass to the end of Moore's career.

The rebellion had, as we have already said, as it extended, yielded to the common law of all unorganized and irregular movements; it lost power as it gathered numerical weight, and was weakened by the varied opinions, principles, and objects, of its influential movers. The English commons, though little disposed to waste their strength upon this country's tumults, and misled by opposite representations, began to supply the means of opposition, men, money, and stores, though with a parsimony ill suited to the state of affairs. However, by the skill, promptness, and bravery, of many distinguished officers, the tide began to be turned, and the rebels became considerably distressed. The Irish chiefs were on the point of abandoning a cause which they began to think hopeless, when their courage was rallied and their hopes revived by the long desired arrival of colonel Owen O'Neill. To increase it still further, several vessels from France landed abundant supplies of arms and ammunition, and a considerable Irish force, with numerous officers who had acquired experience and reputation in foreign service.

Of this advantage, the first use made by the Irish was an effort to give authority and method to their proceedings. The details of this change we are compelled to reserve for a memoir yet to come in its order. The clergy saw their time: they also saw the necessity of infusing order into confused movements, of establishing some source of civil rule, of directing desultory efforts, and of controlling the fierceness of fanaticism. They convened a synod in Kilkenny, and framed a body of acts, among which the principal provided for a national convention of deputies to meet for the government of the country. This

assembly met, and gave form, and for a time vigorous instrumentality to the proceedings of the rebellion. They made declarations, constituted authorities, appointed councils, and distributed commands.

In the division of commands, the first movers were passed by:—persons of desperate fortune and active spirit may be permitted to embrace a desperate cause. But they must be set aside, when the appearance of success brings forward more wary and prudent observers, whose means and authority enable them to give weight to the cause, and render the declaration of their sentiments desired.

Moore began to sink in spirits and health as he fell in estimation and influence. His enthusiasm had been damped by the disapprobation of the conduct and slow progress of a war of which he now began to discern the true course. His humanity and gallantry had been shocked by the savage and brutal spirit which began to manifest itself among the rebels, and which neither his zealous opposition, nor that of other commanders, men of honour and humanity, had the power to control. He had been discontented and disgusted; and after the siege of Drogheda, withdrew to Flanders. At that affair he had been attacked by his own party for attempting to control their brutality. After the convention, which established a supreme council at Kilkenny, he returned only to find himself wholly set aside by inferior persons, who dreaded his energy, and were jealous of his commanding character. They thought it necessary to soothe his bitterness and appease his wounded pride by empty show of respect. He soon fell ill, and died in Kilkenny, and his death is not without reason attributed to mortification.

"He was," writes Carte, "a man of a fair character, highly esteemed by all that knew him, and had so great a reputation for his abilities among the Irish in general, that he was celebrated in their songs; and it was a phrase among them, 'God and our Lady be our assistance, and Roger Moore.' He exceedingly detested the cruelties committed by the Irish in Ulster; and when he afterwards got to Sir Phelim O'Neile, he did all he could to stop them, and to establish a regular discipline among his mobbish army."*

We shall have but too many occasions to present many and varied details of the disgusting and flagitious atrocities of this long rebellion, of the commencement of which we have given a slight sketch. But we cannot forbear taking this occasion to offer one observation as to the cause of these revolting enormities, which our perusal of the history of Irish rebellions has strongly suggested. The laws which make the rebel a criminal amenable to a species of summary justice, not extended to ordinary crimes, or executed by the laws of the land, are perhaps quite defensible on the ground of abstract theory, nor can we object to their strict justice. But they answer no good or expedient purpose; and fearfully aggravate the horrors and calamities of civil war. They do no good; the rebel marches to the field in defiance of death, and in anticipation of a different result: the law which makes a traitor of him is simply vindictive, it never deterred a single rebel from the field. Its real effects are twofold: to the rebel's discontent it

* Carte.

adds other incentives, the fury of desperation and revenge; he considers capture or the failure of his cause as certain death, or ruin worse than death. This, however, if it were all, would not call for our notice;—the great evil is the vindictive spirit of the cruel and savage retaliation. The military execution, even when attended with the most rigid regard of justice and humanity, is not viewed as justice by those who, right or wrong, consider justice to be on their own side, and are little capable of entertaining distinctions. For every prisoner who is judged as a criminal, and meets a felon's death, some victim is sure to suffer. This victim may be also a prisoner, and the retaliation may for a time be conducted with military order, and not pass the strict limit of a balanced account. So far the evil bears on the troops employed by government, and renders their capture somewhat different in its result from that of regular war. But by degrees, when rebellion happens to be protracted, other conditions arise. The forces on both sides become highly inflamed with the irritation to which many varied causes and incidents will inevitably give birth. Executions become more summary and more vindictive, brutal tempers (never wanting to the purest cause,) are brought into authority, and excesses are committed by angry soldiers; these unhappy and fatal demonstrations, which do no honour to a cause, are not allowed to remain unbalanced in the account of blood; executions of criminal or of *suspected* persons, inflicted without discretion are repaid by massacres without discrimination or mercy. And as every phase of civil disturbance brings its appropriate spirits into the field, the country becomes a scene of diabolical outrage against every claim of humanity.

The evil is increased by the want of prudence and vigour on the part of governments, which so often has been observed to precede rebellion. In their first alarm, the civil powers give way too far, and instead of meeting the evil in its commencement, rather oppose the loyal parties than those whom they have most reason to fear. Among the most common and dangerous errors thus committed, that which most aggravates the ills here noticed, is the mistake of disarming those who are the persons mainly to be defended, and who are sure to be the first objects of attack. This has been too frequently done, by regulations which bear unequally, on the peaceful and disorderly; no precaution of an Irish government has ever extended so far as spoil the equipments of a rebel army.

Sir Phelim O'Neile.

BORN A. D. 1604.—EXECUTED A. D. 1641.

SIR PHELM O'NEILE, of Kinard, in Tyrone, was, at the time which brings him into historic notice, the principal person of his name in Ireland. He was grandson of Sir Henry O'Neile, who was slain in the action against Sir Cahir O'Doherty, in 1608. The services of Sir

Henry had been acceptable to the government, and he had received a grant of the district called Sir Henry Gage's country.* On his death Sir Phelim was found to be his next heir. On coming of age, he applied to have a new grant, specially naming the lands which were comprised in more general designations in his grandfather's grant; on which, in 1629, a new instrument was made out according to his desire.

He entered as a student at Lincoln's Inn, and while in England professed the protestant religion; he is, however, believed to have changed on his return. Having entered on his property, he soon launched into a career of waste and dissipation, and did not cease until he had nearly wasted his ample property; which he was compelled to encumber nearly to its full value. In consequence, he was for some years exposed to embarrassments, which seldom fail to corrupt and harden persons of strong passions and weak understanding, and add no small amount of vice to those follies of which they were the result.

Hugh, earl of Tyrone, died in 1616, leaving a son, who was married, but had no children. Sir Phelim, who was considered next heir, had thereby a new and vast prospect opened to his ambition. Roger Moore found him thus prepared to listen with eager avidity to proposals which were gilded in perspective, with the title and princely possessions of Tyrone. Such were the hopes with which Sir Phelim became the most active partisan of the proceedings of 1641, and entered on a course which soon led him to the scaffold.

In the first movements of 1641, while the insurrection was yet but in its projection, Sir Phelim's house was a central resort for the meetings of the conspirators; thither Moore, and Plunket, and lord Maguire used to come; and from thence messengers were soon observed to be dispatched to all quarters of the compass. Such was the information given by Sir Wm. Cole, in a letter to the lords-justices, on the 11th October, 1641; and we find it confirmed in lord Maguire's narrative, who mentions that he was asked to attend the funeral of Sir Phelim's wife, with a view to "confer with Sir Phelim touching all these proceedings." Sir Phelim next appears as one of the five who met in Dublin to plan the seizure of the castle; on which occasion Maguire and a few more were seized, while the main conspirators escaped.

Some time in the same month, Sir Phelim achieved an exploit which exhibits his character in no honourable point of view. It has been already mentioned, that on the first meetings of Sir Phelim with Moore and his associates, it was planned, on the same day that the castle was to be surprised, to obtain by similar means, possession of all the forts and garrisons in the provinces. It was allotted to Sir Phelim to secure the forts and garrisons of Ulster. Of these, Charlemont fort was under the command of Sir Tobias Caulfield, lord Charlemont, then a very old man. Sir Phelim was his neighbour, and as such was on the most intimate footing of hospitable intercourse, as hospitality was

* Carte.

practised in those simple old times. This intimate friendship was now perceived by the low-minded tact of Sir Phelim to offer an occasion of honourable enterprise: by availing himself of the open hospitality and unguarded confidence of the unsuspecting old soldier, he saw that he might secure a bloodless triumph. In accordance with this dexterous project, he sent word to the old lord, "that he would come a-gossiping to him." The veteran was delighted at the prospect of a cheerful company, the feast was prepared, and the cordial welcome was not wanting. Sir Phelim came with frank smiles on his countenance, and ruthless perfidy in his breast. He was, according to the custom of the day, attended by a company of friends; and others of the same honourable stamp fell in in small parties during the evening. It was advanced in the evening, and the cup had gone its repeated rounds among those guests, whom it warmed with no generous feeling; when Sir Phelim saw the moment, and gave the signal by laying his hands on his astonished host. The unfortunate nobleman had not an instant to recover from his surprise, or to doubt whether it was a drunken frolic, or a rough impulse of rudeness, when he saw all the members of his family and household seized in like manner, by the ruffians among whom they were seated. Sir Phelim was not a man to soften a rough act by the gentleness of the exertion; when the last restraints of honour and decency are thrown aside, the bad passions are summoned up to give the needful courage. The act of violence was accompanied by the most revolting indignity, and followed by the basest acts of meanness and atrocity. Sir Phelim ransacked the castle, and appropriated the valuable property of his victim. The victim was bound and shut up in close confinement for fifteen weeks. We must, however, follow him to his unworthy and unprovoked fate.

His soldiers had been secured by means similar to those we have related; and, with their officers, were either killed or imprisoned. We have no means of ascertaining their fate, but it may be conjectured from the following incident. After the earl had for upwards of four months lain in prison, with his mother, sisters, and brothers, Sir Phelim separated him from them, and sent them away to Killenane, the house of Laurence Netherville. The unhappy lord received this cruel deprivation, as the warning of danger, and showed no small earnestness to retain about his person some one on whom he might rely. Having entreated that Major Dory should be left with him, Sir Phelim answered, and the answer must have sounded strangely from his false tongue, that Major Dory was a traitor; but assured the earl that he should "have better company before night." Before night he was committed to the charge of Captain Neile, Modder O'Neile, and others of the same name and stamp, to convey him to Cloughouter castle. He was hurried off without delay; at night-fall the company and their prisoner reached Sir Phelim's own castle of Kinard. It was a place aptly chosen for the murder of one whose hospitality he had outraged. They were entering the hall door, where the victim had often entered as an honoured and welcome guest, when the concerted signal was spoken. Captain Neile M'Kenna of the Trough in Monaghan, who walked on one side of the earl, turned to Edmund Roy O'Hugh, Sir Phelim's foster-

brother, and said "where is your heart now?" O'Hugh answered the signal by discharging his gun into the back of the earl who, receiving the contents, exclaimed "Lord have mercy on me," and fell dead across the threshold of his betrayer. The crime was followed up by another as revolting. On the same night, a number of Sir Phelim's own tenants and servants, who were English and Scotch, were massacred by the same abandoned band of ruffians. Among the murdered was a son of Sir Phelim's, whose mother was an Englishwoman.

This tragic incident took place 1st March, 1641. A curious story is told by Lodge or his commentator, from some old book. We shall add it here in the words of the teller. On the perfidious visit of Sir Phelim which we have just described, when the company were met, "The Butler, an old and trusty servant, remarked that the assassin with his accomplices and the noble family, made up the odd number of *thirteen*; and observed with dread and concern, that the murderers had often changed their seats and their countenances, with the exception of the bravo himself, who kept his place on the left hand of lord Caulfield as he was wont to do, being an intimate acquaintance. The butler took an opportunity, whilst they were at dinner, to acquaint his lady with the causes of his uneasiness; telling her that he dreaded some direful event. She rebuked his fears, told him he was superstitious, asked if the company were merry, and had every thing they wanted. He answered that he had done his duty; they all seemed very merry, and wanted nothing he knew of but grace; and since her ladyship was of opinion that his fears were groundless, he was resolved, through a natural impulse he felt, to take care of his own person. And thereupon instantly left the house, and made the best of his way to Dublin."^{*}

Such was the first exploit of Sir Phelim O'Neile. On the same night many similar successes were obtained, but none by means so base. From Charlemont fort O'Neile proceeded to Dungannon, which he surprised and seized without any resistance; the castle of Mountjoy was surprised by one of his followers; Tanderage by O'Hanlon; Newry was betrayed to Sir Con Magennis; Roger Maguire, brother to lord Maguire, overran Fermanagh; lord Blaney's castle, in Monaghan, was surprised by the sept of MacMahon, and the lord with his family made prisoners by the MacMahons. In Cavan, the insurrection was headed by Mulmore O'Reily, sheriff of the county, and all the forts and castles seized by the *posse comitatus*, under the pretence of legal authority and the king's service. His example was followed by the sheriff of Longford. Insurrection had not as yet put forth its horrors, neither had its vindictive spirit been inflamed, or the fanaticism which was to infuse its fiendish character at a further stage as yet been called into action. It was as yet an insurrection of lords and gentlemen; nor is there any reason to believe, that any thing more was designed by these, than a partial transfer of property, and certain stipulations in favour of the church of Rome.

By these successes, Sir Phelim soon found himself at the head of an

* Lodge.

army of 30,000 men, and of ten counties. On the 5th of November, he took up his head quarters at Newry, and endeavoured to give a legal colour to his conduct, by the declaration, that he took up arms by the authority, and for the service of the king. To authenticate this pretension, he exhibited a parchment to which he had cunningly appended a great seal, which he contrived to obtain while at Charlemont fort, from a patent of lord Charlemont's. This fact was afterwards proved, both by the confession of Sir Phelim, and by the production of the very patent a few years after, in a lawsuit in Tyrone assizes, where the marks of the seal having been torn away, together with an indorsement to the same effect, confirmed this statement.*

In the mean time, no measures of a sufficiently decisive nature were taken against the rebels. The lords-justices appear to have been infatuated by some fallacious security, and perhaps were diverted from a sense of their danger by interested speculations of the future consequences of rebellion. Such speculations are, indeed, but too likely to have arisen; for it was only the after events of the long civil wars in England, that prevented the rebellion of 1641 from following the ordinary course of former rebellions. But so far were the lords-justices from manifesting any true sense of the emergent position of events, that they not only acted remissly themselves, but interposed to prevent the activity and courage of such noblemen and gentry of the pale as were inclined to arm in their own defence. The earl of Ormonde volunteered his service, and pressed earnestly to be allowed to lead whatever men they could spare him against the rebels. This was not acceded to; and the lords-justices, pressed by the remonstrances of every loyal tongue, contented themselves by sending a regiment to the relief of Drogheda, which was then besieged by 4000 rebels.

The English parliament was still less desirous of giving peace to Ireland. The rebellion favoured their views, and could, they knew, be suppressed whenever it suited their own purposes to send an army into the country. It gave them, however, a pretext for the levy of men and money to be employed against the king, and of this they availed themselves largely.

The pale, and the protestant nobility and gentry, were thus left to their own courage and means of resistance. They quickly threw off their fears and their false security, and took up arms in their own defence. Their resolution and energy, however great, were in some measure paralyzed by the uncertain conduct of the king, and by the false pretences of the rebel leaders, who assumed his name and authority. Yet they began to fortify their castles and to defend the towns, and the progress of the rebels began to be more difficult, and to be interrupted by numerous checks and disappointments.

Sir Phelim and his associate conspirators had been raising a strong force against themselves; the fugitives which their first successes had rolled together into Carrickfergus, were embodied and armed into a force, which, if inferior in numbers to the rebels, was far superior in moral force and discipline. From these colonel Chichester garrisoned

* Carte.

Carrickfergus, Derry, Belfast, and other principal places of strength. A reinforcement of 1500 men from Scotland gave added force to the whole. Sir Phelim's people were defeated in many places. He was himself repelled with slaughter from before the walls of castle Derrick, in the county of Tyrone, and fled to his camp at Newry, in mortification and disgrace.

From this, Sir Phelim's conduct is to be distinguished for its violence and cruelty. Some historians attribute the murders committed by his order, to a design to secure the fidelity of his people, by dipping them in guilt beyond the expectation of forgiveness. The love of plunder had brought the common people to his standard, and he very well understood that there was no other motive so likely to preserve their fidelity, as the desperation of crime beyond the hope of mercy. By some this counsel has been imputed to Ever MacMahon, one of his followers, and titular bishop of Down, on the authority of a deposition of a Mr Simpson of Glaslogh. But with Carte, we are inclined to attribute the crimes of this person to the evil passions of his nature, upon the strong ground, that they appear to have chiefly followed upon occasions of ill success. On such occasions where his followers met with a check—when any thing in the camp caused irritation, and sometimes when he was drunk, it was usual for him to be seized with a violent fit of rage bordering upon phrenzy, during which he frequently gave orders for the murder of his prisoners. Some of these ruffian-like acts are enumerated by Carte, and we shall give them in his language. "In some of these frantic fits, he caused Mr Richard Blaney, knight of the shire of Monaghan, to be hanged in his own garden, and the old lord Charlemont to be shot; in another, when the rebels were repulsed in the attack of the castle of Augher, and several of the sept of the O'Neiles slain, he ordered Mulmory Mac-Donell, to kill all the English and Scotch within the parishes of Mullebrack, Logilley, and Kilcluney; in another, when he heard of the taking of Newry by lord Conway, he went in the beginning of May, in all haste, to Armagh, and in breach of his own promise under his own hand and seal, at the capitulation, murdered a hundred persons in the place, burnt the town and the cathedral church—a venerable and ancient structure said to be built by St Patrick, and called by a name revered enough among the Irish, to have been an effectual protection to a place dedicated to his honour—and fired all the villages and houses of the neighbourhood, and murdered many of all ages and sexes, as well in the town as in the country round about."

From this, all pretence to humanity was at an end: once adopted there is no end to cruelty. It will be justified by the assertion of its justice, and will be maintained by the furious passions of men dipped in lawless murder. The rebel soldier was not slow to catch the spirit of his chief, and to glory in atrocities which came recommended by a sanction he could not but respect. Even cows and sheep were tortured for being English, and were not saved by the growing necessity which they might have been used to supply. "Cruel and bloody measures," writes Carte, "seldom prosper:" from the commencement of this course of cruel conduct, Sir Phelim's successes were at an end.

Whatever may be the value of Mr Carte's maxim, it seems quite reconcilable to every thing we know of the laws of human nature; an army steeped in crimes, which demand the help of the worst passions of man for their perpetration, cannot be the fit organ of moral discipline; it can have no calm energy, no sense of honour, or of an honourable, high, or holy cause. Some savage state can, it is true, be conceived, debased by a faith, atrocious by some fell rule of wrong; these may be hordes who worship the powers of evil, and are bound by fanaticism of some black and hell-born hue. The Christian, however misled, is taught to act on other grounds, even his illusions preserve the name of a holy cause; his crimes are in the defiance of his conscience, and his creed: the plundering and the licentious butcheries only sanctioned by cupidity—revenge, and the blood-thirsty excitement of an uncontrolled rabble, the most dangerous and disgraceful phenomenon in the known compass of things, could never be consistent with the moral discipline which is the best strength of armies. The army of Sir Phelim, terrible henceforth to the defenceless, were chaff before the smallest force that could be brought into contact with them. The rabble who followed him, expressed their designs in language, which requires no commentary. They declared that "they would not leave an English man in the country; that they would have no English king, but one of their own nation, and Sir Phelim O'Neile should be their king, . . . that if they had his majesty in their power, they would flay him alive," &c. Such were the frantic professions of this vile mob, as has been proved from several depositions, perused by Carte.

Among the grievous consequences of these excesses, one was, that they called forth some lamentable instances of retaliation. Among the English and Scotch a horror of the Irish spread to every rank; the report of such barbarities appeared to degrade the perpetrators below the level of human nature. They also excited the worst passions among the inferior classes of the opposite party. The Scotch garrison at Carrickfergus, possessed both by their habitual hatred to popery, and inflamed to an implacable detestation of the Irish, by multiplied accounts of their cruelties, horrible in themselves, and exaggerated not only by the sufferers, but by those wretches who boasted and magnified their own barbarities. In one fatal night, they issued from Carrickfergus into an adjacent district, called Island Magee, where a number of poor Irish resided, unoffending and untainted by the rebellion. Here, according to the statement of a leader in this party, they massacred thirty poor families. This incident has been, as might be expected, misstated in all its particulars, both as to the number of the sufferers and the date of the occurrence. Leland, by far the most accurate and scrupulous writer on our history, ascertains the true particulars from the MS. "depositions of the county of Antrim," preserved in the College Library; and states, that instead of happening in November, this incident took place in the beginning of the following January, when the followers of Sir Phelim "had almost exhausted their barbarous malice."* We should add, that Carte cannot, as Leland

* Leland, iii, 128.

thinks, be properly said to favour the assertion, that this massacre took place in November: without entering on the question as to its date, he quotes the assertion from a book entitled, *The Politician's Catechism*, in order to show from numerous facts, that it was not "the first massacre in Ireland, on either side,"* and on this Mr Carte is quite conclusive. We also think it fair to state, that one historical writer, whom we have consulted, questions the accuracy of Leland's investigation of the college MS.; but from the uniform tone of acrid misrepresentation in which this writer deals, we have not thought fit to adduce an opinion which we should be compelled to investigate at a very disproportioned length. The importance of the point has been overstated in the heat of party recrimination. When crimes on either side must be admitted, priority is of little importance; it cannot justify those who cannot be justified, but by the denial of every principle of right and wrong.

As we have observed, the moral effect of these atrocities was fatal to the army of Sir Phelim. They soon became only formidable to the unarmed and helpless. The horror diffused by their crimes, armed against them many who would willingly have remained inert, and drew from the Irish government, the English parliament, and the protestant gentry, efforts of opposition and resistance which soon effectually checked their advances. Of the wide spread scene of waste, disorder and danger amounting to the disruption of society, of which such a state of things was productive, an ample and striking description is contained in Borlase's account. Every private house seems to have been something in the condition of a besieged fortress—and a scene of protracted terror and watchfulness, or of heroic courage and constancy. "Great were the straits many of them were put unto, enduring all manner of extremities, subjecting themselves to all kind of dangers; not daunted with the multitude of rebels that lay about them, they in many places issued out, and lived only on the spoils they took from them, fighting continually for their daily bread, which they never wanted, so long as their enemies had it. The rebels were so undexterous in the management of their sieges, as they took very few places by force; in all their attempts whether by mine, battery, or assault, they seldom prospered. The great engine by which they mastered any fort of the English, was treachery; offers of safe conduct, and other conditions of honour and advantage, which might induce the besieged, sometimes reduced to the utmost extremities, to surrender their places into their hand; which though so solemnly sworn and signed, yet they seldom or never kept."† We forbear entering into the sanguinary recital of these flagrant atrocities, which we should be too glad to have it in our power to reject as the monsters of exaggeration and fear, but which are given upon the authority of depositions, which there is no fair ground for rejecting. Much of the sanguinary spirit manifested by the followers of the rebel chiefs is to be attributed to the irritating consciousness of failure, and the protracted resistance which they so often had to encounter, from seemingly inadequate opponents.

* Carte, i. 76, 77.

† Borlase.

It was in the month of December, 1641, that the rebels, encouraged more by the absence of any hostile demonstrations on the government side than by any successes of their own, came before Drogheda. They had neither the necessary materials for a siege, nor even for an encampment; and, therefore, they were compelled to take their quarters in the surrounding villages, and thus became more formidable to private persons living in the surrounding district than to the city; which was not, however, exempt either from danger or suffering. The numbers of the rebel army amounted to nearly twenty thousand, and they were thus enabled to blockade every avenue, and completely to intercept all supplies. Ill provided for a siege, the governor had still nearer ground for apprehension from the traitors who were suspected to be within his walls. On the night of December 20, the rebels attempted to surprise the city by a sudden and general assault, but were driven back with so much loss that they did not think it advisable to renew the attempt. They were, however, fully aware of the unprepared condition of the city, and the wants of the garrison; and having every reason to hope that they would meet with no interruption from abroad, they expected to obtain possession by starving the garrison.

Within, the condition of affairs was indeed low enough to warrant such expectations. The English became diseased from the effects of an unaccustomed and scanty diet, and were daily losing their strength and spirits: from this state of want and suffering many escaped over the walls. The officers wrote a letter to the duke of Ormonde, in the hope that the exertion of his influence might extract some relief from the supineness of the state. About the 11th of January, 1642, the lords-justices sent a scanty and poor supply of food and ammunition, saying that they were unwilling to send more until it should appear that the present supply could obtain entrance. The way was undoubtedly difficult, the entrance to the harbour being narrow, and obstructed by the precaution of the rebels, who had sunk a small vessel in the channel, and drawn a strong chain across from two large ships on either side. Notwithstanding these obstacles, the small and shallow vessels which brought the supply were enabled to pass over the chain, as well as a bar of sand, which, it was conceived, must have obstructed their entrance at low water.

The joy of the garrison at a relief so seasonable was nearly the cause of their ruin: indulging in a premature sense of security, their vigilance became relaxed as their fear abated. The governor, who did not participate in the forgetfulness of the occasion, saw the danger, and took strict care to have the guards visited more frequently during the night; but this did not prevent their sleeping on their posts, for they had been worn by toil and privation, and were, it may be assumed, oppressed with unwonted indulgence, and lulled by false security. Treason, too, had been at work. Sir Phelim had managed to secure an understanding with some of the inhabitants; and in the still hour of darkness, when all appeared to favour the unnoticed approach of an enemy, an old door-way, which had been walled up, was broken open, and admitted five hundred men picked from all the

companies of the rebel army without. The city lay in silence. The garrison and the people were asleep, and the guards, half asleep, did not look beyond their own immediate watches; all things favoured the attempt, and for half an hour Drogheda was in possession of the enemy. But their conduct was not answerable to the occasion, and was such as to indicate clearly the true character of Sir Phelim's army. There was nothing to prevent their seizing on a gate and admitting Sir Phelim and his forces; they could, without resistance, have seized the artillery on Millmount by which the town was commanded; the garrison could have offered but slight resistance while unprepared. But they never seem to have thought of any course of action; they trusted, probably, as all mobs will ever trust, to the fallacious confidence of numerical force, and supposed themselves to be in possession of the town because they had got in. Their triumph was however unsatisfactory, until it should be made known to their enemies within, and their friends abroad: it was evident that something was wanting to their dark and unknown victory. They manifested their possession of the town by a tremendous shout, which carried astonishment and alarm to every quarter of the town: the sentinels started to their posts, and the little garrison was roused from its dangerous slumber. Sir Henry Tichburne, hearing the rebel cheer, rushed out without waiting to arm, and caused a drum to beat to arms. Heading his own company, which chanced to be the main guard, he advanced to meet the rebel force, and falling in with them quickly, a short struggle took place, in which the rebels, though more numerous by six to one, and also picked men, had the disadvantage in arms and discipline, and were soon forced to retreat in confusion: in the mean time the governor had collected a party of musqueteers, and coming up while the rebels were in this state, by a volley of shot converted their disorder into a precipitate flight. They scattered several ways. About two hundred escaped by the concealed breach at which they had entered, many found concealment in private houses, two hundred fell in the streets. Of the English only three fell in the fight; a few were found slain in different quarters where they had been surprised or turned upon by the flying rebels. Another attempt of the same kind was made on the following night. It may be presumed that it was designed to avoid the errors of that which we have here related; but the vigilance of the garrison had been too well alarmed, and the enemy was beaten off with some loss.

The supply was insufficient, and the garrison of Drogheda soon fell into a condition of the utmost distress. Famine, and its sure attendant disease, more formidable than the enemy, took possession of the town; the men were enfeebled, their numbers thinned by fluxes and other complaints, and they were forced to live on horses, dogs, cats, and every loathsome resource of utter extremity. Sir Phelim saw their condition, and reckoned upon it not unreasonably: he saw that if he could collect a sufficient force, and obtain cannon to batter the walls, that the garrison were little likely to offer any effective resistance. With this view, he left his army and hurried away to the north, promising to return in eight days with eight cannon and a strong reinforcement—

a step which makes it very apparent to how great an extent the remissness of the government had become a matter of calculation.

Tichburne, on his part, was fully aware of his danger, and armed himself with heroic resolution. He sent captain Cadogan to Dublin to solicit the needful reinforcements and supplies; and expressed his resolution to hold the town against the enemy while the last morsel of horse-flesh remained, and then to cut his way to Dublin. In the interim he sent out small parties to endeavour to obtain whatever provisions could be thus found, within a short distance of the town. There were in consequence numerous skirmishes with the Irish, in which it was presently ascertained that their resistance was so little formidable, that Tichburne felt he might take more decided steps to supply the wants of his famishing garrison. He sent captain Trevor to a place four miles off, where he had been informed that there were eighty cows and two hundred sheep: the party was successful, and drove this fortunate acquisition without any resistance into the town, where they had not had for some weeks known wholesome aliment. They were thus enabled to hold out for several days; when, on the 20th of February, several ships appeared in the river, containing provisions and troops for their relief. The approach had been guarded against by the precautions of the Irish army, who had, in the mean time, strengthened the impediments which had failed to obstruct the formersupply. But the day before, a storm had broken the chain, and the sunken vessel had drifted away with the force of the impeded current; there was a spring-tide, and the winds, for many days contrary, had shifted in their favour, and blew fair from the south-east. The transport thus carried on by the combined advantage of wind and tide, passed rapidly from the fire which the Irish kept up, and entered the harbour with the loss of two killed and fourteen wounded. They brought a good supply of provision, and four companies of men.

It so fell out that Sir Phelim returned the same day; he brought two guns and seven hundred men. And disregarding every lesson which the previous incidents of the siege should have taught, he determined upon an assault. It was his plan to carry the walls by escalade, and in this absurd attempt his people were repulsed with such loss as to bring his army into entire contempt. Tichburne, who had hitherto rated his enemy above their real worth, having been all through deceived by numerical disparity, now determined to be no longer the defensive party. After this occurrence, he sallied forth every day with strong parties and looked for the enemy, whom, when found, he always dispersed with ease, so that a few days were sufficient to satisfy the Irish that they could only be cut to pieces in detail by remaining any longer, and they collected their force and marched away on the 5th of March.

Thus ended Sir Phelim's attempt for the capture of Drogheda. We have here related the incidents of this siege with more detail than its importance may appear to deserve, because they are illustrative of the comparative character of the forces employed on either side. It is curious to notice for how long a time their numerical disparity continued to impose on both; and it is evident that the events

which terminated the siege might have equally prevented its commencement, had Tichburne been aware of the true character of the enemy with whom he had to deal.

In the mean time Sir Phelim had been proclaimed a traitor: the ships, of which we have just mentioned the arrival, had brought copies of proclamations offering rewards for his head and that of several others; these were posted in the market-place. He now turned towards the north, the greater part of his army having scattered, and many of his friends being prisoners. A council of war, held by the duke of Ormonde, agreed in the expediency of following up these favourable occurrences with a considerable force now at their command; but the step was countermanded by the lords-justices, who seem to have thought more of goading the lords of the pale to desperation, than of terminating a rebellion to which they seemed to have entertained no objection, unless at intervals when it appeared to menace the existence of their own authority. The duke of Ormonde sent notice to lord Moore and Sir H. Tichburne of the constraint which had been imposed upon his movements, and these gentlemen expressed their astonishment, and "could not possibly conceive what motives could induce the lords-justices to send such orders." They sent a messenger to Dundalk, towards which town Sir Phelim had sent his cannon. This messenger brought back word, "that Sir Phelim O'Neile, and colonel Plunket, had been the day before at that place, and had got together about five hundred men; that they would fain have led them out towards Drogheda, but the men did not care to march; that with great difficulty, and after hanging two of the number, they at last got them out of the town, but as soon as the men found themselves out of the place, and at liberty, they threw down their arms and ran all away; that towards night Sir Phelim himself went away with Plunket, and left three field pieces behind him; and that there were not three gentlemen of quality left in the county of Louth."*

The report of the earl of Ormonde's approach had been sufficient to scatter the rebel force about Atherdee and Dundalk. His recall renewed their courage, and hearing the circumstance, they rallied their forces and resumed the posts they had abandoned. Lord Moore and Tichburne, after reducing the environs of Drogheda as well as their means admitted, directed their march towards Atherdee. About a mile from this town they came in collision with a strong party of nearly two thousand rebels, which they routed without suffering any loss; and, proceeding on their way, occupied the town. Having garrisoned a castle in the vicinity with one hundred and fifty men, to awe the county of Louth, they pursued their march to Dundalk, which Sir Phelim held with a force of eight hundred strong. Sir Henry Tichburne assaulted this town, and carried it by storm with the loss of only eighteen men. Sir Phelim escaped in the dusk of evening.

The state of the Ulster rebels was now become a case of desperation. The town of Newry had been taken by lord Conway, and a

* Carte's Ormonde, I. p. 288.

strong force of Scotch, under Munroe, which had been landed at Carrickfergus. Their encounters with the English troops had been little calculated to raise their hopes; they had received no assistance from Spain, and their means were reduced to the lowest. In the month of April, it is mentioned, Sir Phelim had not in his possession more than "one firkin and a half of powder left;"* the people sent in petitions to be taken to mercy, and their leaders prepared to fly the country. Sir Phelim fled from Armagh, which he burned, to Dungannon, and from Dungannon to Charlemont, while his followers left him and scattered among the passes of Tyrone.

But Munroe had other views, or was not equal to the occasion. Prompt, stern, and peremptory in the assertion of a military control over all persons and places which were not able to resist, he seems to have been deficient in the most obvious and ordinary operations which his position in the face of an insurgent province required. With an army of two thousand five hundred brave and hardy soldiers he continued inert for two months, until Sir Phelim, who was not deficient in activity, once more contrived to rally his scattered friends and soldiers, and made his reappearance in arms. He was joined by Alexander MacDonell, known by the name of Colkitto, and a numerous force collected from Armagh, Tyrone, Fermanagh, and Donegal, together with no inconsiderable remains of his former army. Relying upon this formidable body, and encouraged by the inactivity of the enemy, he marched to attack Sir William and Sir Robert Stewart, June 16. The action was better maintained than usual by the Irish, but in spite of their numbers and personal bravery, they were at length routed with a heavy loss.

It was at this period of the rebellion that colonel Owen O'Neile landed in Donegal with a large supply of arms and ammunition, and what was more wanting, officers and soldiers, and thus gave a very important impulse to the subsiding agitation; his arrival was no less efficient in impairing the authority of Sir Phelim, who had till this event been the chief military leader of the insurrection.

From this a detail of the further events in which Sir Phelim was in any way a party, would lead us into notices which can be more appropriately pursued further on. He was excluded from any leading station by the distribution of the provinces to other commanders, but long continued to maintain a doubtful importance in the rebel councils, more from the influence of his father-in-law, general Preston, than from his own personal influence.

In 1652 he was tried for his life before the commission issued in Dublin, by the Commonwealth, for the trial of the offenders during the rebellion, and his end is more to his honour than any action of his previous life. He received an intimation that a pardon should be the reward of his evidence to prove that king Charles I. had authorised him to levy forces against his government in Ireland. Sir Phelim refused to save himself by a declaration so unwarranted and scandalous. He was accordingly tried and executed for the massacres committed by his authority in 1641.

* Carte, from a letter of Lord Slane's to Lord Gormanstown.

Sir Charles Coote.

SLAIN A.D. 1642.

SIR CHARLES COOTE was descended from a French family of the same name; his ancestor, Sir John Coote, settled in Devonshire. The brave leader whom we have here to notice, came into Ireland at an early age. He served under Mountjoy, in the war against Hugh, earl of Tyrone, and was present at the siege of Kinsale, when he is said by Lodge to have commanded a company: the latter fact we doubt, as his name does not occur among the lists of captains, which Moryson gives; yet it seems to derive some confirmation from the fact of his having been appointed provost marshal of Connaught, by king James, in consideration of his services to queen Elizabeth. The appointment we should observe was but reversionary, and to take effect on the death of captain Waynman, who held the office at the time.

We must pass lightly over the incidents of a long period of Coote's life, which have no sufficient interest for detail. In 1613 he was made receiver of the king's composition-money in Connaught; 1616 he received the honour of knighthood, and the next year had a grant of a Saturday market and two fairs, on the festivals of St James and St Martin, at Fuerty near the town of Roscommon. In 1620 he was vice-president of Connaught; and was sworn of the privy council. In 1621 he was created a baronet of Ireland.* In addition it may be generally stated, that he had received large grants in different counties, and was much employed in various magisterial offices, of which the enumeration and the dates are to be found in all the peerage lists.

He was a colonel of foot in 1640. At the breaking out of the rebellion in 1641, he was one of the earliest and most considerable sufferers. His linen works in Montrath were pillaged, and the entire of his property in that town was destroyed in December 1641. In the Queen's County, in Cavan, in Leitrim, and Sligo, his property every where met the same treatment, to the amount of many thousand pounds; and his estates were so injured as to remain nearly unprofitable till the end of the rebellion.

In 1641 he obtained a commission to raise a thousand men, which he speedily effected. It was during the investment of Drogheda, by a rebel army under Sir Phelim O'Neile, (as related in his life) that the lords-justices, alarmed by the near approach of rebellion in the border county of Wicklow, were compelled to cast aside their inefficiency for a moment; they detached Coote with a small party to the relief of the castle of Wicklow. Coote was no unwilling instrument: he was a man of that rough, stern, and inflammable temper which is easily wrought to fierce and extreme courses by the impatience of resentment. Had he met with no personal injuries, his fiery temper would have been sufficiently excited by his intolerance of disloyalty; but as always must happen, his own wrongs lent animosity to

* Lodge.

the natural indignation of the stern partisan, and his vindictive feelings were disguised under the pretext of a general cause, and the name of just retribution; for by this time the fiendlike atrocities of Sir Phelim O'Neile, had excited general terror and pity. With his own implacable resentment burning in his heart, Sir Charles marched to avenge the victims of O'Neile's cruelty, and to strike terror into the rising spirit of insurrection.

The rebels had some days before surprised Cary's fort, Arklow and Chichester forts—had besieged the houses of all the English gentry in the surrounding country, and had committed great slaughter upon the inhabitants—and were actually on their march to Dublin. At the approach of Coote, they retired and scattered among the Wicklow mountains. He pursued his march to Wicklow, the rebels possessed the town and had invested the castle, which was in a condition of extreme distress. They did not wait to be attacked, but retired on the appearance of the English soldiers. Coote entered the town and caused numerous persons to be seized and executed as rebels; his party also had caught the angry spirit of their leader, and numerous acts of violence occurred. Historians of every party have agreed in their representations of this transaction, and it has left a stain on the memory of Coote. This we cannot pretend to efface; we are not inclined to make any concession to the exaggerations of the party historians on either side, but we equally revolt from the affectation of candour which compromises the truth, for the sake of preserving the appearance of fairness. Coote has been the scape-goat of impartiality. Leland, who is in general truth itself in his historic details, and more free from bias than any historian of Ireland, mentions his conduct in terms of denunciation—which we should not advert to did they not involve some injustice. The following is Leland's statement: "this man was employed by the chief governors to drive some of the insurgents of Leinster from the castle of Wicklow which they had invested; he executed his commission, repelled the Irish to their mountains, and in revenge of their depredations committed such unprovoked, such ruthless, and indiscriminate carnage in the town, as rivalled the utmost extravagance of the northerns. This wanton cruelty, instead of terrifying, served to exasperate the rebels, and to provoke them to severe retaliation."

We perfectly agree with those who consider that no personal resentments, or no crimes committed by other rebels elsewhere, can be called a justification of the cruelties inflicted upon the people of Wicklow, if it be assumed that they were not involved in the offence. And even if they were, we must admit that the conduct of Coote was violent, sanguinary, and beyond the limits of justice and discretion; it was unquestionably vindictive, perhaps also (for we have not seen any minute detail) brutal and savage. But we are bound to repel the affirmation that it was *unprovoked*, and the assumption that the sufferers were unoffending persons executed to gratify private revenge. We cannot suffer even Sir Charles Coote to be painted in gratuitous blackness, to balance Sir Phelim O'Neile in the scale of candour. Wicklow town was at the time a nest of rebellion, and the retreat of every

discontented spirit in Leinster. The oppression and rapine of the iniquitous castle-party, the agents and dependents of the lords-justices, had filled the strong tribes of the Byrnes, the Kavanaghs, the Tooles, and all who lived in their circle with well-grounded hostility; and few at the time in the town of Wicklow were free from liability to suspicion. To what extent Coote received informations, true or false, on which he acted in the heat of the moment, cannot be ascertained; that such must have been numerous and grounded on the facts is not to be doubted. It was Coote's notion that the exigency of the crisis (for such it then appeared) demanded the display of severe and exemplary justice; we differ from this opinion, but see no reason to call it worse than error. He therefore resolved on a stern duty, which would under the circumstances have been revolting to a humane spirit; but which harmonized well with the "*sæva indignatio*" of Coote. That he "committed such unprovoked, such ruthless, and indiscriminate carnage in the town as rivalled the utmost extravagance of the Northerns" is a statement that yet requires to be proved: we deny the charge.

The defeat of the English at Julianstown bridge, carried consternation to the government and inhabitants of Dublin. Coote was recalled from Wicklow to defend the metropolis; he obeyed the order. He had approached with his party within a few miles of Dublin, when his march was intercepted by Luke Toole, with a force generally supposed to amount to a thousand men. Coote's men amounted at most to four hundred, but the rebels were routed so quickly and with such slaughter that it is said, this incident made Coote an object of terror during the remainder of his life. He then resumed his march and was made governor of Dublin. He endeavoured to secure the city, a task attended with no small embarrassment, as the fortifications were in a state of utter dilapidation; the city wall had fallen into ruin and having been built four hundred years before, was ill adapted to the altered state of military resources.

While thus engaged, Coote was frequently called out into the surrounding districts, to repel incursions or repress manifestations of insurrection. On these occasions he was uniformly effective, but acted, there is reason to believe, with the fierce and thorough-working decision of his character. On the 15th of December he was called out by the report that three hundred armed men had plundered a vessel from England at Clontarf, and deposited their plunder in the house of Mr King, where they took up their quarters. For some time before, there had been a considerable disposition to insurrectionary movement along the whole coast, from Clontarf to the county of Meath. Plunder and piracy had become frequent under the relaxation of local jurisdiction, consequent upon the general terror; and the fears of the government at last awakened them to a sense of the necessity of guarding against so near a danger. Several of the gentry also of these districts had committed themselves by acts of no doubtful character; and it was with their known sanction that strong parties of armed men, were collected in Clontarf, Santry, Swords, Rathcoole, &c.: these parties committed numerous acts of violence and overawed the peaceful, while

they gave encouragement to the turbulent. The party here particularized was evidently under the sanction of Mr King, a gentleman of the popular party, in whose house they stored their plunder; they were in strict combination with the people of Clontarf, who had actually formed a part of their strength and joined them with their fishing boats. We mention these facts because the summary statement that Sir C. Coote expelled them from Clontarf, by burning both Mr King's house and the village, must otherwise place the act in a fallacious point of view. Coote acted in this as on every occasion with the sweeping severity of his harsh character; but the unpopularity of his character, and of the lords-justices to whom he was as an arm of defence, seems to have diverted the eye of history from the obvious fact, that in this, as upon many other occasions, he did no more than the emergency of the occasion called for.

It was but a few days after that he was compelled to march to the relief of Swords, which was occupied by 1400 men. They barricaded all the entrances. Coote forced these passages, and routed them with a slaughter of 200 men.

The known violence of Coote, while it made him the instrument of the government in many questionable acts and many acts of decided injustice, also exposed him to much calumny, the certain reward of unpopularity. Among other things, a report was spread, that he had at the council board expressed his opinion for a general massacre of the Roman catholics; this report was alleged as an excuse by the lords of that communion, for refusing to trust themselves into the hands of the Irish government.* These noblemen had unquestionably real grounds for their distrust of the lords-justices, and thought it necessary to find some pretext for the prudent refusal. But they could not seriously have entertained a motion so revolting. The pretext, though perhaps, too frivolous for the persons who used it, was, nevertheless, highly adapted for the further purpose of working upon the fear and anger of the multitude; who are ignorant, that however self-interest and vicious passions may warp the hearts and understandings of the upper ranks, there is too much knowledge of right and wrong among them to permit of so open an outrage to humanity, among persons pretending to the dignity of the lords-justices and council. It is very likely that Coote, who was a rude soldier and an irritable man, used language which, used by a person of more sedateness of temper, would have borne a harsh construction; but we see no reason to admit that he either contemplated the crime described, or that any one present could have reasonably so reported his language. The lords-justices in reply to the letter of the lords of the pale, assured them that they never "did hear Sir Charles or any other, utter at the council board or elsewhere, any speeches tending to a purpose or resolution, to execute on those of their profession or any other a general massacre; nor was it ever in their thoughts to dishonour his Majesty or the state by so odious, impious, and detestable a

* Letter signed Fingal, Gormanstown, Slane, Dunsany, Netherville, Oliver, Louth, Trimleston.

thing. Giving them assurance of their safety if they would repair thither, the 17th of that month.”*

With such a reputation for violence and cruelty, it was unfortunate for Sir Charles Coote and for the country, that as military governor of the city, it devolved to him to try the prisoners then under the charge of rebellion in Dublin. He was an unfit instrument, and had neither the prudence nor temper for so delicate an occasion. To make the matter worse, it remains at best doubtful, whether the occasion demanded the substitution of martial law for the ordinary jurisdiction of the criminal courts. The ground assigned was the great accumulation of prisoners, and the impossibility of obtaining juries from the counties where the crimes were alleged to have been committed. Carte remarks on this that they had juries from Meath, Wicklow, and Kildare, as well as from Dublin; and according to his statement of their conduct, we think it may be doubted whether the parties tried before them gained much by the preservation of form; for Meath, Wicklow, and Dublin, “within two days afterwards, bills of high treason were found against all the lords and prime gentlemen, as also against three hundred persons of quality and estate in the county of Kildare: among which were the old countess of Kildare, Sir Nicholas White, his son, captain White, who had never joined the rebels—so much expedition was used in this affair.”† To preserve the escheats of property, which had always a due share of consideration with the government, the persons of property were exempted from martial law, and it was easy to find juries to the extent required. The poor were ordered to be tried by the more expeditious and summary method. But we must here remark, that the *injustice* is not the real ground of objection to this course. The main part of the prisoners had been taken in arms, and at any time would have been amenable to martial law: but the act was cruel and imprudent, for the wholesale and summary conviction of a multitude of deluded peasants could answer no end. If it was not vindictive, which we cannot believe, it is chiefly to be censured as a shallow mistake: when the cruelty of punishment is more revolting than its justice is apparent, the indignation and sympathy of the multitude takes the place of submission and fear. The instrumentality of one so feared and so unpopular as Coote, cast an added shade of darkness upon this measure. Among the persons thus tried were several Roman catholic priests; and from this the exasperation of the populace was the more to be apprehended. These gentlemen were very generally accused of exciting the people to rebellion: how far such an accusation could be rigidly maintained, we cannot decide, but it is easy to feel the unhappy embarrassment under which such cases would be likely to present themselves to the feelings of a just and humane jury; for in very many such instances, where the priest has been the leader, his entire conduct has been directed to soften the horrors of rebellion, and to save its victims. The history of “ninety-eight” supplies examples enough. But father O’Higgins, the victim of 1641, was a “quiet, inoffensive, and pious man, much respected by those who knew him, who

* Borlase.

† Carte, I. 278, note.

officiated at Naas, and in the neighbourhood. He had distinguished himself in saving the English in those parts from slaughter and plunder, and had relieved several that had been stripped and robbed. The earl of Ormonde found him at Naas, took him under his protection, (he never having been concerned in any act of rebellion, nor guilty of any crime, nor liable to any objection, but the matter of his religion,) and brought him along with him to Dublin.”* Some time after, while lord Ormonde was absent from town, the proceedings here described commenced, and the unfortunate O’Higgins was seized, condemned, and executed. This shameful act was near drawing on Coote the punishment which his inconsiderate violence deserved. The earl of Ormonde, who was lieutenant-general of the kingdom, was indignant when he heard of the fate of his protégé, and immediately insisted on the trial of Coote, as an offender against the laws of the land. The lords-justices were unwilling to give up the man on whose military talent and bravery they chiefly rested their trust, and who, they were conscious, was but their instrument in a station of the duties of which he was wholly ignorant. The earl of Ormonde expostulated with them in vain, and even threatened to throw up his office: they apologized, and temporized, and invented lame excuses, until it was plain that they were not to be persuaded by threats or entreaties: and Coote escaped. But the act which was thus made additionally notorious, produced a pernicious effect among the Roman catholic aristocracy and gentry, whose fears it appeared strongly to confirm.†

The next affair of any importance in which Coote is found engaged, occurred on the 3d February, when he accompanied the earl of Ormonde to Kilsalaghan, within seven miles of Dublin, against a strong army of rebels whom they drove from their entrenchments and routed completely: the particulars belong to our memoir of the earl of Ormonde.

In the beginning of March the earl of Ormonde left Dublin, to march against the rebels in the county of Kildare. During his march, detachments were sent out on various services, under the chief officers of his army. On the 10th April, Coote was sent with six troops of horse to the relief of Birr. On the way they came to a causeway which the rebels had broken up and fortified with a trench, which they occupied. The post was formidable, and the passage appeared quite impracticable to persons of ordinary nerve: Coote here nobly maintained his known character for decision and unflinching intrepidity, alighting from his horse, he selected forty of his troopers, with whom he proceeded on foot against the rebels. The smallness of his party threw them in some degree off their guard: they scorned to take the full advantages of their wooded and entrenched position against forty dismounted troops: but these troopers were soldiers, led by an officer of first rate proof

* Carte.

† It is here but just to state, that there were other causes likely to produce the same effect. The excesses of the rebels had by this time amounted to a frightful sum. The list of murders through the country was not less than 154,000 between the 23d October, 1642, and March, 1643.—*Dr Maxwell’s Examination.*

and the coolest hardihood, whose presence doubled every man's strength. Without the loss of a single man, Coote and his brave party slew the captain of the rebels, with forty of his men: went on and relieved Birr, Borris, and Knocknamease, and after forty-eight hours' incessant riding and fighting, returned to the camp. "This," writes Cox, "was the prodigious passage through Montrath woods, which is indeed wonderful in many respects." From this adventure, the title of earl of Montrath was conferred afterwards on his son.

He was also soon after distinguished at the battle of Kilrush, between the forces under the earl of Ormonde, and the rebels commanded by the lord Mountgarret. There Coote led the foot, and had no small share in the signal victory of that day. We shall hereafter relate it at length.

Some time after, he joined lord Lisle, to relieve the castle of Geashill, where the lady Letitia Offaley had for some time been besieged by the rebels. This noble lady, a Geraldine, and grand-daughter of the earl of Kildare, though in her 64th year, shut her gates against the rebels, and, with the bravery of her race, prepared to defend her castle. She was summoned to surrender, with a threat from the rebels that, upon her refusal, they would burn the town, and massacre man, woman, and child. To this dastardly menace, the heroic lady replied, that she had always lived among them as a good neighbour and a loyal subject: that she would die innocently as she had lived, and if necessary, would endeavour to defend her town. Being however influenced by the humanity natural to her sex and rank, she remained on the defensive, and the rebels who were still collecting might in the end have added another illustrious victim to the murders of this fatal year, when happily the party of lord Lisle and Coote came up, and relieved her from her peril.

The next place to be relieved was Philipstown. On this occasion a characteristic story is told of Coote. Having to march for that purpose through a difficult and dangerous country, the general called a council. The difficulties being strongly pressed, Coote, who was not of a temper to admit of difficulties, observed, that "if they made haste, they might easily pass the defiles and causeways before the enemy could get together to oppose them." This was admitted, but the question next proposed was, "how they should get back?" "I protest," answered Coote, "I never thought of that in my life; I always have considered how to do my business, and when that was done, I got home again as well as I could, and hitherto I have not missed of forcing my way."

The advice was taken, and the result thoroughly successful; but the time had come when Coote was himself to be deserted by his usual good fortune. They took Philipstown, and pursued their way to Trim, where a large party of rebels had drawn together. On their approach the rebels retired, and they took possession of the town. Lord Lisle immediately took his departure to Dublin to procure sufficient men to leave a garrison in the town. Night drew on, and all seemed still until midnight, when the rebels, to the number of three thousand, returned to attack the wearied party of troopers, who little expected such

an interruption to their well earned rest. Coote was too watchful to be caught asleep. On receiving the alarm from his sentinel, he collected seventeen troopers, and rushed out to take possession of the gate. Thus he was enabled to secure a retreat for his party who quickly came up. They then issued from the gate, and charging the disorderly crowd, at once put them to flight in every direction. But a shot either from the flying crowd, or from the town, or as some historians appear to conjecture, from his own party, killed Sir Charles Coote. This event occurred 7th May, 1642. The next day his body was sent to Dublin, under a strong guard.

END OF VOLUME II.

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